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## THE ADVANCEMENT OF ART, AND ITS APPLICATION TO INDUSTRY.

(The following forms part of the paper read by comrade Crane at the recent Liverpool Art Congress, which we are enabled to publish by the kindness of the writer.)

WE are here to further the advancement of Art in its application to Industry. Are we quite sure that we do not mean, The advancement of Industry by the application of Art?

For the last two or three centuries, we appear to have been applying all the power of organisation, the ingenuity, and the mechanical invention of man to the advancement of Industry, in the interest of competitive commerce; not with the advancement of Art as the object, but rather that of profit-making; with the economic result that we cannot find work enough for the compulsorily idle hands to do; while in the din of the vast workshop of machine production, and the fierce battle of the world-market, Art can hardly find a place for the sole of her foot.

Mechanical invention in the interest of trade has dominated us. Mechanical invention has outstripped the invention of the artist. Mechanical smoothness has taken the place of artistic thought and finish. And why? Because, to our great deity of commercial enterprise and successful trade, the amount of the output is more regarded than the artistic quality of the material and work.

The very spirit and meaning of the word "artistic" implies something harmonious; something in relation to its surroundings; something arising out of the joy of life, and expressing the delight of the artist in his work, however arduous; something personal, the expression of one mind or of many; congruous; expressly and lovingly addressed to particular persons, and adapted to particular places and things. Not a mere system of guess work: beginning with the designer, who makes a guess at the sort of thing that may possibly "take," rather than what he personally likes and has a feeling for. The designer again being dependent on the manufacturer, guessing what the market or the trade will take; as he again depends on the conjectures of the trade, as to what an unknown quantity in the public can be induced to take. The public again, surrounded with every species of conundrum in the name of art, is driven to guess in *its* turn as to—not what it really likes, or what is good and fitted to its purpose, but—what is the correct thing to buy, or what other people buy, or are likely to buy. So the whole structure of applied art under our present system, speaking generally, is built upon the shifting sands of insincerity and speculation.

Let us enquire what natural affinity there is between art and industry. Properly considered, obviously, they should be inseparable; but the spirit that rules industry now is wrapped up in the one object of the salesman—to sell.

The spirit of industry is merely to produce. The spirit of the artist is not merely to produce, but to express, as well as produce, and to express something which is a joy to him in the making, and may be a joy to the user and beholder. In the search after perfection of method of expression, in the struggle to express his thoughts, to make his work, whatever it be—the lines of a design, a simple repeating pattern, a moulding, a sculptured ornament, a figure, a group, a picture, a building—to make his work live, to answer to his thought, and so touch the thoughts of others, the artist will frequently undo or destroy his own work, will cast aside the labour that has cost him perhaps hours of toil and thought, and try again, until his work answers more nearly to the ideal in his mind. Considerations of the market are forced upon him, it is true, too often, but these have no necessary connection with art, and in so far as he ceases to be true to his ideal, and is seriously influenced, or driven by circumstances to work consciously and exclusively for money, he must deteriorate.

Now, the man of commerce, the controller of industry, seeks only to make a saleable article. He is influenced in his industrial production simply by this object. He takes the opinion of salesmen—of the trade, not of artists, as a rule; and so far as any artistic standard or aim enters into the produce of his manufactory, it is strictly checked by

the average of what his rivals are doing, and by the discovery of what the big public can be persuaded to buy.

Slowly, perhaps, some personal force or centre of artistic sincerity creates a new impulse, a new desire in a jaded public, sated with every craze and whim, under the name of art. Slowly the wave of fashion rises, swiftly it rolls; and it affects the salesman first. His arts fail him. He cannot palm off these coarse and inharmonious colours, these hideous patterns, or this clumsy furniture, charm he never so wisely. He sells at a "great sacrifice," and returns to the industrial king—the manufacturer—who either evolves something "new and original" out of his inner consciousness, or on the premises, for next season, or he seeks out the artist. He makes a compact with him. The man of ideas meets the man of industry and profit. The result is, of course, a compromise. The artist must turn out "taking" novelties in design for the market,—that is, the market of guess-work. The market must be the first consideration; it is imperative to sell one's season's goods.

Commerce, like the old woman in the nursery-tale, stands at the stile (of an over-stocked market) with her obdurate pig (over-production) that refuses to move, until the stick (of new demand) has been persuaded to bring its influence to bear, and one by one all the characters of the commercial drama act and re-act upon each other, by the very necessities of their existence,—middle-man and public, capitalist and labourer. We shall find their prototypes in our nursery-tale up to the ox (personifying John Bull) driven to action from the fear of the butcher, the nemesis of foreign competition.

The little allegory from the nursery fits the situation exactly. It has been revealed unto babes.

So the whole mill of industrial commercial production is fed and set in motion, and grinds on year after year. The wheels of its machinery, like those of fortune herself, lifting some into prosperity upon the condition of the ruin of others, and the working order of the whole depending on the existence of the vast majority of our brothers and sisters in the condition of not being more than one week's remove from destitution.

This is the social and industrial structure we have raised—in which we live, and move, and have our being. Art and industry, like figures carved in stone, may adorn its portal, and our hopes and fears, our regrets for the past, our thoughts for the future, play like cloud-shadows upon its grim façade, which will yet mock our efforts at humanising and beautifying, until its tenants some day insist on improvements, perhaps even involving a change of plan and structure.

Meanwhile our fluctuating harlequin of fashion and trade comes and goes. This year we are going to be "artistic"—everything is to be "artistic"—art-colours, art-furniture; art in the attic, art in the coal-hole. Next year, away with your degraded colours! let us be frankly barbaric in mauve and magenta! Is this the delightful, spontaneous caprice of unstable humanity, seeking novelty in the simplicity of its heart? Is it wholly unconnected with the inscrutable movements and exigencies of those commercial and industrial potentates whereof I have spoken?

The world having increased so much under the sway of our industrial kings (we will grant them that); having congregated in vast centres for the convenience of commerce and industry, necessarily has large and immediate wants. Millions of interdependent human beings demand to be fed and clothed, warmed and sheltered; with swift and efficient means of communication, and carriage from place to place. Wholesale industrial production does it, with the aid of steam and electricity; and does it so thoroughly (as regards quantity, and the purchasing power of the community) as to over-shoot the mark, and glut the market; which means that a number of citizens are obliged to go without the comforts and necessities they have assisted in producing, seeing that the system of production is not economically organised in the interest of the community, but rather for the profit of individuals.

The world does not stop in its demands at food, and clothes and shelter, however. Man doth not live by bread alone. He needs mental bread, spiritual exaltation, amusement, excitement, and would clothe his thoughts in artistic and architectural garments. Here, however, wholesale industrial machine production is distinctly at fault, even if in the quantity of its food-stuffs and bare necessities it has been blameless. The making art a commodity, or in the endeavour to make it so, its distinctive virtue and value has been left out of account.

In associating it with purely mechanical and sub-divided toil, in handing it over to the blind fingers of insensate machinery, or in setting before it a purely commercial object, both its spiritual and sensuous qualities vanish, and the reforming and educating influence, both of its practice and its ultimate appeal, is lost. The human interest being reduced to a minimum, or made to depend solely on the impulse of the pictorial sketcher, or designer, in no sort of relation to the man or the process, by which his work is to be reproduced, is apt to lose itself in the desire for mere novelty or trick, to become the art of the newspaper, which rests its claims to attention on its impartial, partial, or partisan record of passing events and news—nothing if not new. Thus both the beauty and the dignity of art are endangered, while the reduction of the handicrafts to mechanism take their personal interest and individuality away.

The idea of producing art wholesale by steam-power, is certainly an extraordinary one. It is very much like printing a misquoted line from a poet, repeating it page after page, and calling the result a book.

Our mechanical invention, directed to the cheapening of the processes of industrial production, and the acceleration in speed of that production, has out-stripped our artistic invention. In our efforts to increase the means of production we have lost sight of the end. In purely artistic production, the old methods, the old tools, mostly remain as they have done for centuries, unaffected by mechanical invention, for the simple reason that nothing can supersede the hand. The tools of the sculptor, the carver, the painter, are but extra fingers, supplementary to the original four and the indispensable thumb, to which the artist continually recurs, and with which his work is begun and ended. That personal touch and impress of character we value so highly, in what we call the Fine Arts, with the disappearance of the handicraftsman, and the severance of designer and workman, has practically ceased to exist, except in those instances of individual revival of pursuit of a craft on its original lines, of which among the cultured and the leisured, or on the part of painters or sculptors, as a diversion, have increased so much of late years.

The modern conditions of manufacture appear to have destroyed the old traditions of the handicrafts. Our commerce has vulgarised and confused the public taste. Yet, where any form of art is concerned, anything in the nature of a pattern or design in the material of surface decoration in any form, appealing to the eye, in the goods produced: manufacture is absolutely dependent on design of some sort. It may be begged, borrowed, paid for, or stolen; but still the design must be there to start with. Yet design, so far as it is under the influence of the existing conditions, has become tamer and tamer, and more and more meaningless and superficial; and it is obvious that the ill-effects of a bad design are increased a thousand-fold—or exactly in proportion to the increase in the mechanical power and speed of its production by the resources of machinery.

When the power of reproduction is so enormous it becomes, obviously, more than ever necessary to reproduce nothing in design, but what is sound and good in its way. If not, far better confine ourselves to the manufacture of plain materials—good cloth, well woven and dyed, without pattern; serviceable furniture, without carving or painting, unless it can be sincere and thoughtful; useful pottery as good in contour as the wheel and the skill of the thrower can make it, unspoiled by the ravings of the china painter, distracted by centuries of false taste, or confused by dictionaries of ornament, or the impressionism of the modern Japanese or Parisian.

There are, of course, certain great industries which are absolutely dependent on the surface designer and pattern-maker; such as cotton-printing, carpet-weaving, paper-staining, for instance; manufactures which would not exist at all without a constant supply of designs. There is no doubt that this is fully recognised by the manufacturers or their managers, and the utmost pains, consistent with a due regard to the possibilities of profit, are taken by the leading firms to secure at least competent working drawings, if not tasteful designs. It may be conceded too, that as regards design, these industries have been the first to show the influence of those ideas, which have produced a kind of revolution among designers of late years; with the result, that a movement which appears to be purely English in origin, has made its mark in these directions, and has largely counteracted the stream of tendency, which at one time set so strongly towards Paris, as the head centre of taste in all matters of art, the disastrous effects of which still affect us in many ways.

The real secret of Continental influence in design upon us is no doubt to be found in the fact that the severance of the arts and handicrafts has never been anything like so complete in other European countries as in industrial England. Our great industrial rival, America, shows the same want of originating power in artistic design; the same tendency, in a more marked degree, to avail herself of Parisian modes in art. However degraded the taste of the designer, or debased in type the design, the French or Italian designer remained thoroughly in touch with the craftsman, and understood the technical conditions of the work thoroughly; so that his working drawings would be perfectly adapted to the method of manufacture. We have here, at any rate, one reason why our manufacturers have given preference to French designers, and have been so much in the habit of crossing the water for new supplies. Yet we must recognise that so closely connected are now all countries, commercial and industrial, that the slightest change in one will surely affect the other. If foreign artists and workmen are in demand, our own suffer; or if our native talent is preferred, then our Continental brothers are worse off;—this, of course, is the result of competition. Level up all round with technical education,

competition would come in again: you would get a technically educated proletariat, but no more secure of a livelihood than they are at present. Supposing England temporarily regained her commercial ascendancy, the suffering would only be transferred from one country to another; and can we morally justify it to ourselves that people of one nationality have more right to live than those of another? These are awkward questions.

I think this shows that existing economic conditions are dead against the aim of the schools [of art]. There are, of course, many schools of high proficiency as such, and as examples of good working models, under the South Kensington system. I am not, however, personally able to feel much more enthusiasm for schools of art, as such, however efficient according to the official standards, than I am for academies; because I believe that the only training worth having in the arts must be in the workshop, as of old: since I hold that the true root and basis of all art lies in the handicrafts, and that the artistic impulse and invention weakens as it loses its close connection and intimate relationship with them.

So that there are abundant reasons why art, as applied to industry, should not be in a flourishing and vigorous condition.

It is not surprising, if we bear these thoughts in mind, that design has come to be regarded as a sort of Cinderella of art; her fine sisters, be-decked in paint and public favour, go to the ball, and leave her to mind the hearth, or the workshop. But she is not without her fairy godmother—inventive adaptation—who comes to her aid; and though it is hoped she will never lose her domestic qualities and substantial household virtues, she may yet win her share of applause, and wearing the shoe of good-luck, be recognised as the true bride of the prince Imagination.

At the preliminary meeting for the formation of this Association, held in London in the summer, I took occasion to say that "we must turn our artists into craftsmen, and our craftsmen into artists." That is the problem before us in this matter of Art and Industry.

I do not pretend to have found a cut-and-dried solution: but there is one first necessary step to be taken, it seems to me, as a matter of common honesty, if we are really sincere in our desire to unite art and industry; and it is this: That the workman should have the credit of the work of his own head and hands—whether designer or craftsman. We must no longer be content with the vague—however convenient—designation of authorship (or rather proprietorship), So and So and Co., now commonly affixed to works of applied art or industry in our exhibitions, but we should require the actual names of the contrivers and craftsmen, whose actual labour, thought, and experience produces what we see.

Make a man responsible, and give him the credit of his own skill in his work; his self-respect at once increases, and he is stimulated to do his best: he will take pride and pleasure in his work; it becomes personal and therefore interesting.

I think it is most important to recognise certain facts—to know exactly how, and where we stand in this matter of art and industry; which, moreover, cannot be separated from the great economic question, of which indeed it is but a part.

Do not let us deceive ourselves, or expect to gather the grapes of artistic or industrial prosperity from economic thorns, or aesthetic figs from commercial thistles.

It is idle to expect artistic sense and refinement to spring from dull and sordid surroundings, or a keen sense of beauty amid the conditions of monotonous and mechanical toil. Unless your artist and craftsman have personal freedom, leisure, cultivation, and continual access to the beauty of both art and nature, you will get neither vigorous design nor good craftsmanship.

Let us look the sphinx fairly in the face, and take the length of her claws and wings, before we offer our solution of the riddle. It may be that the problem will solve itself in the course of time, as part of that great and constant movement of evolution, in which we ourselves, and our lives and interests are involved; which no man can do much either to impede or to accelerate; though the action of the least of us counts in the total sum—since it is the slow but sure result of causes at work through the long progress of centuries, bound up with the laws of nature, and the course of human destiny itself.

WALTER CRANE.

COTTON TRADE.—Important meetings of the Masters' and Men's Committees were held at Bolton on Monday 31st, for the purpose of considering the position of affairs there. The operatives had submitted a proposal that the men at Messrs. Crook be paid day wages at the rate of two guineas per week. This the masters declined to accept, as being 6s. higher than is earned on the class of spinning-mule worked upon, but submitted a counter proposal that Messrs. Crook pay for the month the average earnings of the district on that size of mule—namely, £2, 18s. gross as weekly wages. This includes the payment of two piecers engaged by each spinner. At the meeting of the Men's Committee this offer was unanimously rejected, on the ground that the Messrs. Crook ran their machinery at a higher rate than was the average of the district. The dispute, therefore, still continues. Short time has already commenced, three days a week being worked, and 30,000 operatives are affected. They are fully prepared for this, and say they have sufficient reserve funds to enable them to remain out for twelve months.—The strike at Waterloo Mills has ended in favour of the men.—At Cinderhill Mill, Todmorden, the operatives have given notice for altered arrangements, and a 10 per cent. advance.—The threatened strike at Wellington Mills, Blackburn, has been averted for the present. The spinners in future will be able to get better pay.—The grinders at Park Place Mill, in same town, have decided to come out if the masters take 6d. per week from their wages; at the present time they are only getting 21s. per week, and that is 3s. below Oldham and district.



## THE CARES OF WEALTH.

In Defoe's inimitable story of 'Colonel Jack,' the hero, is in the beginning a poor outcast boy of the London streets, who gets his living by day as he can, and at night sleeps in the ash-holes or annealing-arches of the glass-houses in Rosemary Lane or Ratcliff Highway. He is telling of his first introduction by an older companion to the art and mystery of thieving; they have been successful and got clean away with their booty. Whereon, Jack says:

"He shared the money very honestly with me; only at the end, he told me, that though it was true, he promised me half, yet as it was the first time, and I had done nothing but look on, so he thought it was very well if I took a little less than he did; so he divided the money, which was £12 10s., into two exact parts, viz., £6 5s., in each part; then he took £1 5s. from my part, and told me I should give him that for hansel. Well, says I, take it then, for I think you deserve it all: so, however, I took up the rest; and what shall I do with this now, says I, for I have nowhere to put it? Why, have you no pockets? says he; Yes, says I, but they are full of holes. I have often thought since that, and with some mirth too, how I had really more wealth than I knew what to do with, for lodging I had none, nor any box or drawer to hide my money in, nor had I any pocket, but such as I say was full of holes; I knew nobody in the world that I could go and desire them to lay it up for me; for being a poor naked, ragged boy, they would presently say, I had robbed somebody, and perhaps lay hold of me, and my money would be my crime, as they say it often is in foreign countries; and now, as I was full of wealth, behold I was full of care, for what to do to secure my money I could not tell; and this held me so long, and was so vexatious to me the next day, that I truly sat down and cried.

"Nothing could be more perplexing than this money was to me all that night. I carried it in my hand a good while, for it was in gold, all but 14s.; and that is to say, it was in four guineas, and that 14s. was more difficult to carry than the four guineas; at last I sat down, and pulled off one of my shoes, and put the four guineas into that; but after I had gone a while, my shoe hurt me so I could not go, so I was fain to sit down again, and take it out of my shoe, and carry it in my hand; then I found a dirty linen rag in the street, and I took that up, and wrapt it all together, and carried it in that a good way. I have often since heard people say, when they have been talking of money, that they could not get in, I wish I had it in a foul clout; in truth, I had mine in a foul clout; for it was foul, according to the letter of that saying, but it served me till I came to a convenient place, and then I sat down and washed the cloth in the kennel, and so then put my money in again.

"Well, I carried it home with me to my lodging in the glass-house, and when I went to go to sleep, I knew not what to do with it; if I had let any of the black crew I was with know of it, I should have been smothered in the ashes for it, or robbed of it, or some trick or other put upon me for it; so I knew not what to do, but lay with it in my hand, and my hand in my bosom, but then sleep went from my eyes: O, the weight of human care! I, a poor beggar-boy, could not sleep so soon as I had but a little money to keep, who, before that could have slept upon a heap of brick-bats, stones, or cinders, or anywhere, as sound as a rich man does on his down bed, and sounder too.

"Every now and then dropping asleep, I should dream that my money was lost, and start like one frightened; then, finding it fast in my hand, try to go to sleep again, but could not for a long while, then drop and start again. At last a fancy came into my head that if I fell asleep, I should dream of the money, and talk of it in my sleep, and tell that I had money, which if I should do, and one of the rogues should hear me, they would pick it out of my bosom, and of my hand too, without waking me; and after that thought I could not sleep a wink more; so that I passed that night over in care and anxiety enough; and this, I may safely say, was the first night's rest that I lost by the cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches.

"As soon as it was day, I got out of the hole we lay in, and rambled abroad in the fields towards Stepney, and there I mused and considered what I should do with this money, and many a time I wished that I had not had it; for, after all my ruminating upon it, and what course I should take with it, or where I should put it, I could not hit upon any one thing, or any possible method to secure it, and it perplexed me so, that at last, as I said just now, I sat down and cried heartily.

"When my crying was over, the case was the same; I had the money still, and what to do with it I could not tell. At last it came into my head that I would look out for some hole in a tree, and see to hide it there till I should have occasion for it. Big with this discovery, as I then thought it, I began to look about me for a tree; but there were no trees in the fields about Stepney or Mile-end that looked fit for my purpose; and if there were any that I began to look narrowly at, the fields were so full of people, that they would see if I went to hide anything there, and I thought the people eyed me as it were, and that two men in particular followed me to see what I intended to do.

"This drove me farther off, and I crossed the road at Mile-end, and in the middle of the town went down a lane that goes away to the Blind Beggar's at Bethnal Green; when I came a little way in the lane, I found a footpath over the fields, and in those fields several trees for my turn, as I thought; at last, one tree had a little hole in it, pretty high out of my reach, and I climbed up the tree to get it, and when I came there, I put my hand in, and found (as I thought) a place very fit, so I placed my treasure there, and was mighty well satisfied with it; but, behold, putting my hand in again to lay it more commodiously, as I thought, of a sudden it slipped away from me, and I found the tree was hollow, and my little parcel was fallen in quite out of my reach, and how far it might go in I knew not; so that, in a word, my money was quite gone, irrecoverably lost; there could be no room so much as to hope ever to see it again, for 'twas a vast great tree.

"As young as I was, I was now sensible what a fool I was before, that I could not think of ways to keep my money, but I must come thus far to throw it into a hole where I could not reach it. Well, I thrust my hand quite up to my elbow, but no bottom was to be found, or any end of the hole or cavity; I got a stick of the tree, and thrust it in a great way, but all was one; then I cried, nay, roared out, I was in such a passion; then I got down the tree again, then up again, and thrust in my hand again till I

scratched my arm and made it bleed, and cried all the while most violently; then I began to think I had not so much as a half-penny of it left for a half-penny roll, and I was hungry, and then I cried again; then I came away in despair, crying and roaring like a little boy that had been whipped; then I went back again to the tree, and up the tree again, and thus I did several times.

"The last time I had gotten up the tree I happened to come down not on the same side that I went up and came down before, but on the other side of the tree, and on the other side of the bank also; and, behold, the tree had a great open place in the side of it close to the ground, as old hollow trees often have; and looking into the open place, to my inexpressible joy, there lay my money and my linen rag, all wrapped up just as I had put it into the hole; for the tree being hollow all the way up, there had been some moss or light stuff (which I had not judgment enough to know), was not firm, and had given way when it came to drop out of my hand, and so it had slipped quite down at once.

"I was but a child, and I rejoiced like a child, for I hollo'd quite out aloud when I saw it; then I run to it, and snatched it up, hugged and kissed the dirty rag a hundred times; then danced and jumped about, run from one end of the field to the other, and, in short, I knew not what, much less do I know now what I did, though I shall never forget the thing, either what a sinking grief it was to my heart, when I thought I had lost it, or what a flood of joy overwhelmed me when I had got it again.

"While I was in the first transport of my joy, as I have said, I run about, and knew not what I did; but when that was over I sat down, opened the foul clout the money was in, looked at it, told it, found it was all there, and then I fell a-crying as savourily as I did before, when I thought I had lost it.

"It would tire the reader should I dwell on all the little boyish tricks that I played in the ecstasy of my joy and satisfaction, when I had found my money; so I break off here. Joy is as extravagant as grief, and since I have been a man I have often thought, that had such a thing befallen a man, so to have lost all he had, and not have a bit of bread to eat, and then so strangely to find it again, after having given it so effectually over,—I say, had it been so with a man, it might have hazarded his using some violence upon himself.

"Well, I came away with my money, and, having taken sixpence out of it, before I made it up again, I went to a chandler's shop in Mile-end, and bought a half-penny roll and a half-penny worth of cheese, and sat down at the door after I bought it, and eat it very heartily, and begged some beer to drink with it, which the good woman gave me very freely.

"Away I went then for the town, to see if I could find any of my companions, and resolved I would try no more hollow trees for my treasure. As I came along Whitechapel, I came by a broker's shop, over against the church, where they sold old clothes, for I had nothing on but the worst of rags; so I stopped at the shop, and stood looking at the clothes which hung at the door.

"Well, young gentleman, says a man that stood at the door, you look wishfully; do you see anything you like, and will your pocket compass a good coat now, for you look as if you belonged to the ragged regiment? I was affronted at the fellow. What's that to you, says I, how ragged I am? if I had seen anything I liked, I have money to pay for it; but I can go where I shan't be huffed at for looking.

"While I said thus, pretty boldly to the fellow, comes a woman out, What ails you, says she to the man, to bully away our customers so? a poor boy's money is as good as my lord mayor's; if poor people did not buy old clothes, what would become of our business? and, then turning to me, Come hither, child, says she, if thou hast a mind to anything I have, you shan't be hector'd by him; the boy is a pretty boy, I assure you, says she, to another woman that was by this time come to her. Ay, says the t'other, so he is, a very well-looking child, if he was clean and well dressed, and may be as good a gentleman's son for anything we know, as any of those that are well dressed. Come, my dear, says she, tell me what is it you would have? She pleased me mightily to hear her talk of my being a gentleman's son, and it brought former things to my mind; but when she talk'd of my being not clean, and in rags, then I cried.

"She pressed me to tell her if I saw anything that I wanted; I told her no, all the clothes I saw there were too big for me. Come, child, says she, I have two things here that will fit you, and I am sure you want them both; that is, first, a little hat, and there, says she (tossing it to me), I'll give you that for nothing; and here is a good warm pair of breeches; I dare say, says she, they will fit you, and they are very tight and good; and, says she, if you should ever come to have so much money that you don't know what to do with it, here are excellent good pockets, says she, and a little fob to put your gold in, or your watch in, when you get it.

"It struck me with a strange kind of joy that I should have a place to put my money in, and need not go to hide it again in a hollow tree; that I was ready to snatch the breeches out of her hands, and wondered that I should be such a fool never to think of buying me a pair of breeches before, that I might have a pocket to put my money in, and not carry it about two days together in my hand, and in my shoe, and I knew not how; so, in a word, I gave her two shillings for the breeches, and went over into the churchyard, and put them on, put my money into my new pockets, and was as pleased as a prince is with his coach and six horses. I thanked the good woman too for the hat, and told her I would come again when I got more money, and buy some other things I wanted; and so I came away."

The weight of chains, number of stripes, hardness of labour, and other effects of a master's cruelty, may make one servitude more miserable than another; but he is a slave who serves the best and gentlest man in the world, as well as he who serves the worst—and he does serve him if he must obey his commands and depend upon his will.—*Algernon Sidney.*

Until we have altered our dictionaries and have found some other word than *morality* to stand in popular use for the duties of man to man, let us refuse to accept as moral the contractor who enriches himself by using large machinery to make pasteboard soles pass as leather for the feet of unhappy conscripts fighting at miserable odds against invaders: let us rather call him a miscreant, though he were the tenderest, most faithful of husbands, and contend that his own experience of home happiness makes his reckless infliction of suffering on others all the more atrocious. Let us refuse to accept as moral any political leader who should allow his conduct in relation to great issues to be determined by egoistic passion, and boldly say that he would be less immoral even though he were as lax in his personal habits as Sir Robert Walpole, if at the same time his sense of the public welfare were supreme in his mind, quelling all pettier impulses beneath a magnanimous impartiality.—*G. George Ethel.*



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 2.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>Boston—Woman's Journal</b>	<b>ITALY</b>
Die Autonomie	Liberty	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Justice	Chicago—Knights of Labor	<b>SPAIN</b>
Labour Tribune	Vorbote	Seville—La Solidaridad
London—Freie Presse	Raecker Zeitung	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Postal Service Gazette	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	<b>GERMANY</b>
Railway Review	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Berlin—Volks Tribune
The Miner	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
Revolutionary Review	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Wien—Gleichheit
Worker's Friend	Coast Seamen's Journal	<b>HUNGARY</b>
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	Arbeiter-Weekend-Chronik
Hamilton—Radical	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>DENMARK</b>
<b>INDIA</b>	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Social-Demokrat
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Madras—People's Friend	Le Proletariat	Malmö—Arbetet
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	St.-Etienne—La Loire Socialiste	<b>NORWAY</b>
Freiheit	L'Union Socialiste	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>WEST INDIES</b>
Jewish Volkszeitung	Ghent—Voortuit	Cuba—El Productor
Backer Zeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	<b>MEXICO</b>
Alarm	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier
Workmen's Advocate	Bulletin Continental	
	Geneva—Przedswit	

### NOTES ON NEWS.

A CERTAIN Mr. George W. McCree (who, since he says he has been a Christian worker in London since 1848, must now be an old man) has been writing an optimistic letter to the press, on the subject, "Is London growing better?" which question he answers in the affirmative. He instances the growth of cheap literature; "Every man can now have his newspaper" (mostly lies), "his magazine, and his cheap edition of Shakespeare, Dickens, Burns, and Scott." True, if he has got any surplus after feeding, clothing, and housing himself: but how is the cheapness got? Our friends the compositors, the hack literateurs, the girls in the "doing up" binders, can answer that question partly I think. Dog-fighting is extinct, he says, and pugilism nearly so: yet Jack the Ripper is not extinct, nor the mass of brutality bred from a hideous life of suffering and squalor, of which he is but the blossom.

"For a halfpenny a tired work-girl can get a lift across one of the bridges on a rainy night." Ah, Mr. McCree, how tired is she? Why is she tired? How many nights in the year is she thus tired? What kind of a life does she earn by her hopeless weariness? Does she ever think of this in the course of her lift across the bridges?—and do you and your like? "An aged toiler with his bag of tools can reach home for twopenny, often for a penny." O noble boon, O glorious gain! Yet it would be more of a gain if that "aged toiler" had a tolerable home to go to, instead of the dog-hole which serves him as a halting-place between the workshop and the workhouse.

"Clothing, food, fruit, and furniture are cheap." Yes, how blessed cheap, and how damned nasty when they are intended for the consumption of the workers, who have made them, or grown them, and brought them to market! "In hundreds of tidy establishments hot coffee" (Ugh! what stuff it is!) "plumcake, peasoup, good milk, and a

rare vegetarian dinner on easy terms await the hungry man." In these "tidy" establishments I note that dirt and stink are not expressly charged for: and yet they are charged for, since cag-mag is dear for what it is, and the poor man's penn'orths are but scanty ones. It is sickening to think of this commercial dole to the "lower classes" of garbage not fit to be thrown to the dogs: and to think that it has a price at all; that there is anyone, I won't say to buy it, but to eat and drink it, uncompelled.

"Many public-houses have been closed." Yes, but many are open, and are full too, beastly holes as they are, with not a rag of comfort in them; which is worse (to my unphilanthropic mind) than their selling liquor—if it were good: whereas that offered to the poor is just about good enough to poison cats with—if it were strong enough.

"Ragged schools and refuges have almost entirely prevented another generation of criminals." Open Pentonville gates then, and let out everybody but Socialists and rioters, since there are no criminals! As indeed I think there are but few who have not been made by that "vastly improved" London of yours, and polished up fine by Pentonville and its sister hells.

"The increasing sympathy between the rich and the poor, the employer and employed." Of that increasing sympathy, I think I know more than you do, Mr. McCree; and I have seen some curious examples of it, and heard some queer talk on the subject both among the rich, and among the poor; and, judging from all I have heard and seen, it has seemed to me that that "increasing sympathy" was about what was likely to happen betwixt a mass of most miserable slaves, now beginning to discover that they are slaves, on the one hand, and a body of slave-owners, blind and supercilious, but now at last beginning to see a possibility of their losing their slaves. Such sympathy as there can be between two such sets of men is likely to lead not to the continuous cheapening of cag-mag and shoddy for the benefit of the "lower classes," but to experiments in the streets of some new machine guns.

For a word here to those of our readers who belong to the rich classes, the well-off. Some of you prate about the virtues of the working classes, and doubtless they have virtues, in which lie hid the germs of our new society: but unless they are conscious and willing servants of your class, and on the verge of rising into it, they have not got those virtues which you think they have: commercial virtues, to wit, which you call, e.g., honesty, fidelity, and gratitude, but which others might call commercial foresight, servility, and prudent expectation of fresh benefits. No, the "poor," as you call them, are divided into two groups; those who are conscious of discontent against you, and would raise themselves at your expense by abolishing your class; and those who, without being conscious of their wrongs, work you and your wealth for what it is worth.

The first group are the intelligent and really honest among the "poor": the second (poor wretches!) have not intelligence enough to be honest and courageous, and are able to do nothing at present, but get out of you what they can by fawning on, and cheating you, taking your miserably shabby gifts with such "gratitude" as can be imagined. Both these groups are your slaves and therefore your enemies; but whatever you may think, and in spite of all your efforts at stifling the free speech of the first group, it is the second that is the most dangerous to you, for it is by far the most numerous: and when the day comes, as it most surely will, unless you are wise in time, when these poor people can make no more out of you; when your "captainship of industry" is discovered even by yourselves to be a fraud (i.e. when you can no longer live on it) when your charity doles to the poor have to cease, you will be face to face with the once-contented poor, those Englishmen whose patience and good sense you now contrast so proudly with the foolish visionaries of Continental Socialists, but who then will be "contented" no longer; and who will, driven by their ignorance and despair to attack, not your position only, but your persons.

If you could but be wise in time! But can you be? My experience of the last five or six years makes me doubt it. Class prejudice is so obstinate, and so deceptive and insinuating, that in proportion as the movement towards equality grows and becomes more practical amongst the discontented "poor," the hearts of the rich are hardened against that movement. There are many in that class, some of whom I know, who six years ago were flushed with excitement over the rhetorical part (not the would-be economics, of that they knew little and cared less) of Henry George's 'Progress and Poverty,' who are now mere votaries of Law-and-Order. There was no appearance of the two camps being formed then; now there is, and they are being driven into their own camp. And these, mind you, are not mere hypocrites or tyrants at heart, they are simply people who cannot escape from their class. So strong that curse is!

London is better is it? We want more evidence than that of Mr. McCree to prove that. At least it is bigger, and who can really doubt but that with its size its suffering has increased? But if it is bigger, why is it bigger? Because the riches (far be it from me to say the wealth) of the country has increased enormously. Will anyone say that the improvement of London, "vast" as it may be, is at all proportioned to that increase in riches? If he does say so he lies. What has been done then with that increase of riches, which should

have been used for the bettering of London, i.e., for the welfare of those who made it? It has gone the way of all riches, it has been wasted by the rich. We have been laborious, ingenious, and commercially successful—what for? That we might remain unhappy, and sing songs of triumph over the cheapening of cat's-meat for human beings. In a word, we are slaves still, for all our "vast improvement."

Says the *Pall Mall* anent the police outrage of Christmas Eve: "If they (the outrages) are not inquired into and punished promptly and severely, Mr. Monro will pass as Sir C. Warren has passed, for there is nothing more abhorrent to the average citizen than organised outrage by a disciplined force inflicted on law-abiding men exercising their rights of citizenship." I fear that the writer is judging other citizens by himself; very few signs of indignation against these outrages have appeared as yet. The events of the past two years in England and America tend to show that whatever was the case once, the average citizen is now always willing to hound on the police against poor men who are not pleased with their poverty. They expect the police to support law-'n'-order to the utmost, by any means convenient to them at the moment. Mr. Monro has been put in his place to see this done, and for nothing else. I agree that the Christmas Eve job is a test for him; but nothing would surprise me more than his passing that test satisfactorily to honest men and good citizens.

W. M.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

FORTNIGHT ENDING JANUARY 12, 1889.

1	Tues.	1651. Charles Stuart the Younger swears on his knees to the Covenant at Scone. 1730. Edmund Burke born. 1774. Thomas Hollis died. 1788. Etienne Cabet born. 1840. John Frost, Chartist, sentenced. 1863. Slaves emancipated in the United States. 1881. L. A. Blanqui died.
2	Wed.	1813. Trials of Luddites at York. 1868. Swearing in of special constables because of Fenian alarms. 1885. Gower Street explosion.
3	Thur.	1642. The five members accused by Charles Stuart the Elder. 1831. Trades-union "outrage." 1838. Trial of Glasgow cotton-spinners for combination. 1852. John Mitchel escapes from Tasmania. 1869. First Congress, at Geneva, of the Romand sections of the International, and founding of <i>L'Egalité</i> , journal of that federation, edited by Bakounine and 8 others.
4	Fri.	1838. Meeting of sympathy with the Canadian rebels. 1846. Food riot at Inverness. 1875. Creation of the <i>Chambre du Travail</i> , federation of all the labour associations at Brussels. 1879. Execution of Moncasi.
5	Sat.	1066. Death of Edward the Confessor. 1477. Raising of the siege of Nancy by the Swiss republicans, and death of Charles the Bold. 1537. Killing of Alexander de Medici, tyrant of Florence. 1755. Damiens' attempt on Louis XV. 1808. Wilhelm Weitling, Communist, born.
6	Sun.	1402. John of Arc born. 1561. Anabaptist rising in London. 1661. Rising of Fifth Monarchy men suppressed. 1794. Trial of Wm. Skirving for sedition. 1872. Socialist Congress at Chemnitz (Saxony); 120 delegates.
7	Mon.	1763. Allan Ramsay died. 1772. Fr. Marie Charles Fourier born. 1793. Trial of James Tytler for sedition. 1850. Revolt in Barham Union Workhouse, near Ipswich. 1866. <i>La Tribune du Peuple</i> becomes the first official organ of the International in Belgium. 1872. Strike of 70,000 colliers and ironworkers in South Wales.
8	Tues.	1642. Galileo died at Florence. 1793. Trial of John Morton, James Anderson, and Malcolm Craig for sedition. 1796. Collet d'Herbois died. 1883. Monster trial at Lyons of the Anarchists, Kropotkine and 57 others.
9	Wed.	1832. Suicide of Colonel Brereton during trial by court-martial at Bristol. 1854. Astor Library, New York, opened. 1871. Bombardment of Paris.
10	Thur.	1645. Archbishop Laud beheaded. 1793. Trial of John Elder and Wm. Stewart for sedition. 1798. Trial of George Meal-maker for sedition. 1870. Victor Noir shot by Pierre Bonaparte. 1880. Trial of the makers of the underground passage towards the Imperial Treasury of the city of Kher-son; 9 sentenced (2 to mines). 1885. First number of <i>La Revue Sociale</i> , monthly review edited by P. Argyriades.
11	Fri.	1831. Richard Carlile sentenced for "inflammatory language" in <i>Prompter</i> .
12	Sat.	1746. Heinrich Pestalozzi born. 1793. Aug. Comte born. 1826. Constitution of New Harmony adopted. 1840. Chartist rising at Sheffield. 1848. Rebellion in Sicily. 1870. Victor Noir demonstration at Paris.

*Death of Blanqui.*—Louis Auguste Blanqui, born at Puget-Théniers, 8 Feb. 1805; died at Paris, 1 Jan. 1881. After having studied at the same time law and medicine, he very soon began his career as a politician and a revolution-ist. He entered the *Carbonari* societies, where he became acquainted with the Communist Buonarrotti, one of the most prominent Babouvists. During the eventful year 1827 Blanqui was wounded three times—in April and in May, and Nov. 29, when he had his neck pierced by a bullet. Soon afterwards he was arrested at Nice, and that was his *début* in prison life. 1829 he entered the *Globe*, an influential paper of the time, and July 27, 1830, he took to arms, but the monarchy he helped to pull down having been replaced by another one, he became one of the most ardent members of a secret society, *Société des Amis du Peuple*, and made such a vigorous propaganda that he was arrested July 31, 1831. The 10th of January 1832 he expounded his theories before the jury, stating the necessity of war between the rich and the poor classes, and was sentenced to one year in jail. One of the defenders of the accused of April 1834, he appeared in that capacity in May 1835 before the Court of Peers. Again arrested, on March

13, 1836, he was sentenced in August of that year to two years, 3,000 francs, and police supervision for the affair of the Rue Lourcine—i.e., illegal association and clandestine fabrication of gunpowder. The 12th May 1839 he took up arms again with the members of the *Société des Saisons*. Denounced at the very-moment when he was reaching Switzerland, he was arrested October 14, 1839, and sentenced to death by the Court of Peers, January 13, 1840. His sentence having been commuted to one of imprisonment for life, he was transferred to the Mont-St-Michel. There he suffered intensely, both morally and bodily. A report of the doctors, stating his condition of health hopeless, having been sent to the Government, he was pardoned Dec. 4, 1844. Blanqui protested against any measure being taken in his favour, and refused to leave the infirmary. Towards the end of May 1846 the authorities put in a cell next to his an *agent-provocateur*, Houdin, who denounced him as the inspirator of a new secret society, and he was tried, but acquitted, by the tribunal of Blois in April 1847. At last, February 25, 1848, a revolution burst out in Paris, and Blanqui, acclaimed at the Prado Club, was liberated by the will of the people. As soon as he arrived at Paris, he founded the *Central Republican Society*, which played a prominent part in all the events of that eventful year. After the invasion of the Chamber, he was again arrested (May 26). On the 7th of March 1849 he was tried by the High Court at Bourges and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, which he passed at Doullens, at Belle Isle, and at Corte (Corsica). After his ten years were over, he was administratively, in pursuance of the law of public safety, transported at Mascara (Algeria), where he was detained until the general amnesty of 1859. At Paris, where he went back again, he at once resumed his revolutionary work. On March 10, 1861, he was arrested, and sentenced June 14 to four years for secret conspiracy and publication of forbidden literature. Aug. 27, 1865, he escaped from the hospital Necker, where he was lying ill, and succeeded in reaching Brussels, from which town he continued to direct the organisation and the movements of his political followers and friends. He also often came secretly to Paris, and was there, in fact, on January 12, 1870, when Victor Noir, murdered by Pierre Bonaparte, was buried. If Rochefort had not been there on that day, Blanqui and his friends would have again resorted to an insurrection, but owing to Rochefort's cowardice, he had to wait for another opportunity. August 14, he tried with a few men to plunder the gun-magazines of the fire-brigades of the Boulevard La Villette. Three weeks afterwards, the Third Empire was smashed to pieces at Sedan, and Blanqui began the publication of *La Patrie en Danger*, which has been very rightly considered as a real masterpiece of journalistic power and knowledge. On October 31, 1870, an insurrectional movement caused Blanqui to become a member of a provisory government, but a convention was passed between himself and the members of the so-called "regular" government. Feb. 12, 1871, he wrote, under the title of *Un dernier mot* (a last word), a severe indictment against the men of the 4th September, and left Paris on the same day. On March 10 he was sentenced to death, *in contumaciam*, by a court-martial for the affair of October 31. A few days afterwards he was arrested and transferred to the fortress Taureau, whilst at Paris he was elected a member of the Commune, in the 18th district by 14,953 votes, and in the 20th by 13,859. In September 1872 Thiers ordered him to be confined at Clairvaux, his sentence to death having been changed to one of perpetual detention. In 1878 the revolutionary Socialists of Paris began an agitation in order to obtain the release of the veteran revolutionist and conspirator. They induced their friends, wherever a vacancy occurred, to put down Blanqui's name as their candidate, and after many vain attempts, they succeeded on Feb. 20, 1879, at Bordeaux. The French Chamber of course invalidated the election, but the result of the political agitation was, however, that Blanqui was liberated from jail. An old man of 75 years of age, having suffered one half of his lifetime in prison, very often under dreadful circumstances, which we cannot record here, Blanqui certainly would have deserved some rest; but his indomitable energy would not allow him to stop for one moment in his propaganda work. He organised meetings and delivered speeches at Marseilles, Nice, Bordeaux, St Etienne, Lyons. Nov. 3, 1880, he went to Milano, to honour the combatants fallen at Mentana, and a fortnight afterwards he started at Paris a new paper, *Ni Dieu ni Maître* (Neither god nor master). December 27 he took the chair at the meeting of the Rue Lecourbe, and made his last speech, a glorification of the revolutionary ideas for which he had struggled and suffered all his life through. During that very night he had an apoplectic stroke, and after two days' illness, passed away. An immense crowd, with red flags, made his funeral one of the largest demonstrations that have been witnessed at Paris. A bronze statue of Blanqui, lying dead in his shroud, was erected on his grave in 1885, and is one of the best works of the illustrious Dalou.

Blanqui was a Communist, but he first wanted to become master of the political machinery in order to overthrow the bourgeois régime, by means of a provisional dictatorship he would have edicted, in political and economical matters, a certain number of dispositions which would have by and by led the masses of the people to adopt Communism pure and simple. He laid down his views in the following works: 'Defence of Louis Auguste Blanqui before the Court of Assize,' Paris, 1832, 8vo; 'Reply of Auguste Blanqui,' Paris, 1848 (an eloquent answer to Taschereau's accusations against Blanqui being a denunciator and a mouchard); a collection of articles, signed Suzamel, on morals, monotheism, mixture of faith and science, etc.; 'La Patrie en Danger,' Paris, 1871, 8vo; 'A Political Prisoner in 1871,' Paris; 'Ni Dieu ni Maître,' Paris, 1880; 'La Critique Sociale,' 2 vols. 8vo, published by Granger, Paris, 1885. He also wrote various scientific works; among others, 'Concerning the Causes of Zodiacal Light'; 'Sidereal Eternity,' being an astronomical hypothesis; etc.—V. D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Miss Joseph (Southview, Clevedon) writes for information "on the question of Socialism, bearing particularly in mind the past history of the subject, its definite aims, present position, and future prospects":

- BENOIT MALON—"Histoire du Socialisme," 5 vols. Derveaux, Paris. 45 frs.
- R. MEYER—"Emancipationskampf des Vierten Standes." 2 vols. Mehring, Berlin. £2.
- LACROIX ET GUYOT—"Histoire des Prolétaires." 1 vol. Derveaux, Paris, 10 frs. (about).

The foregoing are valuable in order named. An exhaustive series of articles on "Socialism from the Root Up," by William Morris and E. Belfort Bax, appeared in this paper some time ago; the numbers containing it can be sent if required. The article "Socialism" in last edition *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the paper read by Mr. G. Bernard Shaw to the Economic Section of the British Association last year, published in November *Our Corner* (63 Fleet Street, 6d.) may also be read.

- J. G. (Edinbro')—The books you ask for are:
- W. H. P. CAMPBELL—"The Robbery of the Poor." Modern Press, London. 1884. 8vo.
- JNO. CARRUTHERS—"Communal and Commercial Economy." Stanford; London, 1883. 8vo. 9s.
- They shall be sent.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**JOHNSTON ENGINEERS.**—At a special meeting of master engineers, it was decided to grant an advance of 1s. to the workmen, beginning on Jan. 1.

**ALYTH MILLWORKERS.**—The operatives in D. Smith and Sons spinning mills, Alyth, struck work on Dec. 21st. They demand an advance of 5 per cent. immediately.

**EDUCATE, EDUCATE.**—At Larkhall, Scotland, there is a miner who is a member of the School Board, and in the evening classes he is a member of the Board School. That is one phase of the labour struggle which it is worth while to reflect upon.

**SHIPBUILDING TRADES.**—The executive of the Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders' Society have made a demand for a rise of 12½ per cent. in the wages of all their members in the shipyards on the Tyne and Wear, thus making the claim general on the north-east coast. If the advance be conceded the total improvement in wages during the past twelve months will have been 17½ per cent. It should be remembered, however, that the men suffered reductions during the four years' depression equal to 25 per cent.

**SHALE WORKERS.**—The *Glasgow Mail's* commercial man says:—"Gentlemen engaged in the oil trade fear that they will have some trouble with the shale miners, who are demanding an advance in wages owing to the colliers having received a rise. The oil companies state that they would be happy to concede the men a rise were the prices better for the manufactured article. However, there is a feeling that the various companies will require to grant the men some advance. Presently there is a good demand for burning oil." Is the "will require" not father to the "would be happy?"

**SOUTH WALES COAL DISPUTE.**—The wages dispute between the employers and the workmen in the South Wales coal trade continues. Mr. A. Thomas, M.P., speaking on the 28th last, in the Rhondda Valley, where he owns several collieries, expressed an earnest hope that the masters would agree to the demands of the men, and so revise the sliding-scale basis as to make it respond more rapidly to the rise and fall in the marketable price for coal. He had been severely condemned for having recently prophesied an increase of 15 per cent. in wages; but 5 per cent. had now been granted, and he had every confidence that before autumn the remaining 10 would follow.

**SEAMEN'S STRIKE AT LIVERPOOL.**—The Liverpool sailors and firemen are again making a request for more wages, and their demand in this instance is greater than the previous ones, being for an all-round advance of £1, or something like about 30 per cent. Circulars have been freely distributed amongst the men emanating from the "National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland," and as a result there was a good deal of excitement in the vicinity of the Sailors' Home, Canning Place, Monday. The rate of pay now demanded in the case of steamers is £4 5s. per month for firemen and £4 for sailors, whilst in the case of sailing vessels £3 5s. was asked for Baltic and Quebec ports, and £3 for southern voyages. A number of both steamers and sailing ships were down for signing articles, but in no case would a crew consent to go at the old rate of pay. Some of the steamers being bound to leave instantly had to pay the higher wages, but several sailing ships would not accede to the demand of the men, who appeared more united than they were on former occasions. The disaffected men kept a sharp look-out for any who might show a willingness to take the old wages, but notwithstanding this some men did sign at the old rates.

**LONDON BOOT TRADE.**—A meeting of manufacturers and workmen, appointed by their respective bodies, was held at Seyd's Hotel, Finsbury Square, on Monday, 31st, for the purpose of compiling a statement of wages for the whole of London. The meeting was the outcome of negotiations of a conciliatory character which have proceeded for some months between the representative societies, with the object of placing the relations between employers and workmen upon an amicable and workable basis, besides tending to prevent a continuance of the sweating system. Ten were appointed on each side, and although 13 workmen attended three withdrew on the voting taking place. In the first place a letter was read from Mr. Thomas Lilley (of Messrs. Lilley and Skinner, boot manufacturers), regretting his inability to attend, and adding that it had appeared clear to the delegates of the Trades Union and the members of the Employers Association that if a new statement was to be formed it should be sufficiently broad and comprehensive to embrace not only a limited section of the trade, but there should be an honest attempt to settle the whole question, and to make one statement of wages to which every manufacturer and every workman in London could fairly agree. At various subsequent meetings of manufacturers and workmen it was unanimously agreed that upon this broad basis a new London statement should be built. The task that lay before the board presented one of the most difficult problems the shoe trade had had to solve. Speaking on behalf of manufacturers, he said that what they were fully agreed upon was this—that if there was to be a London statement it must be one that every manufacturer in London and the suburbs should be compelled to work to, thus raising the status of the trade and putting an end to the present miserable system of sweating and other irregularities.—Mr. Freaque, a workman, complained of the sweating system, and the chairman said that the employers were at one with the workmen in wishing to put it down.—A long discussion then took place upon a proposal emanating from the employers, to the effect that a comprehensive statement of wages for the whole of the metropolis should be drawn up, but this encountered opposition from the working men delegates, some of whom considered that the third-class rejected statement of five years ago should be made the minimum. Eventually the meeting adjourned for half an hour to discuss the matter in private. On reassembling the workmen asked that the resolution might be withdrawn, but this was not acceded to. An amendment was then submitted from the workmen, to the effect that the word "comprehensive" be omitted, and upon this being carried the resolution was unanimously agreed to as altered. The meeting was then adjourned till Thursday, when other resolutions will be considered.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The last returns to the Local Government Board from the various parishes and unions of the metropolis show the number of indoor poor to be 59,801, and outdoor poor 24,589 adults, 15,521 children under the ages of 16 years, or a gross total of 99,831, exclusive of lunatics, imbeciles, and inmates of various hospitals and institutions or of vagrants. The number at the corresponding period of last year was 102,559, being a decrease in pauperism of no less than 2,728.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The third national Congress of syndicates and corporative working men groups, held at Bordeaux and at Le Bouscat, some weeks ago, has voted, amidst others, the following resolution, as a means to ensure the application and execution of the various measures decided by the Congress. "Whereas, up to the present moment, the powers that be have always refused to listen to the isolated claims which have been laid before them, and that it is therefore urgent that such a situation should be put an end to, by presenting these revendications under a new, collective, general and more imposing form; further, that in order to give to that new movement a stronger weight, it is necessary to concentrate the action of all the syndicates upon a small number of revendications, i.e. those which are the most general and the most important, without thereby renouncing any other claims, the Congress resolves: 1. On Sunday morning, February 10, 1889, a delegation of all syndicates and corporative working men groups of France shall be sent, to the Prefecture of their department or to the *mairie* of their respective communes, in order to demand the following reforms: a. Eight hours workday; b. Fixing of a minimum of wages, corresponding in each locality with the normal cost of life, minimum to be enforced upon all employers of work. 2. On Sunday, February 24 following, the same delegation shall be sent to the same departmental or communal authorities to receive the result of their deliberations. In both instances the delegations shall be accompanied by an imposing mass of working men."

A very important Congress of Revolutionary Socialists has just been held at Troyes. More than 300 various Socialist organisations have sent delegates, and the first sitting of the Congress has been opened amidst over two thousand assistants. The population of Troyes is very sympathetic to the assembled workers, but the officials of Floquet's government have done their utmost to provoke disorder, but in vain. This Congress, not being one of the *possibilist* shape, all schools of Socialism are represented, and it is expected that the resolutions which shall be passed there will be of considerable importance as to the International Revolutionary Congress to be held next year at Paris.

At Cette, the native town of Rossel, who has been chief commander of the military forces of the Commune, there was until recently, a street called *Thiers Street*, after the name of that infamous little demagogue, who ordered Rossel to be shot at the plateau of Satory. The municipal council of that town has now decided to alter the denomination of this street, which will henceforth become The Rossel Street.

In three or four weeks there will be a legislative election at Paris, and General Boulanger has promised to stand as a candidate. Lively scenes, to be sure, will be witnessed on that occasion. The political clown, Henri Rochefort, who is Boulanger's Barnum, foresees 300,000 voters coming forward in favour of his favourite friend, and Floquet is quite upset at the idea that the Parisian people could vote for the "pretender." He is in search of the best man to oppose Boulanger; most likely Ranc, a renegade, or Vacquerie, a republican of the Victor Hugo stamp, will be the selected sheep. Boulanger's popularity and success being chiefly the outcome and result of the government's blunders, it is most likely that before the poll comes on they will make some egregious faults, so as to ensure the election of the man they fear most in France.

### BELGIUM.

The glass-blower's industry suffers heavily from an acute crisis, which is likely to become disastrous to the workers of that trade. The small producers, ruined by the colossal production of the large firms, fail to find the usual credit at the bankers, and in all probability will ere long be compelled to stop work altogether, and the industry will then at once be monopolised in the hands of the large producers, who form between themselves a few but important financial companies. The workers now engaged in the small firms risk, therefore, to fall very soon out of work. The big companies mastering the market, will again be in a position to lower the wages, which, of course, will result in protests and in agitation; and if the glass-blowers resort to strike, a considerable number of other workers will be compelled to take the same course. In expectation of such events, it will be wise for the workers to commence to organise their forces in time, in order to succeed in the struggle they will have to face.

Some more workers have been arrested in connection with the last miner's strikes, and the government seem to do all they possibly can to irritate the working-people of the coal districts. Among those lately arrested is to be mentioned also Hector Conreur, one of the most sympathetic figures among the Socialist propagandists in those regions, and who, not long ago, was released from jail. The Belgian Nupkines have already begun their "work." A series of strikers have been sentenced to six and seven month's imprisonment.

### ITALY.

In our issue of Dec. 22 last, we wrote a few lines concerning a pamphlet which comrade Valera is about to issue at Milano. As it appears, we misunderstood his intentions; to what extent, however, the following letter will explain:

"Dec. 26th, 45, Theobald's Road, W.C.

"Dear comrades,—Comrade Victor Dave, who wrote a note on my pamphlet ('*Lasciateme Passare*') misunderstood its meaning. He says that 'I intend to persuade Socialists convicted for political offences to ask for pardon from their respective governments...'; I said the contrary. Not because I should shrink from giving them such advice, but because the governments, as soon as they became aware of our tactics, would not grant it. But if they were so stupid as to allow us to work for our cause, why should we hesitate between lying idle in prison cells or lost in foreign countries, and continuing to fight against that society which we wish to eradicate or pull down?"

"Because your temper of mind forbids it.

"Temper of mind! This is a false firmness of mind. Strength of mind consists in being faithful to the cause which I deliberately espoused and loyal to my friends; not in being a mere toy in the hands of my enemies.

"To talk of honour between me and them is nonsense.

"If, for instance, I want to pass a bridge in order to destroy something, no matter what, and my rulers compel me to take off my hat, I swear I would not go back.

"My ideal is higher and greater than a quarrel about a mere question of form. I shall bow to them perhaps to-day, but only to be their own hangman to-morrow.

"Moreover, my social hatred is not really directed against a certain set of

men in power, but against all those classes which represent society at large, and which will not surrender booty derived from labour until they feel the revolutionary knife at their throats.

"Once cut the throats of our bloodsuckers, and we shall hear no more of liveried ministers and their royal masters.

"This, and only this, is the reason why I should like to see Socialists tramping on every prejudice—as long as there is no principle involved—in order to hasten direct towards those better days when work shall entirely be for the workers.—Yours sincerely,  
"PAOLO VALERA."

Now our readers may judge for themselves. Comrade Valera will take off his hat in order to pass the bridge. . . . When his pamphlet comes to hand, we may have something more to say.

#### SWITZERLAND.

In reference to the circular of the National Council, dated May 11, 1888, by which a political police department has been instituted in Switzerland, and in further reference to the "secret instructions" issued by the various cantonal authorities, one of which secret documents we reproduced last week in this column, M. Locher, the newly-elected member for Zurich in the National Council, has introduced a proposition to the effect of cancelling the circular of last May, because it is altogether in contradiction with paragraphs 4, 55, and 56 of the Federal Constitution, as also with the regulations of the cantonal constitutions, regarding the rights of free speech and free meeting. M. Locher gave the best possible reasons in defence of his proposition, which, nevertheless, was negatived by 99 members of the Council. Poor "free" Helvetia, 99 councillors obeying Bismarck's orders, and not the slightest symptom of insurrection amongst the once so proud sons of Tell.

Comrade Hans Bächtold died last week at Bern, and was buried by all the friends of the labour movement in the canton. The name of Bächtold is closely connected with the history of the Socialist cause in Switzerland, and especially in the canton of Bern. He was one of the best committee members of the former *Arbeiterbund*, and has worked devotedly since the last eighteen years in the ranks of the Socialists. His power of organisation was unrivalled, and the proletariat has lost in him one of its ablest defenders.  
V. D.

### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE following clipping from the *Chicago Times* of December 12th may be taken as a sign of the times:—

"The Socialistic Turner society of Lake View [a suburb of Chicago city] circulated printed cards yesterday announcing a free entertainment for Friday evening at Lincoln Turner hall. The programme consists of a lecture by Frau Hedwig Henrich-Wilhelmi upon "The Power of Faith," to be followed by a free discussion from the Socialists. Mayor Boldenweck immediately notified the manager of the Turner hall to inform the Socialists that the hall would not be opened for the entertainment. He further said that he would send word to the committee that they should not arrange for any more meetings, as none would be permitted while he was mayor of Lake View. At the police-station are stacks of rifles and cartridge-boxes containing twenty-five rounds of ammunition ready to be put on at a moment's notice. The captain said emphatically that no Socialistic meetings would be tolerated. In his weekly instructions to the policemen yesterday afternoon he said to them that should any officer wilfully neglect to report gatherings of the Socialistic Turner society, he would be relieved of his star."

For the purpose of holding their meetings the Socialists and Anarchists of Chicago have to resort to all the tricks and dodges used by the Russian Nihilists. And yet we are told we are living in a free country!

The committee appointed by the Senate of the State of New York to investigate the different trusts has completed its labour. Amusing was the testimony of the president of the cotton bagging trust, who spoke of the trust as a "sympathetic movement" on the part of the manufacturers.

Competition must go. Even railroad presidents say so. In a lecture delivered at a meeting of the Commercial Club of Boston, Charles Francis Adams, president of the Union Pacific Railroad, gave vent to the following remarkable utterances:

"Our present difficulty lies in a word—in the absence among railroad men of any high standard of commercial [mark the phrase] honour. These are strong words, and yet, as the result of a personal experience stretching over nearly twenty years, I make bold to say they are not so strong as the occasion would justify. The railroad system of this country, especially of the region west of Chicago, is to-day managed on principles which, unless a change of heart occurs, and that soon, must inevitably lead to financial disaster of the most serious kind. There is among the lines composing that system an utter disregard of those fundamental ideas of truth, fair play, and fair dealing which lie at the foundation not only of the Christian faith, but of civilisation itself. With them there is but one rule—that many years ago put by Wordsworth into the mouth of Rob Roy—

'The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That he shall take who has the power,  
And he shall keep who can.'

The railroads of this country are moving rapidly toward some great system of consolidation."

For his criticism of railroad "morals" Adams is to-day declared by his colleagues to be a crank, but they all sustain him in his belief that a combination of all the railroads of the United States is in the air. C. P. Huntington, the great railroad king of the west, says to-day: "When there is only one railroad company in the United States it will be better for everybody, and the sooner this takes place the better. I don't think we can move too fast. There are strong influences at work to bring about this consolidation." Chauncey M. Depew, the president of the large Vanderbilt system, said: "Mr. Adams' ideas on consolidation are excellent. The day is certainly coming when all the roads will be consolidated." Another railroad president expressed himself like this: "General union is the only salvation, and it is coming earlier than most people expect."

The trial against the alleged "Q" railroad dynamiters in Geneva, Ill., is proceeding.

Friday the 14th inst. a meeting has been organised by the A. R. Parsons Club in Cooper Union, New York City, to welcome Mrs. Parsons on her return.

On the 11th inst. the delegates of the American Federation of Labour met in convention in St. Louis, Miss. This is numerically the strongest labour organisation in the world, numbering 700,000 members in good standing.

It is characteristic of the capitalist press that the proceedings were hardly mentioned in the columns of the dailies. Samuel Gompers, president of the Federation, welcomed the delegates, and after having opened the congress, proceeded to read his annual address. He advocated a new eight-hour movement, and deprecated political action. As regards the coming international congress at Paris, he said it would not be wise to have so many international congresses in succession, but that the relations of American and foreign trades unions were of the most friendly character. Referring to the Knights, he said: "As regards the Knights of Labour, I can only state that their behaviour toward us has not assumed a more friendly nature. It seems—intentionally or unintentionally I know not—to be in their system to use their influence in the fights between capital and labour in favour of the capitalists. In this way they have met with some success during the last year." He went for Powderly as the czar of the Knights of Labour in red-hot style. The first and second days were spent principally in appointing committees. The treasurer submitted the following report: Balance on hand December 1st, 1887, 2,605 dollars; income 4,512 dols.; expenditure 3,933 dols. The third day was devoted chiefly to discussing whether or not the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners should be admitted in the Federation. The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is already admitted. A resolution to the effect that the Amalgamated Society be not admitted on the ground that it would be detrimental to the interests of labour to have more than one organisation in any trade admitted to the Federation created a good deal of discussion, and strong speeches were made in support of it. The resolution was finally adopted. A resolution was also adopted to employ organisers in all cities numbering more than 150,000 inhabitants. The delegates also resolved to recommend to the different unions the printing of a weekly organ of the Federation, and further to submit to Congress a Bill taking the children out of the control of the single States and putting them under the control of the national government. The Bill should also contain a paragraph prohibiting in the United States the employment of children under fourteen years of age. The eight hours movement engaged the attention of the delegates on the fourth day. The 1st of May 1890 was selected to introduce all over the United States the eight hours a-day system. The delegates resolved to organise on the 22nd of February 1889 (Washington's birthday), 4th of July (commemoration of independence), and the first Monday in September (Labour Day), all over the United States mass meetings for the purpose of agitating this question. A committee was appointed to draw up a manifesto to call on the bosses to grant the eight-hours day. A motion to increase the salary of the president from 1,200 to 1,500 dollars a-year was lost—26 against, 19 for. A motion to levy a weekly assessment of two cents per member for the purpose of creating a strike fund was adopted. The fifth and last day was devoted to the election of the officers. Samuel Gompers and P. J. McGuire were re-elected president and secretary. Boston, Mass., was chosen as the next meeting place of the convention.

Newark, N.J., December 18, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Jan. 7, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. **Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capital fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

**Propaganda Fund.**—R. Unwin, 3s. 6d.; K. F., 6d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

#### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

K. F., 6d.; A. Seglie, 6d.; T. R., 6d.

**NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.**—Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, January 8th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members who are interested in the propaganda are asked to attend.  
D. J. NICOLL.

## REPORTS.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road Sunday morning. 'Weals' sold fairly; choir attended. Speakers were Lyne, sen., A. J. Smith, Dean, and Maughan. At Weltje Road, good meeting in evening by Mordhurst, Lyne, sen., and Maughan.

**MILE END.**—On Saturday evening, Gould, S.D.F., opened a very interesting debate on "Will Parliamentary Action help to bring about the Social Revolution?" Harding, S.D.F., occupied the chair. The opener was supported by White and Richardson, and opposed by McCormack, Cores, Davis, and Charles. The debate was adjourned till Saturday next.—H. D.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday last, a meeting was held at Clare Villas, Mitcham, of a number of the old members of the Mitcham branch. It was decided that the Fair Green, Mitcham, be the open-air station as heretofore, and the secretary be instructed to notify the S.D.F. of the fact, as there has been some misunderstanding upon the point. It was also resolved to acquire an indoor meeting-place at the earliest opportunity.

**VICTORIA PARK.**—Good meeting in Victoria Park on Sunday, addressed by Davis. Fair sale of 'Weals'.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 24th, Morris's lecture, "Whigs, Democrats, and Socialists," was read and discussed on Saturday night. Usual meeting at Castle Street addressed by Duncan, Aiken, and Leatnam.—J. L.

**IPSWICH.**—On Thursday evening Creed lectured in the Pioneer Hall; H. Brown in chair.—J. T.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday afternoon usual meeting held in Market Place addressed by Mowbray. Very fair audience present. In evening Mowbray lectured in Gordon Hall. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Jan. 6, at 8.30 p.m., Free Concert by members and Friends. Branch Members' Business Meeting at 7 p.m. sharp.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday January 6, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Socialism."

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W.

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Mitcham.**—Meets every Sunday, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, at 11 a.m.

**Mill-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. On Friday Jan. 11, Nicoll will open a discussion, the subject to be "The Social Revolution: the Means and the End. Members please attend at 8.30.

**Waltham and Camberwell.**—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Glasgow** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Life of Christ"; tickets 1d. each. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8 p.m. until 10.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

## SUNDAY 6.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park...Mainwaring  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park...Hicks  
3.30...Victoria Park...The Branch  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...Nicoll  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...The Branch  
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith

## Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch...Branch

## EAST END.

## SUNDAY 6.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11...Cores.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Ipswich.**—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.

Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

**LIMEHOUSE BRANCH S.D.P.**—Sunday Jan. 6th, at 8.30, H. Davis will lecture on "Anarchist Communism v. Social Democracy."

**DULWICH W. M.'s LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB,** 108 Lordship Lane.—Mr. F. Verinder, "The Taxation of Ground Rents and Values." Thurs. Jan. 10, at 8.

All those desirous of helping in the work of the S.L. in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with comrade F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fifth lecture will be delivered on Sunday January 20 by Graham Wallas—subject, "Property under Socialism."

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Half-yearly Members' Meeting will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday Jan. 12, at 8 p.m., when the attendance of all members is requested. Members please bring or send their subscription cards for audit.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

A meeting of the East-end Branches of the Socialist League will be held on Thursday Jan. 10, at 8 p.m., at the International Working Men's Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, for the purpose of considering the advisability of forming one large English section of the Revolutionary Party in the East-end. Branch Secretaries please take notice. Friends and sympathisers are earnestly requested to attend.

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 1d

**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.

**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.

**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. 1d

**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.

**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. 1d.

**"All for the Cause!"** Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.

**"Vive la Commune!"** Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### THE LUDDITES.

"History is, indeed, mainly the biography of a few imperial men, and forces home upon us the useful lesson, how infinitesimally important our own private affairs are to the universe in general. History is clarified experience; and yet, how little do we profit by it! Nay, how should we expect it of those who so seldom are taught anything by their own? Delusions, especially economical delusions, seem the only things that have any chance of an earthly immortality."—J. RUSSEL LOWELL, *Speech at Dedication of Free Public Library, Chelsea, Mass.*

THIS quotation more exactly fits its present place than many a quotation with which chapters are at times headed, for each sentence is pertinent to the subject in hand. For instance, how little do governments seem to learn of the clarified experience contained in the records, brief though they be, of popular agitations, revolts, and revolutions. That history is mainly the biography of a few men is very well borne out by the comparative space given to the Luddites as compared with the space given to, say Wellington, in most histories. In the 'History of England' by J. Franck Bright, for instance, while the reverend author gives about twenty pages to laudation of Wellington and his career in Portugal, twelve or sixteen lines is all that is given to the Luddites, who are drawn simply as a rabble of night rioters. Pages of praise for the filibusters who ravaged whole continents, and to whom the "black man" or Frenchman was simply vermin to be destroyed, but no word even of extenuation for the men who, only heroes of their own hearths and homes, dared death for the right to live at home.

Even J. R. Green, in his 'Short History of the English People,' a work which claims, and fairly, not to be a "drum and trumpet history" but a history of the people, can only give some ten lines of most passing mention to the Luddites, giving not the slightest detail, nor even mentioning that some twenty English people were done to death to vindicate Law-'n'-Order and appease Capital, which was in mortal fear.

"Delusions, especially economical delusions, seem to be the only things that have any chance of earthly immortality," says our late American minister and one time democratic poet. Seeing to-day the number of once firmly supported economic propositions, which are now allowed to be economic delusions—as, for instance, the "Wage Fund Theory,"—it may be that the whirligig of time will yet bring about a day when the abuse which has been showered on machine-breakers, will be qualified by admitting that the economist's laudation of machinery was proof of yet another "economic delusion," and that the so-called "poor deluded men" who in 1811-12 and 1816 formed an organisation to give *practical* expression to their objection to slow starvation, for the sole benefit of capitalist stocking and lace manufacturers, were not wholly wrong from the "greatest good of the greatest number" point of view.

In the 'Life of Lord Sidmouth,' by Dean Pellew, it is recorded that in 1779 there was living in a village in Leicestershire a person by name of Ned Lud; being somewhat of weak wits he was the butt of all the boors of the place. One day, driven to desperation, he chased one of his tormentors into the house of a stocking-maker, but not being able to catch the boy vented his rage by smashing up the stocking frames. This Lud seems to have thus furnished the title of an organisation, which for a time caused more concern to the English of the mid and north countries than the devilish work which was being carried on by English armies abroad. On those armies and their allies of Spain and Portugal, English money had been poured like water for years, while the people at home were by excessive taxation, bad harvests, and disorganised commerce, being driven to desperation. In the factories machinery was making its influence felt. Although the average price of wheat was 11s. per quarter, the handloom weavers of Glasgow had to work for 7s. 6d. per week; the makers of war material were the only prosperous people. Under these conditions trouble was certain, and as the winter of 1811 closed in the trouble came to a head.

On a Sunday afternoon in November, the workers stood about the market-place and streets of Nottingham and consulted what to do. A manufacturer at Bulwell hearing that he was to be attacked, gave out that he should arm his workmen and barricade his house. On Monday he was called upon to give up his frames, to which his reply was a

shot, killing one of the besieging party, who thereupon retired, carrying away the dead man. Shortly the party returned with reinforcements, and the defenders had just time to get away by the back door as the storming party burst in. Frames and everything in the house was reduced to ashes. "Ned Lud" had been there, for by this time it had become common to denote in that way a stocking or lace frame had been damaged.

On Tuesday the Luddites waylaid a carrier, unloaded the frames, breaking the iron-work and burning the wood-work in the streets. At night they cleared a whole village of frames, and on the Wednesday, after destroying fifty frames, passed on to and destroyed a corn-mill, swearing vengeance against millers and corn-dealers as well as frame-masters.

On Thursday, the authorities thought it was time to act, and on Friday an application reached the Home Office. By Sunday, Nottingham was filled with local militia, and "tranquillity was restored," at least, so said Law-'n'-Order; but just exactly as the same report has often been given as to Chartism, Fenianism, and Nihilism, so Authority was proved a liar, for right on through the winter and the spring, and on again to winter, General Lud and his Luddites kept Law-'n'-Order busy. County after county, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, one after another experienced the attention of Ned Lud.

By an Act of 28th Geo. (ch. 55) frame-breaking was an offence punishable with fourteen years' transportation; but as this applied only to hosiery frames, not to lace and net frames, it gave Government an excuse for introducing two new coercion bills, which was done by Mr. Secretary Ryder on February 14, 1814. By one of those bills, frame-breaking was made a capital offence; by the other bill, the country magistrates were to make lists of all males over twenty-one years of age and select a sufficient number to act as "specials."

As one more proof of the beauties of parliamentary representation and the speed with which legislators can move—for their own defence—these bills passed the Commons in a week, the various divisions being 49 against 11; 40 against 15; second reading carried by 94 against 17, a resolution to adjourn the debate moved by Sir S. Romilly being lost by 80 against 15. Third reading carried *without division* on February 20th. In the "other place," as it is called, the opposition was somewhat stronger, "some of the lords," says a chronicler of the time, "speaking with even greater severity than had been used in opposition in the House of Commons." Readers of Macaulay or of parliamentary history of the Pitt period will remember mention of Gerard Hamilton, who by one great oratorical effort came to be known as "Single-speech Hamilton" of the Commons: it is worth mentioning when writing of the Luddites that Lord Byron can claim to be "single-speech Byron" of the Lords, for it was in opposition to the new coercion bill that Byron made his one parliamentary stroke for the English democracy. It was on February 27, on the motion for second reading, that Byron rose, unknown to almost every one in the place, and made a speech satirical, earnest, poetical, pleading and warning; the Cunningham Graham of the moment, he made exactly such a speech as we have of late become accustomed to from the ranchman-laird,—full of sympathy for the suffering, but as pearls before swine to his hearers, for "pruputty, pruputty, pruputty" was then in a devilish bad way." The resolution was carried, a motion by Lord Lauderdale to adjourn till Monday being lost by 32 against 17; on March 5th passed third reading without division.

The bill having become law, was not allowed to grow cold; for as the agitation was kept actively going, there was plenty of reason given to put the Act to work. In spite of the streets of Nottingham being paraded by militia, hussars, infantry, and Bow Street officers, frame-breaking, was kept going. In Manchester, Huddersfield, Leeds, and Bradford, cloth-mills were sacked and burned. By the clever device of wearing soldiers' great-coats, parties of rioters moved about almost side by side with the regulars, and after doing damage were able to get clear away. In April some militia stores were visited by the Luddites, who thus supplied themselves with arms. As it was found that money was being freely offered to the local militia by Luddite messengers, it may have been that the defenders of the militia stores were not very earnest in their defence; any way it was deemed advisable to send down seven regiments of regulars in one week.

On April 30 the streets of Nottingham were placarded with bills offering a reward for the delivery of the mayor, dead or alive, to the Luddites. Two manufacturers, one of Huddersfield and one of Nottingham, were shot dead.

Some assistance was given by some members of the United Irishmen coming over. Some arrests were made, but no confessions could be extorted, even when at the trials before the special commission at Chester in May sixteen were condemned to death. Five of these were executed, eight transported, and the others imprisoned.

Bread and flour was, although now summer had arrived, getting still dearer, flour being 7s. per stone. At Sheffield the flour dealers were visited by a very strong deputation of some thousands, and persuaded to sell at 3s. per stone. Roofs were stripped of all sheet-lead, gutter-spouts, pumps, and all other lead procurable, was used to make Luddite bullets; and in June eight more Luddites were hanged, this time at Manchester.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

(To be concluded).

## "THE PRINCE AND HIS HAND."

I WAS attracted the other day by a heading in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "A Manchester Merchant Prince." It turned out to be an account of the life of John Rylands, who died recently. It related how he began his industrial career while at school by buying a bundle of trinkets cheap at a sale and disposing of them again to his playmates, realising by the transaction a handsome profit. His next step was to engage an old nurse of the family and her husband to do weaving for him, paying them out of the funds he had in hand; and the result was the realisation of still further substantial profits. From these small beginnings he went on, until he dies as chief of probably the largest manufacturing and mercantile concern in the entire world. About fourteen years ago, when the business was converted into a limited liability company (or as I have heard my father call them, "a company with unlimited ability to lie") the capital was two millions; since then the development has been even more rapid than before, and now no fewer than twelve thousand "hands" are employed by the company. Poor "hands"! I happened to know one when I was in Manchester, and perhaps it may not be a waste of time to set the condition and income of some of these "hands" beside the income of the man of whom the *Pall Mall* says "not only many a monarch but many a State has an income which, compared with the annual receipts of John Rylands, would fall almost into insignificance."

Now amongst other things Rylands and Sons, Limited, make shirts—that is, their "hands" make them and they sell them; and the friend I alluded to, the wife of an accountant's clerk who had been for some time out of work, through no fault of his own that I could find, was at last driven to seek work in Rylands' shirt-factory. There were about 500 girls employed there making shirts of various kinds; the kind she had to make were the cheap cotton shirts which working people wear—the fine white ones being kindly reserved by providence for those who do not work; of course, quite right, the working people could not keep them clean! For the making of these shirts the handsome sum of one penny each was paid for men's and three farthings for boys'. The pieces were cut out roughly by machinery, and the making included trimming them, fitting them together, and finishing the shirt, all except the buttons and button-holes, which were done by other hands and paid for with a few pence per dozen shirts, I do not remember the exact amount. At this work she could earn in a week from four to five shillings if there was plenty of work to keep her going all the time, but often there was not, or the machine broke down or several other things happened, and then she would bring home any less sum; I have known her bring home one shilling, after spending nearly the whole week at the factory; for it was only sometimes that they would allow them to go home when there was no work, they were often kept in their places for days waiting for some work to come in.

Very often her earnings were all that the two of them had to live upon, and I have known them go for weeks when they had only on an average sixpence a day to spend on food, light, and coals for the two of them. Thus lived one of Rylands' "hands"! But then they were not probably born with the business faculty; in fact I remember my friend pawning her wedding-ring to help some one instill worse straights, and of such is not the kingdom of "merchant princes," to which Mr. Rylands belonged. Driving a hard bargain with school-mates for trinkets and using the proceeds to pay a paltry wage to an old nurse for doing some weaving for him,—that is a much more likely beginning for a man who is to make his fortune in this world as things now are! I have no wish to draw special attention to Mr. Rylands' character, as I know little of him; probably he was no worse than the rest of millionaires who have died recently or are still living; the only evil I accuse him of is dying a millionaire; and I do not forget that had I been born with the business faculty largely developed, very possibly I should have been studying how to increase my fortune instead of writing for the *Commonweal* this Sunday afternoon.

But taking Mr. Rylands, not individually but as a type of the successful business man, I think we may fairly use his life to illustrate how our present system works and what its rewards. The man who rises gets his first start through "cuteness;" he makes a little money by some sharp bargain and then employs it to get a "hand" or two extra to work for him in some line of work where his cuteness has shown him that there will be a good margin between the price he will have to pay for his labour and the sum for which he can sell the

product his hands will make, or in other words he looks out for the ine of business where the difference between the value of a man's labour and what it is necessary to pay him for it, is the greatest, and this difference he seeks to pocket as fast as he can, giving all his attention to keeping the difference as great as possible; he lives carefully at first, and uses the extra wealth which he saves from the labour of each of his hands to build workshops and factories and set still more hands on to earn wealth for him. Soon, if his cuteness continues to serve him, he becomes immensely wealthy, and finally dies worth millions. He may have done nothing to benefit the community, nay, he may have greatly injured it by fostering some unhealthy want; at the best he has simply been cute enough to get business into his own hands, which, but for him, others would have done, and for doing this he is enabled to leave his children in a position in which, by the exercise of the smallest amount of common sense, they may be able to live like princes for all future generations, they and their children after them, without doing a stroke of useful work for the community, which will have to support them thus in luxury. This has been going on for generations now, until we have a vast class of the children of such men being kept in idleness and luxury by the community; so vast is this class of idlers and so great is their capacity for consuming wealth that although the workers toil from morn till night; although the means of production have been so improved that the work of days can now often be done in a few minutes; and although the amount of wealth produced has increased out of all proportion to the increase of population; yet, after supplying these idlers with what they require, the workers have not enough left to keep them from starvation! And, as we saw, a woman after making a shirt, and doing her share towards supporting the idlers, has left for herself but one penny!

What is to be done then? Why! what but to give over supporting the idlers, of course, and let them work for their own luxuries if they want them—then there would be plenty for all the workers.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JANUARY 19, 1889.

13	Sun.	1790. Monasteries suppressed in France. 1794. Trial of Maurice Margarot for seditious practices. 1878. Reception of Davitt and others in Dublin on their release.
14	Mon.	1858. Orsini's attempt upon Louis Napoleon. 1858. Conspiracy Bill in England. 1868. Arrest of Barrett for Clerkenwell explosion. 1823. Peter Lavroff born.
15	Tues.	1798. Trial of Angus Cameron and James Menzies for sedition. 1841. Barrère de Viansac died. 1887. Father McGlynn inhibited and deprived.
16	Wed.	1798. Trial of Patrick Finney for high treason. 1840. Sentence of death passed on John Frost, Zephaniah Williams, and Wm. Jones. 1883. Jean Baptiste André Godin died.
17	Thur.	1706. Benjamin Franklin born. 1824. Lord Erskine died. 1863. Edward Duffy found dead in his cell at Millbank. 1880. Unemployed in Hyde Park; 30,000 said to be out in building trades alone. 1885. Unemployed at Mansion House.
18	Fri.	1796. French flag hoisted on the Tower of London by a schoolboy causes panic. 1865. Pierre Joseph Proudhon died. 1868. Fenian proclamation posted on the Mansion House. 1871. German Empire proclaimed at Versailles. 1883. The Russian "Holy League" dissolved. 1888. John Burns and Cunninghame Graham tried for riot.
19	Sat.	1561. Thomas Venner executed. 1764. Wilkes expelled the House of Commons. 1863. Founding of <i>La Libre Pensée</i> at Brussels, an association for secular funerals. 1872. The Sagasta ministry, Spain, proclaims the International.

*Peter Lavroff*.—Peter Lavroff, the most important representative of the revolutionary Socialist movement in Russia, was born in 1823 at Melechew, a village in the Velikoluck district of the government of Pskow. According to *Przedswit*, he was first educated at home, and only in 1837 entered the School of Guards and then the College of Artillery. 1843 he became an officer in the Russian army, and soon afterwards started his lectures on mathematics at the last named college, and continued them up to 1866. He also taught advanced mathematics in a special class of the Constantine Military Academy. In 1855 he took part in the defence of the Neva against the English fleet, but had no opportunity for actual fighting. At the same time he was a member of the St. Petersburg Municipality and Common Council. He first took to writing poetry, and some of his poems were afterwards published abroad by Alexander Herzen. In 1852 he contributed military and scientific essays to General Bogdanowicz's 'Military Encyclopedia.' His more important scientific and literary career, however, began only with the reign of Alexander II. From 1856 onward he wrote a good deal on philosophical topics, his work on Hegel especially engrossing public attention. In 1860 Lavroff gave three public lectures on philosophy, for the benefit of the Russian Literary Association, these being the first secular addresses since Nicholas had abolished the philosophical chair at the University. He was arrested in 1866, after Karakozow's attempt, under Muraviev's dictatorship, and finally deported to the province of Wologda, to remain there under police supervision. From that time down to 1870, when he succeeded in flying abroad with the assistance of Lopatin, he contributed articles and essays to the Russian reviews under the assumed name of "Mirtow." Then it was that he wrote his famous 'Historical Letters' which exercised such a tremendous influence on the Russian youth and produced so many heroes and heroines to the cause of social revolution in the land of despotism and czarism. Lavroff now went to Paris, where he became acquainted with Eugène Varlin, who induced him to join the International Workingmen's Association, and, as a member of that body, he came to London, 1871, in order to obtain for the Commune the assistance of the General Council. On this occasion he made the acquaintance of Marx and Engels. In 1872 he received from Russia a proposal to publish a Socialist review, and accordingly, in the ensuing year, appeared the first number of *Wpered* (Forwards!). At first published at Zürich, the editorial staff came in 1874 to London. *Wpered* was the organ of the Russian propagandists, in opposition to which Bakounine started the publication of pamphlets advocating immediate rebellion. The great Anarchist objected to

slow propaganda, but wanted to revolt and stir up at once the working classes. Bakounine's influence prevailing in Russia, *Wpered* suspended its publication in 1876. Soon after *Wpered's* first appearance, *Rabotnik* (Worker) and *Nabat* (Alarm-bell) were also started, the last one in direct opposition to Lavroff. *Nabat* was edited by Peter Tkatcheff, who began by launching against Lavroff a violent and libellous pamphlet, stating that the eminent Socialist was rendering services to the reaction, a sort of venomous imputation which scurrilous people have always in readiness to discredit those who do not happen to be their friends. Again settled at Paris, 1877, Lavroff resumed his relations with the French Socialists and contributed to the *Egalité* of Jules Guesde. At his own residence he lectured weekly on the Commune and on the events that preceded it. These lectures were subsequently published in book form. Therein he showed that the gigantic uprising of Paris became a failure for want of a definite social-political programme and strong organisation lines. The arrest and impending extradition of Leo Hartmann led to a still closer connection with French Socialists and even Radicals and it was owing to Lavroff's strenuous agitation that Hartmann was at last liberated and able to leave Paris for London, escaping the Czar's clutches. When in 1881 revolutionary Russia organised the "Red Cross Society" for the purpose of assisting Socialist prisoners, Lavroff and Vera Zasulich were entrusted with the collection of contributions abroad. An appeal published in some French newspapers, with a view of inducing Continental sympathisers to contribute, led the government to expel the valiant revolutionist. Once more in London, he soon received from the Executive Committee of the "Narodnaia Volia" (the People's Will party) the editorship of a new review which was to be the foreign organ of that party. Meanwhile he managed to return to France, without, however, the decree of expulsion being withdrawn. Lavroff published then the *Messenger of the People's Will* jointly with Tichomiroff, who recently passed from the party of the revolutionary Socialists to that of the Czar. Here again Lavroff was basely calumniated by unlicensed diplomatists à la Madame de Novikoff, and sham Radicals à la T. P. O'Connor, a whole score of whom would not reach Lavroff's ankle. In the course of the year 1872, Lavroff, being a member of the Anthropological Society of Paris, had a brilliant discussion there with Dr. Pellarin, which afterwards was published from the record of that society under the title of *L'idée du progrès dans l'anthropologie* (The idea of progress in anthropology). But Lavroff's writings being chiefly in the Russian tongue, we may as well, following *Przedwiti*, give some outline of the thoughts with which he has been feeding revolutionary Russia for more than thirty years. His favourite theme is to analyse the relations of morality to revolutionary activity. He doesn't agree with those scientists who believe that morality is innate to man. On the contrary, an examination of morality with different people at various times leads to the conclusion that man evolves morality under the influence of surrounding conditions, and chiefly under that of communal social life. Thus morality may be termed that which affords general social advantage. Absolute morality doesn't exist: what is good for society at the time is moral. Man's purposes and aspirations differ, some being good, others less so. It must, however, be admitted that a man is fully entitled to select, as his purpose, his freedom of action, the possibility of continual self-development, the possibility of utilising all his faculties. Does the present social order allow the varied development of man's aptitudes and insure to them perfect freedom of movement? In the present capitalistic order a small class exploits an enormous majority. Can a working-man, who toils all day long, think of developing his faculties, can he act freely? No, he is mostly even unable to live regularly, he cannot even satisfy his most important wants. Thus the present order prevents the large majority even from satisfying their needs, and all the more so from developing their aptitudes. It is bad, then, and must be fought against. Each one individually and all collectively are therefore justified in aspiring to undermine this order. The present social order being bad, and its overthrow advantageous to society, all means leading to that goal are then good. Accordingly, it is moral to use the most violent means for the crushing out of that order, whereas it becomes immoral not only to counteract these violent means, but even to look on indifferently at the fighting parties. Science having shown that Socialism alone can satisfy all the needs of modern societies, since it is the only system that does away with all exploitation, Socialism therefore is the highest good, to which every man is morally bound to aspire. The Socialist ideal is so high and so great, and so beneficial to the whole of society, that everything must be sacrificed to that ideal; as compared to the realisation of Socialism, everything becomes narrow, unimportant, subordinate. The conclusion is easy enough: it is the necessity of revolution, since no class has ever voluntarily renounced its power and privileges; on the contrary, the ruling classes have used all efforts to retain these, even at the cost of their lives. Only by force one can come to his rights; thus the proletariat must conquer "society" in order that society may be realised. Revolution is unavoidable; it is immoral to teach that peaceful overthrow of capitalism is possible, since history and experience teach the reverse. What high prices had humanity to pay for its progressive development! What sufferings to undergo before science and art and industry became possible, before those institutions from which "civilised" societies derive their present advantages were possible, before states were united, before exchange was introduced! Slavery, bloody wars, dark superstitions. When man of present time benefits by certain institutions, he has the moral duty of showing his gratitude to humanity by working himself at its further progress and development. As regards the agitators, Lavroff points out that nowadays when science is the property and privilege of the few, popularisation of knowledge in larger circles is even more important than the discovery of new truths, since there already exist many truths unknown to the general public, who therefore cannot make proper use of them. To-day the most important task is to agitate against the existing order, since humanity can only then derive benefit from science, art, industry, when all things will be accessible to all. Purely scientific work has not therefore at present that usefulness that it shall have later on. When Socialism shall be triumphant, all will be admitted to knowledge, and then science will be properly applied. To-day he contributes most to science who strives to overthrow the present order, since only when all shall be happy science will be universal, which means really and universally useful, when prejudices will have disappeared, then only we shall get a true varied science that in its course will progress apace. So far, a social worker, a Socialist agitator, is more useful to humanity than a scientist, and therefore every individual has the moral duty of fighting for his ideals, even when he feels himself without allies. In all his writings Lavroff lays stress on the enlightenment of the masses, and is very sharp against those sham Socialists who maintain that it will then only be possible to think of the Social Revolution when capitalism will have reached its highest pitch and small production will have completely disappeared. He maintains that the enlightenment of the masses can lead to a revolution before the accumulation of capital is entirely completed, and that the working classes, at any rate, are in a position to accelerate the ultimate crisis. He also considers that the realisation of Socialism will cause an entire downfall of all religion, for at present the working-man sighs faintly for heaven, and gladly imagines another and better world, finding but misery in this one, from which he turns his eyes in fright and looks for an ideal. But with the disappearance of misery, with the crushing of the present prison-like society, with the reign of the new order, when man will become free, when sad life will make room for pleasant life, ugly-looking life for artistic enjoyment, when the master will disappear,—then religion will vanish along with him. These ideas and many others are embodied in Lavroff's works, 'Social Revolution and the Task of Morality,' 'Historical Letters,' etc., etc. The great Russian thinker is now busily engaged in a new extensive work, which is to be his scientific will to his native country. And we devoutly wish that health and strength may be fully continued to him for the achievement of that monument of his intellectual life which will

give to many a coming generation better prospects and higher hopes towards a brighter and happier future.—V. D.

**Edward Duffy.**—Fenian leader and martyr; was born at Ballagherreen, county Mayo, in 1840; found dead in his cell at Millbank, January 17, 1868. In 1863 he threw up the situation he then held and gave himself entirely to the Fenian propaganda in Connaught, becoming "the life and soul of the Fenian movement west of the Shannon." He was captured at Sandymount Nov. 11, 1865, along with James Stephens, C. J. Kickham, and Hugh Brophy, but was allowed bail in the following January, as he was dying of consumption. No sooner was he out than he was at work again. Rearrested at Boyle on March 11, he was tried on May 21, and sentenced to fifteen years penal servitude. In his speech before sentence he said: "The dream of my life has been that I might die fighting for Ireland. The jury have doomed me to a more painful but not less glorious death. I now bid farewell to my friends and all who are dear to me. I am proud to be thought worthy of suffering for my country; when I am lying in my lonely cell I will not forget Ireland, and my last prayer will be that the God of Liberty may give her strength to shake off her chains." He is buried in Glasnevin cemetery, near Dublin, where the concluding words of his speech from the dock are inscribed on his tombstone.

**French flag on the Tower.**—When the royal standard was flying at the Tower to mark the Queen's birthday, the son of the deputy-chaplain, a youth of seventeen named Grose, hoisted over the ramparts a silk tricolour three yards wide and long in proportion. It continued flying for three hours before it was discovered by the garrison, and gave rise to the wildest rumours and conjectures. When the authorities at length heard of it, the mayor of the Tower went himself to strike it, but taking in his loyal haste a wrong turning, it was gone ere he reached it. A diligent search traced it to the boy's bed, and he, with a confederate named Hayward, was expelled from the Merchant Taylors' School "as young men of dangerous principles." Hayward's father appealed to the Merchant Taylors' Company to get his son resealed, but in vain; on the 5th of February, when his appeal was heard, its rejection was immediately followed by the granting a holiday to the rest of the boys, "to reward and confirm the spirit of loyalty they had displayed," whereupon the boys presented a suspiciously eloquent address "expressive of their abhorrence of all seditious and republican principles."—S.

The following notes were crowded out last week:—

**Victor Noir.**—Victor Noir, a young journalist who was sent by Paschal Grousset, one of the editors of *La Marseillaise*—Rocheport's paper—to Prince Pierre Bonaparte at Auteuil, near Paris, in order to ask for a retraction of the insults he threw on Rocheport or else a reparation by way of a duel, was simply shot down by that princely brigand. The murder in itself was not very astonishing: in the family of the Bonaparte murder is an ordinary course that has been taken oftentimes in order to get rid of difficulties. As for Pierre Bonaparte, he murdered in cool blood several people in Belgium, in Turkey, and at Rome. Victor Noir was but another victim of that wholesale assassin. The revolutionaries of Paris resolved to take advantage of the funeral of Victor Noir to try an insurrection at Paris. Three hundred thousand people assembled, a considerable number of them armed and ready for action, Blanqui came on purpose from Brussels to Paris for that occasion. The revolutionary masses wanted the cortege to pass through Paris on their way to the Père-Lachaise, instead of going to the cemetery of Auteuil, at some distance from Paris. But Rocheport, who at that time possessed great influence among the Parisians, dissuaded the masses of the people from listening to those who seriously meant revolution, and his advice was followed, however reluctantly. The real reason of Rocheport's action was, everyone now knows, the astounding cowardice of that humbug politician who has already done more harm to the cause of Socialism and revolution in France than a score of genuine enemies would be able to do. Anyhow the demonstration clearly showed to the supporters of the Third Empire that their adversaries in Paris were legion, and that very soon the day would dawn when the Bonaparte dynasty would sink in the dust.—V. D.

**Galileo.**—Born 1551; died at Arcetri, 1642. It was not an easy undertaking, in those days, to contradict the teachings of the Bible; and yet Galileo, thinking that the interests of truth are greater and nobler than those of self-preservation, did so, and suffered dreadfully for the sake of truth and science. That great discovery in the planetary system, first made by Copernicus, that the sun is the centre of the universe, and that around that centre gravitate Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, the Earth, was confirmed and developed by Galileo, who, besides, illustrated himself by discovering the force of gravity, the hydrostatic balance, the proportional compasses, the composition of the telescope, the constitution of the Milky Way, the rotative movement of the sun, the generations of the comets, the four satellites of Jupiter, and new theories of dynamics. In 1589 Galileo was professor of mathematics at the University of Pisa, where the great success of his teachings stirred up against him a great number of enemies, among whom the peripatetics were prominent. They finally compelled him to resign (1592), but the Republic of Venice offered him a professorship at Padua, where he met with the same gigantic success. At last, in 1615, the Roman Inquisition summoned him to appear before its dreadful tribunal. The Jesuits accused him of having destroyed heaven and earth by immobilizing the sun and making our globe freely evolve in the infinite space, and he was at once put in an *in-pace* of the Minerva monastery, laid in chains, and tortured by the tormentors of the Inquisition, before whom he appeared in shirt and barefoot. The acute pains which he suffered at the hands of these religious brigands led him to a retraction of the scientific propositions he had established; but at the same time his conscience burst open and he exclaimed, "*E pur si muove!*" (And yet it moves!) Galileo only escaped the bloody clutches of the inquisitors to be shut up for the remainder of his life in a solitary house at Arcetri, where he was not allowed to publish any kind of scientific researches. The Inquisition, however, gave an "intellectual" occupation to the great and illustrious man: he was ordered to recite, all the year through, the psalms of penance! Broken down by all those persecutions, Galileo languished some years more in his Arcetrian prison, comforted only amidst all his sorrows by the affectionate love of his daughter Maria Celesta. Nearly all the works, the scientific observations, the plans, the astronomical calculations and computations which Galileo had made during his long life were destroyed and dispersed as "infected with heresy." Yet he had done enough in order that his name be for ever more associated with the names of those who have been the forerunners of modern science and the harbingers of every progress in the world.—V. D.

Men only associate in parties by sacrificing their opinions, or by having none worth sacrificing; and the effect of party government is always to develop hostilities and hypocrisies, and to extinguish ideas.—*Ruskin, 'Fors,' No. 1.*

If the law to hang thieves must continue, I wish it may take hold of the great ones first, lest we renew the practice once in Athens, where they hanged none but little thieves, and the great thieves pronounced sentence. I am more afraid of those that rob by power of the law, than of those that endeavour to take my purse on the highway.—*W. Cole, A Rod for the Lawyers, 1659.*





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN  
HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. B.—Thanks, but unsuitable.

T. R.—The *Pall Mall* was established 1865 by George Smith, of Smith, Elder, and Co., as a Conservative organ; transferred in 1880 to Henry Yates Thompson, his son-in-law, who changed its politics to Liberal, and is still the proprietor. Editors, Frederick Greenwood (1865-1880), John Morley (1880-1883), and W. T. Stead. Published at 2d. till Jan. 1st, 1882, when it was first sold at 1d. On the 1st of this month it changed its shape from its familiar 16 small pages to the ordinary 8 large.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 9.

ENGLAND	ALARM	SPAIN
Church Reformer	Workmen's Advocate	Barcelona—El Productor
Christian Commonwealth	Boston—Woman's Journal	Seville—La Solidaridad
Justice	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Leader	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	PORTUGAL
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	FRANCE	GERMANY
Personal Rights Journal	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Railway Review	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	AUSTRIA
Telegraph Service Gazette	Le Proletariat	Wien—Gleichheit
To-Day	La Revolte	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Worker's Friend	Le Coup de Feu	HUNGARY
NEW SOUTH WALES	L'Union Socialiste	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Hamilton—Radical	HOLLAND	ROUMANIA
INDIA	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Jassy—Muncitorul
Bankipore—Behar Herald	BEELGIUM	SWEDEN
Madras—People's Friend	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmö—Arbetet
UNITED STATES	Antwerp—De Werker	WEST INDIES
New York—Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir	Cuba—El Productor
Truthseeker Annual	ITALY	MEXICO
Freiheit	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Sinaloa—Credit Foncier
Truthseeker	Cremona—L'Eco del Popolo	

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* has been handselling its new and very disagreeable format by turning on its jingo stop most vigorously, though it is true that this is nothing new to it, as it is often smitten with a very acute form of the disease of loyalty to the British Empire. This time its old boss, Mr. Morley, comes in for it; and what seems a little ominous is that Admiral Maxse, a very hard-shell Coercionist, is turned loose on him and not rebuked for his snarl. Mr. Morley is compared, much to his disadvantage, to the Whig turfite, Lord Rosebery, and in short the ex-editor is well whipped for one of his merits, perhaps his only one, an instinctive dislike to Jingoism.

It is difficult to see how all this can go on along with the advocacy of Home Rule; for what it means really is "our empire, right or wrong!" And no reasonable man who looks at the thing with other eyes than those of an election agent, doubts that the establishment of Home Rule would be a serious blow to that elaborate machinery of

violence and fraud called the British Empire. Mr. Morley has the grace to see that it is a preposterous insult to logic to protest against coercion in Ireland when you are advocating coercion in Egypt and the Soudan, and therefore he certainly is guilty of the crime of anti-Jingoism.

It is a pity he cannot be a little more logical, and learn to see that our buccaneering wars and Christian heroes are just incidents in the huge commercial war that has made England so "great" and so unhappy, and that those whose mission it is to "civilise" barbarism by the introduction of wage-slavery cannot be nice about their means. One day it is rum-and-bible, another sword-and-bible, but cheap wares and sweating are what both these instruments are used for alike; and horrible as the slaughter of the bullet is, it is not more horrible than the slower process of the sweater if we could only see the latter as plainly. Mr. Morley can never answer Admiral Maxse and the *Pall Mall* effectively till he sees clearly that nothing can save the barbarians of Africa from the dreadful life which civilisation is preparing for them, but the speedy realisation of Socialism.

The papers which have been commenting on the last new Yankee joke, the electric sugar fraud, are astounded that people were taken in by an inventor who promised them to remove the dross from a pound of raw sugar without decreasing its weight. But this is a very mild form of a modern commercial miracle. Here is a much stronger one. You send a pound of thrown silk to the dyer, and he first takes from it something less than a quarter of a pound of gum which the worm has put on it, and then sends it back to you dyed black and weighing two pounds and a quarter; and you have no difficulty in convincing the public that the additional weight is all the work of the long dead silk-worm, instead of being, as it really is, made up of coarse materials and what-not of secret.

I call the Yankee inventor a very uninventive and timid person for not promising at least three pounds of sugar instead of one, without doing anything to it. It would only have been a parable of the present monopolist society.

W. M.

Motto for *The Star* for 1889—"Go on! Die going on!"—*Browning*.

On Saturday the readers of the *Star* saw the foregoing at the head of the editorial notes, and many wondered what it could mean. Is the *Star* going to stop, and is this a gentle warning of the dread event? As for the applicability of the motto, that is another matter, during its brief existence the *Star* has done more of "strategic movement to the rear" than any other paper of its size.

If it keeps up (or down) to its record in that regard as well as in general character, the only motto entirely appropriate will be found in the well known word of command of the colonel of the historic North Cork Militia: "Advance two steps backward, and dress by the gutter!"

S.

### TO THE HAMMERSMITH CHOIR.

SWEET voices broke my sleep on Christmas morn:  
Clear through the moonlit air their anthem rung  
Of human hope and fellowship that sung—  
A mass for souls, not dead, but yet new born:  
A herald blast on Freedom's silver horn  
As dayspring on the brooding darkness flung,  
With tidings of new joy on tuneful tongue—  
The marching songs of Labour travel-worn.

As one in dreams I heard, and wondering rose,  
E'en as the shepherds marvelling of old  
To hear the angels quiring; and my blood  
Quickened to catch at last their stirring close;  
And to my heart took hope and courage good  
In thought of days to be, in time untold.

Christmas, 1888.

WALTER CRANE.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

DEAR SIR,—I read *Commonweal* every week with much pleasure, and am with you in thought and aim in your efforts—the social regeneration of humanity. I read with much pleasure your notes in reply to that gospel-grinder McCree. If London is in need of a few more such men, Bristol can well spare at least a hundred. They tell us to keep our eyes heavenward, to hate all Socialists, to be thankful for what we have, what we haven't got let us hope would render us miserable if we had it. Such men as McCree tell me that *Commonweal* is a very wicked paper to read. One of McCree's class told me that since reading your paper I had got very discontented. If he never spoke the truth before, he did then. Discontented I am, for it is the great preliminary to all progress. The amount of poverty here in Bristol is very great; work is very slack. I send you a few newspaper cuttings; perhaps they may be interesting.—Yours fraternally,  
Bristol, January 7th, 1889.

W. J. BLACKMORE.

[The cuttings include a column of the *Bristol Mercury* filled with the fulsome "charitable" appeals of the advertising parson, each anxious to impress the public that "Codlin's the friend, not Short"; a report of the "Happy New Year" speech delivered by the mayor to the Town Council, in which he took a roseate view of everything; and a discussion which followed on granting holidays to the workmen employed by the Corporation. This last we shall comment on in our next issue.—Ed.]

## EDUCATION: WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT SHOULD BE.

(Continued from p. 410.)

WITH this one splendid exception there is nothing to admire, little that can be approved of, in what we call our Educational System. It does not proceed on any intelligible lines to any definite human end—as human beings it leaves us, all but exactly, where we began, to develop as we are inclined, or as our circumstances prescribe. The same observations apply generally to education in the higher schools and universities. Here also “of the human soul this much is known that it has a faculty called memory”—here the same mechanical stuffing with grammar and dead vocabules, and the issues are similarly deplorable. Here we have the same chaos, want of discrimination; no selecting, no adapting of means or gifts to ends is attempted. The student himself makes the selection. “Profoundly learned I would grow,” he says, like the student in Faust. He will be a lawyer, lawyer, wise governor of men. Not because he feels his perception of the difference between Right and Wrong to be uncommonly keen, or that he hopes to bring about the establishment of justice and equity among men, nor has he been selected in any wise way because of the striking prominence of these virtues and hopes in the young man—oh, no, he only happens to have the opportunity and must have a profession. In the same haphazard way we get our medical and clergy men, our Captains of Industry, Organisers of Labour. These hopeful, or not so hopeful, young men get together in the Class Room, where the professor stands ready to pump into the young buckets indifferently—they have come presenting their ears and memories, and he utters forth his vocabules:—

Then forward steps your sage to show,  
And prove to you it must be so;  
The first being so, and so the second,  
Nor third nor fourth would ever be.  
This, scholars of all countries prize—  
Yet 'mong themselves no weavers rise.

It is in this way Goethe satirises our University methods of filling our bellies with the east wind, and consequent divorce of theory and practice. The effect of this is to inundate the world with professional quacks and gentlemen loafers, from the highest mitred bishop to the common mountebank at the fair-booth, and spreading out into all imaginable directions. When your lawyer, it may be, is finished, he proceeds to hang his brains out at his shop door “for such as please to buy 'em,” for hire either to God or the Devil, it makes no matter. Or he may become a parliamentary hack, or possibly an able editor; in the one case to eloquently perorate and flippantly skip you over the surface of every subject, in the other with an exasperating gracefulness write the most inconsequential stuff, or illustrate how Truth, after a pretence of pursuing it, heedless of consequences, through the most labyrinthic windings, may never be touched, or else shown to be quite superfluous by the aid of beautifully evasive terminology. In any case his vocation henceforth is to “darken council and weave over the face of Justice a web of lies.” In the case of the medical profession I don't know that any more complimentary language can be held. They, too, are part of our commercial profit-mongers' society, which occasions the need of so many quacks and leeches. As a class, I don't think the medical men possess a monopoly of loving, sympathetic knowledge of the human soul and body, so necessary in “the art of healing.” With his tabulated banes and certain prescribed antidotes, a medical man hopes to win a good practice, and generally gets it. In his whole list of chemicals there is no rhubarb, senna, or purgative drug to scour the body politic free of pestilent city slums, of the ruinous effects of overwork on the one hand, on the other of the enormous horrors flowing from enforced idleness in which our rich and poor are weltering; of the glaringly wicked social inequalities which surround him on all hands and occasion his very existence. He appears to be quite unconscious of all this, and consequently subsists on his very ignorance, tinkering away with college artifice on external symptoms with never a thought to bestow on the source of the disease.

Our educational methods might be impeached on the ground alone that (assuming our Class society to be right) it gives the working lad no trade, but lets him loose among a perplexing multiplicity of pursuits to find one, while it degrades the “arts” into a means of earning a livelihood. Thus the high principle of Religion which teaches us *how to live* is transformed into a means whereby a livelihood may be earned. Hence we have the young divine inflated with college logic, metaphysics, and the moral sublime, tripping circumspectly off, nothing doubting, on his high career of saving souls, before he has even discovered his own. Why, if a man is religious, he should thank God and make no boast of it, as honest Dogberry would say, but in a commercial age it can bring a “profit” and its value is reckoned at so many hundreds or thousands annually. Not indeed that we are in want of so much preaching, as, if the world was to be saved in this way it would have been saved long ago; nor that we know less of Right individually than we can practice—it is all the other way! That we should “love our neighbours as ourselves” has surely been dinned sufficiently into our ears, even if we did not instinctively know it (notwithstanding that this last would be denied emphatically by Mr. Bradlaugh, who is the arch apostle and high priest of our devil-take-the-hindmost commercial system). That we can *not* love our neighbour as ourselves this system loudly asserts, and substantiates its assertion by rendering it quite impossible—hence the futility of preaching. When we reach a

condition of society in which this will be reversed, a condition when less of Right is known than can be performed, then we can ask for a race of teachers who may “allure to brighter worlds” and “lead the way.” For the present I can only regard this class as part of our dislocated time, a section of the huge army of exploiters who work at no useful calling—an excellent product of deranged educational methods.

In point of results then, our higher schooling and university training differ little from the elementary kind considered at the outset of this article—the men come out much as they went in, and for the rest,—the character of the man, his capacities or aptitude never being operated on for any wise end—we have the same animalism as in the former case, only highly cultured, highly polished. An excellent illustration of this was furnished to us sometime ago by one of these “superior persons.” In a series of articles, forming a fine specimen of the “spiritual food” supplied to its readers by *Chambers's Journal*, this “superior person” explained in a very elaborate and unsophisticated fashion, what a scandalous piece of swindling was the trade he worked at on God's earth. None of your rough housebreaking, vulgar pocket-picking pursuits, but the refined, genteel, and highly respectable one of Stockbroking. The writer was perfectly frank and sincere, and appeared to have no misgiving while making the hideous nature of the game amply manifest, shewing the disgustingly savage, wild beast scrambling of the Mammon-worshippers for the coveted shares—the “friendly blows” that dealt disaster, the lucky hits of the accomplished swindler. However, it is not for these things I make use of the articles, but for certain “moralisings” with which the writer concluded—of the kind that such minds can only think. In the reflective mood the writer's eye turned naturally inwards, and there it beheld—a stomach! Human nature was a very poor affair. “As long as the world had lasted,” the writer said, “the human animal had tried to get money without working for it, and would continue to do so as long as it would last.” Straightforward, isn't it? Doubtless it will recall to many the “Pig Philosophy” of the “Latter Day Pamphlets,” nevertheless we may venture to reproduce a few of the leading points of faith, or “articles” of that universally popular philosophy.

Article 1.—The Universe, according to pigs of sensibility, so far as sane conjecture can go, is an immeasurable swines' trough, consisting of solid and liquid, and of other contrasts and kinds;—especially consisting of attainable and unattainable, the latter in immensely greater quantities for most pigs.

Article 2.—Moral evil is unattainability of pigs' wash; moral good, attainability of ditto.

Article 9.—“What is Justice?” Your own share of the general swines' trough, not any portion of my share.

Article 10.—But what is “My share?” Ah! there in fact lies the grand difficulty; upon which pig science, meditating this long while, can settle absolutely nothing. My share,—humph! my share is, on the whole, whatever I can contrive to get, without being hanged or sent to the hulks.

To what base uses may our education tend, but it is seldom we have such a purely unsophisticated pig as the writer in *Chambers's* to explain it so precisely.

I think it is fair to make the deduction, that these deplorable consequences are the outcome of what we term our Educational System. By consigning the multitude to hopeless drudgery nothing is left to them but mere animalism to manifest itself in ways we need not specify. In the case of the few, by compelling precious energy to be expressed in entirely wasteful, ruinous and immoral ways, leaving the same animal highly “refined,” highly intensified.

Of course there is the element of Natural Law with its agents Competition, Commercialism, referred to at the outset. Commercialism says life is a battle; Nature says, consequently certain results will follow of the kind we have seen! Life is indeed a battle, but it is not necessarily a fighting with and against one another, but rather a warring against nature—as Carlyle would say a “battle against human starvation, against chaos, necessity, stupidity.”

DANIEL McCULLOCH.

(To be concluded.)

### LITERARY NOTES.

ARTICLES OF INTEREST in January magazines:—*Asiatic Quarterly*: “The March of the Mongol,” W. B. Dunlop; “Land Revenue Administration of Poonah,” A. Rogers. *Law Quarterly*: “Notes on the English Law of Marriage,” H. W. Elphinstone. *Blackwood's*: “English Farmers,” T. E. Kebbel. *Contemporary*: “East Africa as it was and as it is,” Joseph Thomson. “Zola,” Mrs. Emily Crawford. *Nineteenth Century*: “Isolation, or Survival of the Unfittest,” Duke of Argyll; “A Thousand more Mouths every day,” Earl of Meath; “Mr. Bryce's American Commonwealth,” Frederic Harrison; “Daniel O'Connell,” W. E. Gladstone.

*The Revolutionary Review* (H. Seymour, 35, Newington Green Road; monthly, 3d.) has issued its first number, and proposes to represent what one of its contributors calls the “formidable and utterly uncompromising Anarchist.” The same writer considers the *Commonweal* and *Freedom* to represent the “logical extreme of State Socialism!” A poem, “Grace before Meat,” by Lothrop Withington, and an editorial preface, are the most notable contents this month.

THE DESTROYER.—I should like to destroy most of the railroads in England, and all the railroads in Wales. I should like to destroy and rebuild the Houses of Parliament, the National Gallery, and the East end of London; and to destroy, without rebuilding, the new town of Edinburgh, the north suburb of Geneva, and the City of New York.—*Fers Clavigera*, No. 1.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**COTTON TRADE.**—In consequence of the Bolton Master Cotton Spinners' Association and the Operative Spinners' Society being unable to agree upon the terms of settlement, short time has been adopted all through the trade by the employers, with the view of forcing the men to return to work. At Clitheroe and Macclesfield the strikes are going on unchanged.—At Burnley a strike of weavers has taken place, but the men went back on the understanding that some arrangement would be come to.—At Darwen, the weavers at the new weaving shed belonging to the Cotton Hall Spinning and Manufacturing Company struck Wednesday 2nd, on account of extra work; and the weavers at Bowling Green Mill have given notice. The notice expires on January 9th, and will affect about 300 hands. Cause—the extra work and excessive fining.

**SHOE TRADE.**—The conference between employers and workmen, which held its first meeting a week ago, sat again at Seyd's Hotel, Finsbury Square, Thursday 3rd, to decide upon a new wage scale for the wholesale shoe trade in London. On the agenda paper were a number of resolutions submitted by the employers, but only the first of these was considered:—"That a statement be compiled on a system of classification by standard samples." The formation of a permanent Reference Board was suggested, by whom all questions as to the rate of payment should be settled. A workmen's delegate proposed as an amendment, the addition of the words "except where the quality can be otherwise defined." This was discussed at considerable length, and upon a division the voting was—For amendment, 8 (all workmen); against, 8 (all employers' delegates). The resolution was then put, with the same result. The Chairman (Mr. A. Lion, employer) remarking that, as the proceedings at this early stage had come to a deadlock, it would be useless to continue the sitting, adjourned the conference to next Monday. He hoped that before the next meeting some *modus vivendi* would be found. Amidst objections from the workmen delegates he vacated the chair, and the proceedings were thus adjourned.

**LURGAN HEMSTITCHING TRADE.**—A strike of a rather serious nature has taken place in Lurgan, Ireland, in the hemstitching trade, which gives employment to many hundreds of female workers of the town and neighbourhood. For about two years past, the business has been depressed; and, instead of a uniform rate of payment being adopted by the various manufacturers, the rule has been for each to make whatever arrangement suited him with his own workers. The workers allege that in certain cases the employers, by the system of measurement and computation adopted, have succeeded in reducing the amount that can be earned by the worker much over, without effecting any visible change in the rate of wages; but, on the other hand, the manufacturers contend that they have long been paying their workers a higher wage than the present condition of business actually warrants, more especially when regard is had to the fierce competition to which Lurgan manufacturers are exposed. At any rate, the workers have been complaining for months past, and at last things have come to a head in three of the leading concerns of the town. The whole of the hemstitchers in the employment of Allen, Johnston and Co., William Street; John Ross and Co., High Street; and James Clendonning, High Street, on Wednesday refused the terms laid down by the employers. The strike will affect several hundred of the female workers, and as these have not for some time past been earning very high wages, the existing dead-lock is likely to be attended by very injurious and painful results.

**SCOTCH MINERS.**—An agitation for an advance of 6d. a day began with a National Conference in Glasgow on Saturday, 5th. At present the position of affairs is somewhat as follows:—We have five coal-producing districts, which may be classed alphabetically thus: Ayrshire, Fife and Clackmannan, Lanarkshire, The Lothians, and Stirlingshire. After the great Manchester Conference in September last, an agitation for a 10 per cent. was set agoing. Ayrshire took the lead, and by threatening to strike got a 15 per cent. advance on the 1st November. Stirlingshire also got the advance during the same month; Lanarkshire got 5 per cent., and The Lothians 10 per cent. During December, Fife and Clackmannan men got 5 per cent., and Lanarkshire two advances of 2½ and 5 per cent. respectively, making 12½ per cent. in all. There is thus considerable diversity in the wages paid, which it is expected the Conference will tend to remove. The wages paid, that is the recognised wages, are 3s. 6d. in the West of Scotland, and 3s. 9d. in the East. It is worth noticing that the higher rate is paid where the hours are shortest. In Fife and The Lothians the hours are from 8 to 9 per day, whereas in the West of Scotland the men work from 9 to 11 hours. This is another question which is meant to be dealt with at once, and a strong effort is to be made to get an 8 hour day established early in the year. In Fife the men have kept to their 8 hours for nearly a score of years, though at present certain managers are endeavouring to get the men to work longer by refusing to allow them to leave the pit before a certain hour, which would mean for the men full 9 hours underground. Where this is being tried the men threaten to strike, unless the new rule be withdrawn.—*Labour Tribune.*

**SEAMEN.**—About one hundred seamen upon strike marched through Liverpool on the 3rd, headed by a banner. They afterwards held an outdoor meeting, at which it was stated that the present rate of wages simply meant starvation for seamen, and is very much lower than that obtaining in any smaller ports. In Liverpool many able-bodied seamen are paid as low as £2 10s. per month, and in no case does it exceed £3 10s., and this is only given on some of the lines. Compared to this Cardiff sailors receive £4, and firemen £4 5s. as a maximum, but even in the worst-paid sailing boats the minimum is never lower than £3. On the Glasgow steamers the sailors obtain £3 10s. and the firemen £3 15s. At Newport, Sunderland, South and North Shields, Greenock, and Swansea the figure is £3. Efforts are now being made, however, in Liverpool and Glasgow to secure £4 and £4 5s., this being the regulation rate of the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union, a body which has only existed 18 months, but has a membership of 10,000, 3,000 having joined within the last two months. Although repeated reports have appeared that the strike has been in existence for some time, the *Star* says that this is incorrect, the efforts up to the present being to arrange terms upon amicable conditions. No grants have been given out of the Union funds for those who refuse to sign articles on the old terms; but after this week some tangible help will be given. In Liverpool several boats have been delayed, not being able to secure their complement; in a few instances the wages demanded have been conceded. While shipowners in the main refuse to grant the full sum, they have offered an advance of a few shillings per month, but this the men refuse, asserting that anything less than

£4 per month is insufficient to maintain their wives and families. Seeing that the executive of the Sailors' Union are making energetic preparations for opening 40 additional branches in various parts of the country, it is evident that they have learned the lesson that if they wish to help themselves they must organise.

**YORKSHIRE COLLIERY STRIKE.**—The following report of the dispute at the Church Lane Colliery is taken by the *Labour Tribune* from the *Sheffield Independent* of December 29th:—"On Thursday, the men locked out at the Church Lane Colliery, Dodworth, met, when the unionists received their usual weekly pay from the officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association. The following statement was made: The men came out on strike for the 10 per cent. advance in accordance with the resolutions passed at the Derby and Manchester Conferences. When the deputation waited on the managing director they were told that it could not be granted unless the men conceded certain allowances for bad working places, sticky roofs, etc. These allowances, if conceded, would make a very serious reduction in the men's wages. After further negotiations had taken place another deputation of the men waited upon Mr. Hartley on the 22nd of December, when the men were told that if a settlement was come to the men would have to return to work under the new arrangements, viz., from six to eight men should work in one gate in place of two or three as before; the tramming to be done by ponies instead of by men; the coal in the banks to be worked end on. The men stated that the prices previous to the strike were 1s. 6d. per ton for coal, and 8d. per ton for slack which passed over and through the screen of 'Billy Fairplay' as the case might be. The managing director further stated that the starting prices would have to be with the 10 per cent. included, 1s. 4d. per ton for coal for board work in banks, and 1s. 6d. per ton on end in banks, and 7d. per ton for slack, which means a reduction of 1½ per cent. These proposals the men decline to accept. The deputation were informed that on these terms only could work be resumed. A resolution was passed to the effect that they will only resume work on an advance of 10 per cent. being given. The men are still appealing to the various collieries in the district and the public. About 500 men and boys are out."

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

The winter intensifies the misery of the labouring classes. From all parts of the peninsula come reports of exceptional sufferings and hardships. In Caltanissetta and Finale Emilia it came to riotous encounters between the unemployed and the authorities. In no instance, of course, is an attempt being made to mitigate these continuous crises, but the coming revolution is staved off by brutal force or hypocritical promises. Numerous domiciliary visits and arrests among Socialists are reported. The tribunals outdo the police in class prosecutions.

At Trapani several suspected Anarchists were sentenced, and *L'Amico del Popolo* (The People's Friend) in Brescia, a Socialist paper, was fined, and its editor sent to prison. Whilst the authorities thus aggravate the existing class antagonisms, the legislature proposes to punish those who denounce this system. The Senate has amended the new Local Government Bill under discussion, by a provision, which excludes from the communal suffrage all those who have been condemned for incitement to hatred between the classes. Our comrade Costa, who, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 19th December last, protested strongly against this provision, was four times called to order, because he put stress on the existing and by the authorities aggravated antagonisms between the classes, and thereby used the words "oppressors and oppressed." "There are no oppressors and oppressed," the President reproved him, "all the classes ought to proceed with fraternal love!" Fraternal love of "the classes" is good!

A strike of the cabdrivers of Pisa was brought to an early end by some cheap promises on the part of the prefect.

At Napoli, a society of domestic servants has been formed—the first of this kind in Italy.

H. SCH.

## "AN EXCELLENT EXPERIMENT."

THE *Star* says "an excellent experiment is now being tried at Norwich. Labour Bureau has been formed. . . . About three months since, when, like the *Star*, they found "the question of the unemployed pressing upon" them, a sort of small panic mingled with crafty scheming set in among the capitalists of Norwich. All the local labour-thieves and professional philanthropists were invited to a meeting to consider the question, and a great gathering of these birds of prey was accordingly held. After a lot of talk—the upshot of which was a general agreement that they couldn't give the unemployed useful productive work on a large scale, and that something might occur if they didn't move in the matter—it was decided that a "labour bureau" should be started. A committee was appointed and an office opened for "the work." Forms of application were issued to the unemployed containing a long list of questions as to the names, ages, families, pawn-tickets, rent, names of previous employers, length of employment, reason of dismissal or of leaving employment, whom to apply to for a six month's good character, the amount of wages applicant had received and would require, etc., etc. Despite such a list of questions it seems "307 were registered." (How many were disheartened, refused to answer the questions, or were turned away as unsatisfactory, we are not told.) The first acts of this "excellent" affair was—1. To send a dozen men to Swansea to take the places of men on strike; 2. To place men at work laying out a public garden on Mousehold Heath at about half the usual wages given to men in that occupation; 3. Later on, to send men to Ipswich to perform the part of "scabs." We hardly require the *Star's* writer to tell us that "the bureau was officered by the late mayor and present deputy" of Norwich, a man named Harmer, a notorious girl-sweating clothing manufacturer, "and other citizens of standing." Now, we are told, these wiseacres finding that "the great majority of the men asking relief belong to the unskilled class," therefore "they make two proposals, first, the formation of a window-cleaning brigade (this is *excellent*!), and then, for quite the younger members of the unemployed, the starting of a technical school." The latter proposal being one to provide employers of labour with workmen free, or almost free, of cost, under the pretence of teaching them a trade.

Excellent! For the employers. Excellent dodge for deceiving the starving workless workers! Excellent shift for shelving the question! Well may the *Star* say, "County Councillors, please note."

G. CORES.



## A CALL TO ARMS.

Tune, "Cheer Boys, Cheer."

Long have we sat in poverty repining,  
Wearily waiting for the break of day,  
Slight is the hope our saddened hearts inclining,  
Darkness around us and a world's decay.  
False prophets preach that we should turn to gladness  
Life's weary load of sickening misery,  
We have but one hope to change our heavy sadness,  
The day shall quickly dawn to change our woe to glee.

Chorus—To arms, men! To arms!  
The tyrant's hearts are quaking,  
To arms, men! To arms!  
To hail the break of day;  
To arms, men! To arms!  
The world to arms awaking,  
As every people  
Sweeps tyranny away.

We have but one hope, the hope of revolution,  
To bring us joy, and banish dark despair;  
Woe to the rich, swift comes the retribution,  
When revolution leaps from famine's grisly lair.  
Fierce on the rich her glittering eyes are gleaming,  
Dark are the tresses of her snaky hair,  
Sharp is her sword, and fearful in its seeming,  
She's strong as death, and deadly as despair.

Gather, ye poor, behind her blood-red banner,  
Red as the blood that flows within your veins,  
The storm grows behind, the strong winds fiercely fan her,  
Fight on her side, there's Freedom for your pains.  
Through the wide earth a fearful trumpet is sounding,  
Thrones, kings, and rulers, falling 'mid dismay,  
The lightning flashes, thunder far resounding,  
See! the gleam of weapons throws back the light of day.

D. NICOLL.

## CONVENTIONALISM—EXTREME SPECIALISATION AND SUB-DIVISION OF LABOUR—DRY ROT—SMASH!

"AND then came a race of men who, like those that inherit great estates, had no incentive to continue the work which had been so splendidly begun. In one generation the genius of Egypt slumbered, in the next it died . . . The creative period passed away, and the critical age set in. Instead of working, the artists were content to talk. Their admiration was sterile, yet still it was deserving. But the next period was lower still. It was that of blind worship and indiscriminating awe. The past became sacred, and all that it had produced, good and bad, was revered alike. This kind of idolatry invariably springs up in that interval of languor and reaction which succeeds an epoch of production. In the mind history of every land there is a time when slavish imitation is inculcated as a duty, and novelty is regarded as a crime. But in Egypt the arts and sciences were entangled with religion. The result will be easily guessed. Egypt stood still, and Theology turned her into stone. *Conventionality was admired, then enforced.* The development of the mind was arrested; it was forbidden to do any new thing. . . .

"The physicians were compelled to prescribe for their patients according to rules set down in the standard works. If they adopted a treatment of their own, and the patient did not recover, they were put to death. Thus even in desperate cases heroic remedies could not be tried, and experiment, the first condition of discovery, was disallowed. . . .

"Each profession stood apart; each profession was even sub-divided within itself. In medicine and surgery there were no general practitioners. There were oculists, aurists, dentists, doctors of the head, doctors of the stomach, etc., and each was forbidden to invade the territory of his colleagues. This specialist arrangement has been highly praised, but it has nothing in common with what has arisen in modern times.

"It is one of the first axioms of medical science that no one is competent to treat diseases of a single organ unless he is competent to treat the diseases of the whole frame. The folly of dividing the diseases of such organs as the head and the stomach, between which the most intimate sympathy exists, is evident to the unlearned. But the whole structure is united by delicate white threads, and by innumerable pipes of blood. It is scarcely possible for any complaint to influence one part alone. The Egyptian, however, was marked off like a chess-board into little squares, and whenever the pain made a move a fresh doctor had to be called in.

" . . . It is needless to explain that division of labour is highly potent in developing skill and economising time. It is clearly of advantage that in an early stage of society the son should follow the occupation of the father. It is possible that hereditary skill or tastes come into play; it is certain that apprenticeship at home is more natural and more efficient than apprenticeship abroad. The father will take more pains to teach the boy, the boy take more pains to learn, than will be the case when master and pupil are strangers to each other.

" . . . Hence they established customs which their successors petrified into unchanging laws. They adored the grand and noble wisdom of their fathers; whatever came from them must be cherished and preserved. They must not presume to depart from the guidance of those god-like men. They must paint as they painted, physic as they physicked, pray as they prayed. The separation of the classes which they had made must be rendered rigid and eternal.

"And so the arts and sciences were ordered to stand still, and society was divided and sub-divided into functions and profession, trades and crafts. Every man was doomed to follow the occupation of his father; to marry within his own class; to die as he was born. Hope was torn out of human life. Egypt was no longer a nation, but an assemblage of torpid castes, isolated from one another, breeding in an in. It was no longer a body animated by the same heart, fed by the same blood, but an automaton neatly pieced together, of which the head was the priesthood, the arms the army, and the feet the working class. In quiescence it was a perfect image of the living form; but a touch came from without and the arms broke asunder at the joints and fell upon the ground."

## THE BROTHERS.

(FROM AN OLD BOOK.)

THERE were three brothers, Cain and Abel and one unnamed.

Cain arose against Abel and slew him.

Their brother looked on.

And when Abel cried unto him for help he refused.

For he said: He loved peace and abhorred all manner of violence; per-adventure Cain might stay to reason with him.

In process of time the children of the three brothers increased, so that they overspread the earth.

To this hour, when the sons of the first Murderer would slay the seed of the Righteous, the descendants of him who abhorred all manner of violence refuse their interference to prevent the wrong.

Verily the crime of Cain shall be expiated sooner than the crime of these.

Art not thou, too, thy brother's keeper?

—LINTON'S 'English Republic' (p. 112.)

## OUT OF WORK MEMBERS.

Two painters (Hammersmith Branch) would be glad of odd jobs.  
One carpenter and two labourers (Mitcham Branch).

STOCKTAKING.—With the incoming of the New Year, most working-men engaged in the numerous large firms in and around London, were treated to an extra holiday (after the long and somewhat degrading interval called Christmas) on account of "Stocktaking." How long does it take the worker to take stock after his year's drudgery? He can look into the most convenient shop-window, which will serve him as a full size mirror, and observe his jaded skeleton,—this will not take up much time.—H. D.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—The cessation of a large number of outdoor meetings, and the poverty of the workers, causes the circulation of the *Commonweal* to decrease during the winter months. An exceptionally low circulation this winter throws a heavy financial burden upon the League, and to avoid reducing the size of the journal, or reverting to a monthly issue, it has been decided upon by the Council to send out a full statement of the position of the 'Weal' to all branches, and also an abstract of same to all subscribers, with an appeal for subscriptions.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Feb. 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. *Notice to Branch Secretaries*—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capital fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.—B. W., 6d.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following have handed in their names as guarantors for sums of not less than 6d. weekly:—S. Presburg, D. Nicoll, J. Presburg, H. Davis, Morris Wess, H. Daum, L. Trunk, R. Turner, J. Turner, W. B. Parker, J. Lane, H. Sparling, M. Morris, V. Dave, Wm. Blundell, Curtis, and F. Kitz. Five hundred wanted.

## REPORTS.

LONDON MEMBER'S MEETING.—This meeting took place at 13, Farringdon Road, on Monday, Jan. 7; Thos. Cantwell, chairman; S. Presburg, secretary. The statement of position of 'Weal' was read and discussed. After several suggestions for the future conduct of the paper, it was ultimately resolved "that a Guarantee Fund be opened by the League, to which all members and friends of the Cause should be asked to contribute not less than 6d. weekly, and that a list of guarantors appear in *Commonweal*, with a request to all members and sympathisers to send in their names thereto."

FULHAM.—Sunday evening, Morris lectured in our rooms on "Socialism"; fair audience and several questions asked. Members are earnestly requested to turn up at all meetings of the branch.—S. B. G.

ABERDEEN.—No propagandist work done during holiday week. Informal social gathering held at Leatham's house on 2nd, and choir practice on 3rd.—L.

EDINBURGH.—On 3rd we had a large social gathering of members of League and Federation, and spent a profitable and pleasant evening. On 6th, in the Moulder's Hall, in absence of lecturer, John Smith, S.L., delivered an admirable extempore address in his own inimitable Scotch style. Good discussion. The S.L. are holding no Sunday meetings of their own this winter, but are working along with S.D.F. They thought it injudicious to have two lectures on Socialism on the same night; the consequence is that we have, instead of two thin meetings, a large gathering with plenty of enthusiasm and discussion.

GLASGOW.—On the evening of Monday, Dec. 31st (Hogmanay), we held our fourth annual social gathering. About 80 were present, including ladies, and the meeting was the most successful of the kind we have yet had. From eight o'clock at night till three on New Year's Day morning, song, recitation, and dance made the time fly merrily. At twelve o'clock the new year was inaugurated with resounding cheers for the Social Revolution. A gratifying feature of the evening was the presence of a number of our German comrades, who sang and contributed much to the heartiness of the proceedings. Our comrade Dr. Reddie, Edinburgh, addressed the meeting in English and German. On Sunday last, at 2.30, Glasier, Joe Burgoyne, and Tim Burgoyne addressed a good meeting on Jail Square. At 5 o'clock Tim Burgoyne, Glasier, and Dan McCulloch held our usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll, where there was a large and attentive audience. Later on in rooms, our usual Sunday evening meeting of members took the form of a tea party. Comrade R. F. Muirhead was in the chair, and the sanctity of the Scottish Sabbath was invaded by songs and recitations, revolutionary and humorous. During the evening, comrade J. Bruce Glasier was presented with a token of the member's esteem and recognition of his services to the Cause.

IPSWICH.—No meeting Thursday night. Saturday night, enjoyable social evening in Pioneer Hall; Bat-terbee in chair. Sunday evening, Keed lectured; Woodhouse in chair. Business meetings held on Monday evenings from 7 to 8 p.m.—J. T.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday afternoon, usual open-air meeting in Market Place; much larger audience than usual, owing to the fact that an employé of a large tailoring firm in this city would speak from our platform in defence of his firm, who had been often attacked by us for the miserable wage they pay a large number of females, employed by them. Notwithstanding his denial as to the wages paid, he was unable to prove his assertions when challenged by Mowbray, and admitted the girls were fined if more than 10 minutes late; these fines, he boasted, were put to a good purpose—divided among the whole of the employés at the end of the year—these noble individuals taking their share of the plunder of the poor girls. After lengthy speeches from Mr. Edwards, the ex-Mayor. Mr. Harmer's champion, and Mowbray, a vote was taken whether Mr. Harmer's was a sweating firm or not; about 20 voted it was not—this number included most of the foremen, who had mustered strongly in their master's interest—the vote in favour of it being a sweating firm must have been 10 to 1. The meeting lasted about two hours, and seemed to have been very interesting to those present. At Gordon Hall, in evening, a discussion took place on "Equality." Monday, Mowbray addressed two unemployed meetings; large numbers are out of work here.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Jan. 13, at 7 o'clock sharp, Branch Business Meeting. At 8.30 p.m., D. Nicoll lectures on "The Paris Commune."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday January 13, at 8 p.m., J. Turner, "Insufficient Remedies."

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday 13th, H. H. Sparling, 8 p.m. "Luxury now; Necessity then."

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Milham.**—Meets every Sunday, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, at 11 a.m.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road.

**Waltham and Camberwell.**—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8, Lecture in Gordon Hall by Mowbray, tickets 1d. each. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wed. and Thurs., Gordon Hall open from 8 until 10.30. Friday, at 8.30, Committee Meeting. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. On Monday January 21st, a Farewell Concert will take place in the Gordon Hall on behalf of comrade Mowbray, who leaves this branch early in February for London. A good programme will be provided, and a string band in attendance. Tickets 6d. and 3d., to be had at all meetings.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

### SUNDAY 13.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park...The Branch  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park...The Branch  
3.30...Victoria Park...The Branch  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...The Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...The Branch  
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith

### Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch...Branch

### EAST END.

#### SUNDAY 13.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11...The Branch.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.  
**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

All those desirous of helping in the work of the S.L. in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with comrade F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fifth lecture will be delivered on Sunday January 20 by Graham Wallas—subject, "Property under Socialism."

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Half-yearly Members' Meeting will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday Jan. 12, at 8 p.m., when the attendance of all members is requested. Members please bring or send their subscription cards for audit.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 158.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE are curious signs of the time abroad, that show us pretty clearly in what an element of discontent we are living, *e.g.*, a leader in the *Daily News*, that pink of respectability, in lamenting the heavy record of murder of the past few months, does seem to be fairly shocked at the record of the gallows also. "We are getting perilously near a revival of the good old hanging days," is a sentence in strong contrast with the feeling of a large part of the well-to-do classes, whose word, like that of the king in the old romance, is "Hang and head! hang and head!"

On the other hand, as a matter of course, after the burglary at Muswell Hill, the courage, humanity, and wisdom of the *successful* thieves of our sham society, the well-to-do, to wit, is illustrated by the loud cry for the flogging of burglars, and apparently of people (of the "lower orders") suspected of being burglars. We must never forget that the boasted humanity and tenderness of human life of our century depends entirely on the feeling of continuous safety amongst the ruling classes; as soon as they are conscious of any hole in their rampart, of any enemy amongst them, humanity and tenderness is cast to the winds. "To think that I—I should be subjected to violence, should be liable to be robbed or shot—I, amidst all my soft wrappings and the bosom of the family; I, who in my daily luxury and cowardice manage so successfully to forget both death and the reasons for living! Hang and head and torture those wretches that have made me afraid!" That is the ordinary sentiment of the comfortable classes.

This is the constant tendency of the masters of society, of those who believe their position to be eternal; and who are so stupid as to fail to see that if they drive their enemies (on whom they live) to be conscious that there is no hope for them but the hope of revenge, they are building up for themselves a hell of daily terror; since, indeed, the one unendurable evil is *fear*.

The *Pall Mall* jeers at the *Daily News* for its exaggeration of the hangings, and laments not that so many people are hanged, but that so many are *unchanged*. It apparently favours the idea that it is possible to kill off so many of the bad specimens, that you will not only purify "society" thereby, but also terrify those that are left of them into quiescence, thus killing two birds with one stone. This, after all, is only another way of accepting the eternity of sham society, mingled with the ferocity of the Christian religionist, who considers himself bound to be revenged on immorality.

For my part, I think the exaggeration of the writer in the *Daily News* is to his credit, as it is the result of the impression of loathing at the horrible judicial murders of the last quarter of the year, culminating with the slaughter of the two lads at Maidstone, which was obviously a judicial crime due to sheer cowardice.

*Per contra* the *Star* has some very timely and very sensible remarks on this matter of the "punishment" of crimes against property. (Crimes against a crime? Can that be?) It is to be hoped that its working-men Radical readers will take them to heart, since I fear there are not a few of them who are inclined to share in the "just indignation, *i.e.*, the revenge for the terror of the "plate-basket proprietor face to face with robbery."

"There is no getting over the fact," says the *Star*, "that we have turned our burglars into murderers." Just so; and also we have been driven into that idiocy by our initial idiocy of making them burglars. I quote the *Star* again: "The trade of manufacturing and hardening felons at the greatest possible cost to the community (the main secret of the process is teaching them to associate the idea of labour with useless torture) goes on, whitewashed by the addition of a little hypocrisy to its brutality and stupidity." Most true; and this no less so: "Our penal system is an abominably cruel one; and it is made so for no other reason than that our honest poor fare so wretchedly, that if prisoners were treated with humanity, the victims

of our sweaters would find in Pentonville a comparatively pleasant refuge from the miseries of their workshops and garrets. This is the naked truth." It is indeed; the cruel judge with his solemn hypocrisy of morality is the necessary complement to the sweater of sweaters, the capitalist employer.

Sham society continuously revenges herself on the "criminals" whom she has created, and without whom she would cease to exist. How long will it be before all those who have a grain of honesty left in them, will understand this, and come out of her to become rebels against her?

Meanwhile, I think that for much of the change of feeling on this point of the treatment of so-called criminals, which to me (a middle-aged man or rather more) is obvious enough, we have to thank men like Sir Charles Warren and Mr. Balfour, and that never-enough-to-be-praised custom of our beloved country of treating political prisoners as mere felons. Some years ago none of us thought of a gentleman being sent to jail till he had been *ungentlemanned*. The fact that now we see personal friends who have worn the order of the Broad Arrow, and that we may wear it ourselves, has quickened the imaginations of us, the gentlemen, considerably.

Sham society is at work to try to purge itself of what every one must admit to be a crime, the condemnation and imprisonment of two innocent men, Brannaghan and Murphy, for burglary. The way it is setting about it is to indict four policemen for conspiracy to bear false witness. But no amount of revenge on the lower instruments of legal tyranny can undo what has been done, or give back the lost years of their life to its victims.

Nay, more: supposing these men are found guilty, let us not forget also that they are habitually encouraged to give false evidence by the very Law that tries them. They are not indeed encouraged to tell downright obvious lies, for they might be found out; but their statements as guardian of Law and Order are received in practice (whatever the theory may be) as facts that it is useless or dangerous to question. And surely to poor and ignorant men, degraded by their miserable profession of thief-catching, this is a mere invitation to the invention of falsity and the suppression of truth, and the general wresting of facts towards a conviction. Once again, if these men are found guilty and punished, sham society will punish them for the crime she has driven or allured them to.

The *Pall Mall* believes that the Puritan and the Socialist will meet on the common ground of Sabbatarianism! H'm, well; they may meet on that ground; but if they do, it will be to *fight* on it. We hope no enquirer into Socialism will be led astray by such nonsense into thinking that a Socialist can be either a Sabbatarian or a Puritan. I say flatly that the Puritan, as Puritan, is the enemy of the human race, his horrible galvanism of Christianity the worst religious trap which the world has fallen into.

Lord Rosebery and Sir J. Lubbock have been lamenting that the elections for the County Council cannot be wholly un-party-political. Here is the Devil objecting to sin with a vengeance! Are you tired of politics, Sir John? Do you want to keep politics all to yourself, my lord Rosebery? Probably. In short, what Lord Rosebery and the others mean on this head is, "You County Councilmen, attend to your jobbery; you'll have plenty of it and you were made for it; but don't meddle with politics, that's for your betters. Look here, this is the way to do it! Ain't it funny?"

The Pope is laying a heavy charge on the bishops in America to do their best to put down the Socialism which is spreading amongst the Irish Roman Catholics there. This is good news on both sides; on one that Socialism is spreading enough to annoy his Holiness; on the other a sign that neither side of orthodox Christianity will attempt to draw us into entangling alliances. The Pope is right. Real Catholicism died with the Middle Ages: modern Catholicism is but a survival from it, kept alive on the one hand by its alliance with absolutist



bureaucracy and on the other by its alliance with Puritanism, with which, though Catholicism is less revolting on the surface, it has much in common: the Salvation Army, e.g., being a development quite in the manner of modern Catholicism. It is good to know our enemies; both these are of them.

The plot against humanity in Central Africa is going on briskly. The check given to the Germans has had its necessary result in stirring up those would-be masters of the world, the rulers of the German people, to set on foot a new expedition in regular military style, with twelve field guns to aid. At the same time we have news of a "revolution" in Uganda. The missionaries have been driven away, and Islam has been proclaimed there; which means that the Arabs, the only people capable of organising opposition to the European pirates, have got the upper hand there. However, we must be cautious in accepting news from the tainted source of filibusters and filibusters' friends; for it will often be fabricated, or at least exaggerated, in order to stir public opinion into getting up fresh filibustering expeditions.

W. M.

## WHIGS ASTRAY.<sup>1</sup>

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN

OWEN MARX BAKOUNINE JONES, an architect (unsuccessful), and—the Rev. SWAIN STRIDE, a Nonconformist parson, and } advanced Radicals.  
MR. JEREMIAH BROWN, a business man

SCENE—A comfortable bachelor-looking room in MR. BROWN'S house, with tobacco and pipes and grog to the fore. MR. STRIDE and MR. BROWN sitting on either side of the fire, looking important and self-satisfied. Enter to them MR. JONES with an ill-concealed grin on his face; after the usual greetings he sits down and says:

Jones. Well, Mr. Brown, here I am, ready to hear what you have to say to me, and eager to know what puts you into such good spirits this evening, as you obviously are in.

Brown. Well, we are; we have been talking about matters that make us hopeful.

J. I am glad of that. I see so many doleful faces nowadays, that it does me good to see two cheerful ones, especially as finials to two such pinnacles of the temple as a parson and a man of business.

Stride. I don't like you to call me a parson, Jones. I am none of your priests; and really I think you know me well enough not to set me down as a relation of Chadband. You know very well that what I'm really interested in is politics, and practical at that; and that I want them to be discussed without fear or favour; so knowing you for a cantankerous Socialist, I asked Brown to ask you to come here to-night.

J. Thank you for the compliment—and also for your company: you want to cheer me up, which is kind of you. But you know how curious I am; what can it be? It can't be politics, for things are looking rather blue for your side of the house. Is business beginning to boom, Brown? Have you been speculating in a gold-mine which is turning up trumps, Stride?

B. Well, perhaps business is a thought better. But that's not it. You see—

S. (interrupting). It so happens that you are out about it's not being politics. Brown and I think matters are looking much more hopeful of late.

J. Indeed! And now I look at you, there is something portentous about your cheerfulness. What's up? Are you going to turn Tory-Democrats, the last refuge for the desperately hopeful? Or does the Salvation Army raise your spirits? Have you got another Gordon on hand to put a stop to war by cutting down the fruit-trees on which potential warriors live, and to put a stop to slavery by killing the niggers before they can be made slaves of? Are you civilising Africa?

S. Now don't you be offensive about Gordon: you know I'm dead against the whole nigger-slaving business.

J. Yes, but somewhat in favour of the Christian-hero pest. But let that pass. Is Lord Salisbury dead? Don't be too glad of it; it won't do you Liberals much good. Vic can truly say with King Harry in 'Chevy Chase,'

"I trust I have within my realm  
An hundred good as he."

S. (laughing). Hear the spite of the Tory-Democrat!

J. (severely). Don't call bad names, Stride!

B. (anxiously). No, but ain't you a Tory-Democrat, Jones? Stride always calls you one.

J. Yes, that comes of his innate wisdom, that does not need vulgar information. I am not a Tory-Democrat, Brown.

B. What are you then? Because—

S. (interrupting). Come, let's be serious, Jones. You know I'm really a practical Socialist.

J. Indeed I did not know it. May I ask—

S. (interrupting). No, please don't interrupt me! I say I am a practical Socialist; and yet I cannot be one of your hard-shell

Socialists, with your impossible nostrums of the abolition of capital and railways, and your preposterous ideals of communism and equality; and your false political economy, dead in the teeth of all the accurate thinkers of the day, such as Mill and Tennyson and Ricardo and Swinburne, and—and—Lord Rosebery and Auberon-Herbert. But yet, you see, I was bothered that there should be no true Socialist party that I could work with heartily; and now I really think that we are getting one, and I've got out a sort of manifesto of it: indeed, there it lies on the table now.

J. And you have asked Brown to ask me here to cheer me up with it? How kind of you. Is it in print?

S. No; but any Radical paper will print it.

J. Well, well, things are getting on fast. And is Brown a member of the new party? Are you a Socialist, Brown?

B. Well, where's the harm of a name? Stride and I thought—

S. (interrupting). We don't call ourselves Socialists, of course.

J. No, of course not.

S. We call ourselves Advanced Liberals or Radicals.

J. (with preternatural gravity). Hah! But is that such a great invention in the way of names?

S. That's just the beauty of it.

J. I grant you the beauty of it must be there—or nowhere.

S. Pray be serious, and don't interrupt!

B. I assure you, Jones—

S. (interrupting). We are Socialists who don't set class against class, which I think is downright wickedness.

J. (softly). Let the galled jade wince, my withers are unwrung! The ages have done all that for me.

S. (taking up a paper from the table). Nevertheless we have a clear, definite Creed, which I will now lay before you, Jones.

J. Ah, now I see what makes you look so happy! You are Radicals who have been searching for the planks of your platform, and you think you have discovered the necessary timber—(sotto voce) all out of your own heads.

S. (hurriedly, and not listening). Yes, that's it. Now look here, this is the preamble. (Reads.) 'It is always foolish and wicked to set class against class, but the time has come for a resolute forward movement in favour of the toilers of our streets and fields. Legislation cannot do much to make the weak strong, to make the poor rich, to make the miserable happy; but it can keep off the greedy hand, and shield the helpless from oppression. It can help the poor to help themselves. It can break down legalised monopoly. It can clear the road by sweeping away many hindrances in the path of men without influence. It can give the poor "the benefit of the doubt." It can help the wage-earner to give his child a chance. It can provide something better than the workhouse for old men and women whose strength is spent and whose friends are gone.'

J. It is nicely written, Stride, and I'm sure that you mean well, so far as you know how to; but you are deceiving yourself. How can legislation do all these things with one hand, while with the other it is engaged upholding that very monopoly (do you know what monopoly is, my friend?) of which the poor and their terrible needs are a necessary result? It exists to support the greedy hand; it exists for oppression, and when ceases to oppress will cease to exist. This is a riddle you cannot rede till you know a little more.

S. Well, well, that's only the preamble. Wait a bit! Our first plank is, 'Government by the people, for the people, in the interests of the people.'

J. If the people govern themselves for themselves and in their own interest, there will be nothing but themselves: is that so? Can it be so while the present system lasts, reformed or not? Your first plank is not a plank, but a phrase, and a phrase without meaning. As long as there are rich men nursed up at the expense of the people they will govern us for their interest, whatever the machinery of their government may be. Meantime the people is but the material for the feeding of the rich.

S. Well, this next is a plank, at all events: 'The State should as far and as fast as possible delegate to each locality the rights of self-government, and should encourage and protect them in the use of such rights.' There!

J. County Councils, eh? A Tory measure; and properly so. Bodies with feeble administrative powers in themselves; mere machinery in the hands of the central government; good to strengthen that by doing its dirty work and appearing responsible for it, while in reality they are responsible for nothing. That is what you mean by self-government. If you were to mean more your plank would be a plank to be walked by the present society; for when the State has delegated all its powers what is the good of it, and what shall we do with it?

S. Hilloa! Since when have you turned Anarchist?

J. Don't use words you don't understand. But go on.

S. 'We should lift the burdens as far as possible from the shoulders of the struggling classes'—

J. Stop a bit! That's good! as far as possible is a good phrase. No Tory could object to that plank so far. Well, where are you going to put these burdens when you have lifted them as far as possible? I suspect back, again.

S. We would 'put them to a greater extent on the shoulders of those who toil not, but without toiling have enough and to spare.'

J. Well, that I call a great invention; only it smacks somewhat of going about to get something out of nothing. For how the devil can those who toil not (i.e., produce nothing) have enough and to spare—unless they steal it? In short, your struggling classes are too poor to pay taxes; that you admit (and by the admission admit also that the

<sup>1</sup> The portions of this dialogue between the single "quotes" are taken from a genuine document—"A Radical's Creed," by John Page Hopps, in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Dec. 10th, 1888.

whole of the middle-classes or well-to-do are thieves). So you are going to set the other classes to steal from the poor, in order that the taxes may be duly paid. That will bring about no new blessing for the struggling classes; they enjoy it already.

S. You needn't talk nonsense! 'We believe in a graduated income-tax and graduated death-dues.'

J. Just so: to be paid by those who have no income but what they steal. Here is a pretty outcome of "the career open to talent," which I believe is still the great maxim of the Radicals. Certainly I need not talk nonsense.

S. Now listen! 'We are in favour of a reform of the poor-laws.'

J. Gently, gently!

S. 'It is of course necessary to watch carefully lest the path to the poor's purse or the poor's house should not become too easy.'

J. Stop! Do you know why it is necessary?

S. No.

J. Of course, no. Why (also of course), because the share of the national purse which the poor get by working hard is only just enough to give them a most miserable life. So that if you did not make the path to that palace of bliss, the poor-house, a hard one, that kingdom of heaven would be taken by storm.

S. Well, 'At any rate that is no reason why the hopelessly beaten in the battle of life should be penned up like criminals.'

J. Excuse me: it is the reason.

S. 'In any case the neglect of poor old people in England is almost our greatest sin and shame.'

J. The sentiment does honour to your heart: but you are too sensitive: there are plenty of sins and shames quite as bad; the neglect of worn-out workers is a natural consequence of the career open to talent according to the doctrine of private property.

S. Well, now I have begun, I suppose I must go on. But how cantankerous you are!

J. I flatter myself I am. But go on, pray.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JANUARY 26, 1889.

20	Sun.	1649. Trial of Charles Stuart for treason against the people. 1794. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Globe Tavern, Strand. 1802. Trial of Govr. Wall for murder. 1870. Alex. Herzen died at Paris. 1880. First number of <i>La Revue Socialiste</i> , Paris, monthly review edited by Benoit Malon. 1883. Explosion at Glasgow.
21	Mon.	1561. Venner's followers executed. 1793. Execution of Louis XVI. 1864. National League founded in Dublin by John Martin. 1888. Dr. Adolph Douai, Socialist, died.
22	Tues.	1561. Francis Bacon born. 1880. Report of Statistical Society on "Strikes of the last ten years." 1887. C. W. Mowbray (9 months) and Fred Henderson (4 months) sentenced at Norwich.
23	Wed.	1806. W. Pitt died. 1844. Sir Francis Burdett died. 1866. T. L. Peacock died. 1871. Demonstration in Trafalgar Square against bombardment of Paris. 1875. Charles Kingsley died.
24	Thur.	1732. Beaumarchais born. 1808. Wilhelm Weitling born. 1840. Bishop of Exeter's petition as to Robert Owen presented to the House of Lords. 1862. Miles Byrne died. 1884. Explosions at House of Commons and the Tower.
25	Fri.	1819. Ernest Jones born. 1870. Sixth annual Congress of the Workmen's Assembly, State of New York. 1885. First number of <i>Commonweal</i> .
26	Sat.	1651. Denis Papin presents to the Royal Society, London, the English translation of his book, "The New Digester." 1869. Ernest Jones died. 1884. Execution of a spy at Kharkoff.

*Sir Francis Burdett*.—Radical reformer. Born Jan. 25, 1770; died Jan. 23, 1844. One of the most prominent figures in the Reform agitation of the opening years of this century. Like most of his fellows, he drew his inspiration from France. On leaving college he went on a European tour, and was resident in Paris during the early days of the Revolution, where he regularly attended the debates of the Convention and many of the meetings of the clubs. Returning to England in 1793, he married in the same year, and three years later entered Parliament as a Reform candidate. He was not long in Parliament before the Government found him a vigorous and determined enemy. In 1797 he vehemently denounced and indicted them for their encroachments on popular rights. He protested against the war with France as a futile attempt to stifle the flame of liberty. Again and again did he take this tone, and came to be the recognised champion of the democracy. He moved for the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, and opposed the exclusion of Horne Tooke from the House of Commons. He so thoroughly exposed the malpractices of the Government on political prisoners that a special order was issued to prevent his gaining access to the jails. In 1802 began the great contest for the representation of Westminster, which, after much litigation and two elections, ended in 1806 in a tremendous triumph for the reformers: the first great victory they won. Burdett sat thirty years as member for Westminster. After very many fights upon flogging in the army, etc., in 1810 he made a breach of the privileges of the House in defending a Radical speaker imprisoned for the same offence. Beaten by an adverse vote, he had his speech printed and issued it to the people, thus appealing to them against their "representatives." The Speaker issued his warrant of arrest, and Burdett barricaded his house: troops were called out to aid in his arrest, and the people rose in his defense. The Houses of Parliament were garrisoned and fortified, the Lifeguards stationed in the streets, and the town patrolled by many thousands of soldiers. On the fourth day, Burdett's house was taken by storm, himself arrested and consigned to the Tower. There he remained for the rest of the session, in accordance with ancient custom. Until 1819 he steadfastly maintained the position he had taken up; in that year occurred the massacre of Peterloo. As soon as Burdett received the news of this event he wrote a letter to his constituents, in which he said: "What! kill men unarmed, unresisting,

and, gracious God! women too, disfigured, maimed, cut down, and trampled on by dragons! Is this England?—a land of freedom? Can such things be, and pass by us like a summer cloud, unheeded? Forbid it every drop of English blood in every vein that does not proclaim its owner bastard!" Brought to trial by the Government, he defended himself with great ability, but was condemned to pay a fine of £2,000 and be imprisoned for three months. When the Reform Bill was carried, Burdett considered his work done; he was old, and viewed with suspicion the new ideas of younger men; distrust of O'Connell and dislike for the "Liberator's" methods of work also tended to weaken his adherence to the advanced wing of his party. The reaction of 1835 found him out of sympathy with the majority of his constituents, and he left Westminster for North Wiltshire, which he represented as a very mild Conservative until his death.

To Burdett is due the making of free speech again possible in England. In his long battle with unjust laws and privileges he displayed such powers as to be declared by the highest authority the greatest constitutional lawyer in the country.

*Alexander Herzen*.—The Socialist ideas penetrated into Russia under the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, and the various groups to which belonged Alexander Herzen, Ogareff, Bakounine, and others, were the very centres out of which the revolutionary doctrines were propagated in all classes of society. As far back as 1849 Fourierist conspirators were sentenced to be shot, but afterwards "pardoned" and sent to Siberia. At the same time, a school of realistic novel-writers imbued with advanced Liberal and Radical opinions, among whom Tourguenief and Gregorowitch were most prominent, attracted public attention to the terrible condition of the Russian serfs and claimed their emancipation. The Russian rural commune was studied, and the collectivist or communist traditions which were found therein gave a new and solid basis to the Socialist doctrines. Czarism and despotism unfortunately were so powerful that it was scarcely possible to make much useful propaganda. Alexander Herzen went first to Paris, and after the *coup d'état*, started in London *Kolokol* (the Bell), "the first free Russian paper." Secretly introduced into Russia, Herzen's organ at once met with an extraordinary success. Schédo-Ferroti, who abused him so bitterly, is compelled to acknowledge the tremendous power of his propaganda. In spite of the vigilance of the custom officers and the police, *Kolokol* had an exceedingly extensive circulation, for the copies which were introduced into Russia went around from man to man, so that one single copy may have had a hundred or more readers. The paper was written out; parts of it were learnt by heart and recited in large circles; in one word, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed wherever it appeared. The reason of such marked and decided success is easy enough to conceive: with Herzen and through him began the revival of the Russian nation. In a powerful and masterly manner he criticised Russian despotism and western bourgeoisdom alike and came to the conclusion that Communism alone was the right outcome of society. Herzen was above all a great critic, an energetic denier, who did not want to build up, but only to demolish. Old society, he contended, is deadly ill, we only have to prepare its burial, our successors will find out their own way, prepared by our critical work. At that period of his career, Herzen may very well be termed an Anarchist, but afterwards he became a Socialist and an evolutionist. Even after having been very intimate with Michael Bakounine, who largely contributed to *Kolokol*, he severed all connection with him and violently wrote against his former friend's ideas. But besides Socialism, which became merely a theory for him, we must say that Herzen developed a marvellous political activity, of which the results were immense for Russia. It has been asserted that one ought to go back as far as Voltaire, perhaps, to find another example of such a prodigious influence won solely by one man's writings. It can be said that, during ten years, Herzen, a political convict, deprived of all his rights, expelled from several countries, has nevertheless ruled over Russia. By his eloquent pen, by the elevation of his thought, he won the minds of all people, even of those whose interest it was to destroy the coming freedom. Under the influence of public opinion, stirred up by Herzen, the Government were compelled to grant reforms of which they would never have thought but for him, and which appeared as wonders in a land like Russia. Among those reforms there is one which is grand enough to immortalise the great Russian exile: the enfranchisement of thirty million men who bore the name of serfs and who really were slaves. Certainly the act of enfranchisement has not given the peasants all they wanted; the Czar granted just as much as he thought necessary in order to avoid an agrarian revolt; Tchernyschewsky, for instance, afterwards openly said that if he had known that the question would have been settled in that way, he would have preferred a complete defeat instead of such a dubious victory. Anyhow the peasants felt themselves somewhat freer, for they were no longer treated so brutally as before, and they were at least enabled to look forward with better hopes and more certainty to their final deliverance. Herzen died at Paris, where a French edition of his complete works (10 vols., 8vo) was published by Germer-Baillière (afterwards Alcan Lévy).—V. D.

*Myles Byrne*.—United Irishman. Born at Monaseed, county Wexford, March 20, 1780; died in Paris, Jan. 24, 1862. Son of a farmer, in 1796 he agreed to become a yeoman on condition of getting a lease renewed for his mother, but his father, who was then ill, dying in the meantime, he escaped from his bargain, and could thus boast he "never wore a red coat." Entering the United Irishmen in 1797, he threw himself into the work with such energy that he, a boy of seventeen, was soon the most influential organiser in his native county. June 3, 1798, he joined the rebels at Corrigua, and after Vinegar Hill (June 21) rallied a number of pikemen, whom he led in a number of small fights with great skill and daring. Castlecomer was unsuccessfully attacked; he was again beaten at Ballygullen; and on July 4, he joined "General" Joseph Holt in the Wicklow mountains, where he held out for months in the hope of help from France. Going to see his mother and sister on Allhallow's Eve, he narrowly escaped arrest; making his way to Dublin disguised as a cardriver. Here he stayed and got employment as clerk in a timber-yard. In the spring of 1803 he met Robert Emmet, whom he readily joined in his project of another armed rising, taking some of the most dangerous and difficult parts of the work to his own share—making contracts with gunmakers, arranging the manufacture of pikes, and procuring war material in general. He brought into the plot a large number of Wexford and Wicklow men who had been proved in '98, and in the projected taking of Dublin Castle (July 23) he was, with them, to have attacked the entrance on the Ship Street side while Emmet attacked the front. Through Emmet's failure to keep the agreement, the attempt fell through. On returning from the Wicklow mountains Byrne was sent by Robert Emmet to Paris, where he was to communicate with T. A. Emmet, agent of the United Irishmen to the First Consul, as to obtaining aid from France. After some difficulty he reached Bordeaux in an American ship, and helped compose a report on the state of Ireland, which was laid before Napoleon. An Irish expedition was promised for the near future, and as a preparation there was formed (Nov. 1803) an Irish legion in the service of France, a very different body from that Irish brigade which was broken up at the revolution of 1789. In this Byrne served from 1804 to 1815; beginning as a lieutenant of infantry, he soon became a captain, and in 1810 was made commander of a *corps d'élite*; June 18, 1813, he was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honour; and was made *chef de bataillon* (lieutenant-colonel) just as Napoleon's abdication prevented his signing the commission. After the revolution of 1830 he was recalled from Greece and became *chef de bataillon* in the 56th line regiment; in 1832 received the cross of the Legion of Honour from Louis Philippe. In 1835 he resigned, and lived for the rest of his life in Paris, where his striking personality and remarkable history made him a noted man. He is buried at Montmartre, and there has been a monument placed upon his grave there. He was very much more than a mere "patriot," taking a deep interest in the struggles of all peoples, alike for their political and economic freedom.—S.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. da S. T. (Porto).—You owe 3s. already; the annual subscription is 6s. Remittances to be made payable to Frank Kitz.

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 16.

ENGLAND	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
Croydon Echo	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Barcelona—El Productor
Die Autonomie	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	Seville—La Solidaridad
Justice	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	
London—Freie Presse	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Norwich—Daylight	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
Postal Service Gazette	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Brunn—Volksfreund
Railway Review	Le Proletariat	
Sozial Demokrat	La Revolte	HUNGARY
	L'Union Socialiste	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
INDIA		ROUMANIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	HOLLAND	Jassy—Muncitorul
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
UNITED STATES		DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist		Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmo—Arbetet
Jewish Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Backer Zeitung	ITALY	
Alarm	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia	NORWAY
Workmen's Advocate	Turin—Il Muratore	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Rome—L'Emancipazione	
Investigator	Cremona—L'Eco del Popolo	WEST INDIES
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	GERMANY	Cuba—El Productor
Daily News	Berlin—Volks Tribune	MEXICO
		Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier

#### NOTES.

MR. MCCREE has returned to the charge with another letter in the columns of the *Daily News*. It now appears that this gentleman thinks he has proved his case by contrasting the present year of our Lord with 1848. He imagines that he smashes all opposition by stating that the people are much better off both morally and materially in these advanced days than they were in '48.

Well, it may be true that the people are better off now than then. But Mr. McCree should not select a year of exceptional distress like '48 to prove his optimistic theories; '48 was a year throughout the Continent, of revolution, the year of Chartist plots, the year of the great demonstration on Kennington Common in England, when middle-class London was in an agony of panic at the revolution which seemed to be impending. It was a year too in which 14 Chartist chiefs were arrested by 300 armed policemen, while plotting insurrection at Angel Tavern, Blackfriars, while seizure of arms and arrests were made at many other places. So probably matters were a trifle worse than they are now.

But then the people hadn't been starved and poisoned down to their present poorness of health and physique in the back slums of London. If they did swear and curse more, what of it? It was, perhaps, proof of a stronger physical organisation; but now too many of the masses are too spiritless to curse, too broken down in body and mind to revolt against

the misery which oppresses them. They have not even sufficient spirit to kick the pious pretenders out of doors when they come lecturing them upon the crime of being poor, the beauties of godliness, thrift, and temperance. And this is the sort of thing which gospel-grinders call a vast improvement!

There isn't so much cursing, manners are improving, vice is not so prevalent. Dear me, one would think Mr. McCree had dwelt in Belgravia all his life. Has he ever listened to the conversation of the East-end rough, to that outpouring of filthy slime, far worse than the good honest hearty curses of the days gone by. Has he ever walked along a populous street in the West-end, or in the suburbs of London? If he hasn't, let him do it, and if he can come forward with these lies in his mouth again, he must have more than the usual share of impudence necessary in his profession of "minister" of the Gospel.

I can tell Mr. McCree one virtue which some of the poor have learned from the ministrations of himself and his brethren. Those who have been brought immediately under their influence have learnt "hypocrisy" to such a degree, that they have perhaps taken in their masters. This is the great improvement; but hypocrisy with its sham refinement is no proof of increasing purity of heart and mind. It is only a covering for far deadlier evils than openly displayed themselves in the days that have passed.

Under the benignant rule of Mr. McCree's masters, degeneration, moral and physical, is spreading rapidly like a fearful pestilence through every section of the population, while Mr. McCree and his brethren do their best to hide the evil and cover up the sore. The cry of these false prophets has always been the same, "Peace, peace!" when there is no peace, but murder, famine, and hideous war. Go on, Mr. McCree, whitewash the sepulchre of middle-class society; but we can still smell, despite the fair outside, the odour of corruption and the stench of dead men's bones. D. N.

#### RELEASE OF OLDLAND.

OUR comrade Alfred Oldland was released from Pentonville prison on the 8th inst., after having suffered fourteen months' imprisonment. It will be remembered that in November, 1887, the police, after having driven the unemployed from Trafalgar Square, set upon and brutally beat them as they were about to leave Hyde Park in orderly procession. Having been specially pointed out by police officers with the cry, "He's a leader!" Oldland, in sheer desperation, raised his stick to defend himself against a score of policemen who were advancing upon him with drawn truncheons. Having slightly struck one of them, he was charged with assault. Being tried before Mr. Edlin at the Middlesex Sessions, that worthy associate of "Mother Jefferies" sentenced him to twelve months' hard labour, and two months extra if he failed to find sureties to "keep the peace" for another twelve. He complained of the amount of food allowed to prisoners, saying, according to an evening contemporary, that it was "simply starvation." As a rule, the authorities release Socialist prisoners extremely early; but on this occasion a large number of comrades were kept waiting in the cold morning air until 9 o'clock.

Charity to those to whom justice is denied, is only a bribe to make them submit to tyranny and injustice.—Bronterre O'Brien.

A very useful discussion, "Land, Labour, and Capital," is going on in the columns of the *Co-operative News*, in which the Rev. Oswald Birchall and other friends are taking an effective part.

The beginning of all good law, and nearly the end of it, is in these two ordinances,—that every man shall do good work for his bread; and secondly, that every man shall have good bread for his work.—Ruskin, 'Fors,' No. 10.

STARVING DUSTMEN.—The *Croydon Echo*, in its issue of the 10th, makes a vigorous attack on the municipal administration, which dooms numbers of poor men to misery while a few officials feast on the fat of the land. It also holds up to merited obloquy the local vicar, who has been blessing the Bumbles for "lowering the rates!"

THE POPE AND THE SOCIALISTS.—According to the *Daily News* correspondent the Pope, in an audience he gave a few days ago to several American prelates, instructed them to strenuously combat the Socialist movement which has lately begun to spread among the Irish Roman Catholics settled in America. If the measures taken privately should not prove sufficient, a Papal Rescript, similar to the one addressed to the bishops in Ireland, will probably be sent to the United States.

SOCIALISM IN MANCHESTER.—Our comrade Wess, whose constant, untiring work in the cause has gained him the warm esteem and trust of all who knew him here, has lately gone to Manchester. Of course, he at once began to do all he could to stir the deadlively town. In a private letter to a friend here he gives some account of his experiences, and seems very hopeful as to the work that may be done there. His address is 19, Charlotte Street, Hightown, where he will be very glad to hear from those who are willing to help him.

AN IRISH POLICEMAN REBELS.—A sensational incident occurred last week in Loughrea. When the Quarter Sessions Court adjourned after hearing several Clanricarde ejectments, the local Nationalists brought out the band, which played national airs through the streets to celebrate the determined struggle made by the tenants against Lord Clanricarde. At the head of the band marched a policeman in uniform, and, addressing the crowd, he declared that the police were sick of the degrading work which they were called upon to perform—evicting poor people and seizing a priest's car and vestments on the public road. For his own part he was resolved not to go on with it any more, and he called for three cheers for John Dillon, William O'Brien, and the Clanricarde tenants, which were heartily responded to. At this juncture a body of police marched on the scene and arrested the constable.



## EDUCATION: WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT SHOULD BE.

(Concluded from p. 13.)

I REFERRED before to Nature's manner of "educating." In the future, and in order to proceed on proper lines, we shall require to imitate her a little; this time not with the aid of Competition, but of Art. I say in the future, because this demands a revolution in thought and consequent destruction of our present condition of social life and relations. For education means development, it means the creation of conditions that will afford the fullest opportunity to all mankind, for the due cultivation of our manhood and womanhood. Instead of drudges, loafers, and swindlers, it would make men and women—a somewhat truer and higher ideal than the making of money, or of raising a race of drudges to enable others to make it. It is indeed impossible to exaggerate the importance of a right education under the guidance of wise, sympathetic teachers. Not mere stuffing with dead vocables, of themselves indefinite, and too often distorting the natural inclination, fitness of the pupil.

On this matter Goethe has said: "Well formed healthy children bring much into the world along with them. Nature has given to each whatever he requires for time and duration; to *unfold*, this is the duty of teachers; often it unfolds itself better of its own accord." Granting the indispensibility of the alphabet and what follows from it, could not this art of teaching be carried into higher, more definite regions? Could we not have a teaching class to preside over, *educate*, draw out and direct the youthful capacities of doing, of being, and enjoying—in all ways to take from the region of sentiment, the thought of the poet? What a piece of work is a man! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! It might be asked what can education not do; education that will not confine itself to one mechanical quality of the mind, but will embrace the mind itself, the character, and whole moral and physical powers of the man.

Of course such education is only possible after every form of social inequality, all artificial distinction of rich and poor, high and low, has been destroyed, and in this sense a true educationist is necessarily a revolutionist, as Social Revolution only will make education possible. No separation of the brain and the hand will be attempted, nor can this even be done without inflicting disaster on both, as is seen to-day. There is no such separation in nature. At present, however, very many are confined to mere drudgery possessed with brains, and therefore, capable of profiting by reasonable leisure; while the ostensible "brain-worker" is very often seen to be *without* brains. Therefore true education must be industrial for all alike, as only in a combination of the physical, external, and practical, with the intellectual and creative, can we get a full expression of the man. Work, labour, is no equivocal expression, but is the outward and palpable revelation of the inward. In a reasonable state of society all will be required to perform their share of labour, that each may be relieved from undue toil, and ample leisure provided for the proper development of the enormous treasure of human worth, energy, and talent, now lying all defaced or trodden out of sight,—

"Then a man shall work and bethink him, and rejoice in the deeds of his hand,

Nor yet come home in the even too faint and weary to stand."

What an immense blessing and relief it would be to the human race were we once well rid of the sickening hurry and worry, impetuous haste and scramble, with which every description of work is associated to-day—how you are hounded on by some lynx-eyed master, or snobbish sycophantic "gaffer," until the thing you are fashioning becomes hateful, a thing you can have no joy or delight in, but are only anxious to get it out of your sight. How far different the work might be, the life might be, to feel you were infusing your soul in your work—a pleasure in the doing, and done to be a source of genuine profit and pleasure to yourself and others.

An objection might be noted here that is always sure to be made to such a ruthless disregard of "superior abilities," "genius," and such-like, as is implied in such an educational scheme—an objection, however, that can only emanate from commercial travellers, commission agents, and the general fraternity of touts. What about the poets, the Shakespeares, the Miltons, "would you have them descend to some paltry occupation?" It might be difficult to allay the apprehensions of the touts, but we could remind them that the Shakespeares were rare, and we might also with reverential awe and whispering humbleness say this—that most of us rise, up to mediocrity merely. On the other hand, this at least is to be remarked, that no human being is born with brains so meagre as to warrant the enormous cruelty perpetrated by Society in confining a man to the solitary occupation of boring like rats in mines, from the moment they are able to work till the day they die; and it is an aggravation of the offence to imagine that it is other than an altogether hideous decree. It might also be remarked that among our so-called "brain-workers," few weavers rise to weave us a web of thought of the texture of a Hamlet or 'Paradise Lost.' There is something irreverent, however, in such references to the marvels of the poet's mind, as they cannot be spoken of as *labour* in that sense of the term under consideration. To body forth the forms of things unseen will always be the glory and exceeding great reward of the poet, and he will be the last to object to useful and healthy physical exercise, else he is no true poet.

With the leisure that would result to every individual, by all performing a part, a man would be enabled to develop his powers and his

usefulness in a variety of ways, and not be confined to one monotonous round of the same kind of labour. And whatever the labour he might be engaged in, it would in all cases have the full assent of his manhood being an intelligent participator in the end aimed at. Whereas at present the worker is a mere mechanical drudge, and, so far as he is concerned, the work engaged in is quite aimless, no part of his life, except in so far as he expends his life on it to get his daily bread. There is, perhaps, nothing more forcibly illustrates this than to see a body of workmen, after having finished off some beautiful mansion, meekly and with a very appalling kind of magnanimity leave it to somebody, while they slowly make their way for some obscure, smoky, and ill-ventilated hovel. They build the mansions and they build the hovels—but the hovels are for themselves, the mansions are for the rich. Of course it might be said the bishop, banker, merchant, or to whoever the mansion was left, had money and could buy it, while the individual workmen had not. But if the bishop had been in the desert of Sahara all his days, instead of living in the midst of wealth-producing millions, he would not have had his money. Or, better still, if the bishop, etc., belong to their monopoly independent of the millions, then let them go to the desert of Sahara with it, and much good may it do them, leaving the workers, the industrial armies—"every soldier with his two five-fingered hands at his shackle bones and miraculous head on his shoulders"—behind, with the quarries, the mines, the workshops, and the fair fields! No single man can accomplish anything, but all men in intelligent combination and co-operation can, with a certain approximation to equity, satisfy the wants of each.

Looking on a certain "miscellany of men," Carlyle remarked: "Some score or two of years ago all these were little red coloured pulpy infants, each of them capable of being kneaded, baked into any social form you chose." A right education would regard all men at the outset, without distinction of parentage, as simply "red-coloured pulpy infants," incipient citizens, who by every kind of appropriate furtherance were to become the men and women of the future. Care would be taken that the surroundings would be of such a nature as would give the dawning intelligence impressions of beauty, of truth, and of purity. In this light, furnished by the social idea of education, we see that human wretchedness, disease, all deformity what we call *sin*, is not necessarily a permanent part of human life, but quite accidental and passing. At least it is purely relative, and the result of the influences with which we have been surrounded.

Just consider what a monstrous mass of ugliness, of filth, and smoke a big city is; the hideous diversity and irregularity of its buildings, regardless of form, line, or device, except pig device. Side by side with some magnificent pile is some contractor's shed or huckster's shop, every nook and cranny utilised regardless of anything in nature or art. Consider the homes of its inhabitants, the overcrowded streets and lanes and closes, with their multitudes of dirty urchins enjoying themselves as they can in the gutters. Can we think these things do not stamp impressions of the same kind on the people? Must not these be distorted images, polluted thoughts, corrupt actions—moral and physical ugliness? "Let no one think that he can alter the first impressions of his youth," said Goethe. All the more important then that we should make our surroundings of a kind that would purify and exalt, not stain and debase; and, how full of hope for the future of our race is that education which implies this, and will not omit to improve these surroundings. All poetry and prophesy declare that man is good by nature,—

In virtue trained enlightened youth,  
Will love each fellow creature;  
And future years will prove the truth  
That man is good by nature.

"Lo!" said one of the old Hebrew prophets, "this only have I found, that God hath made man upright." True he has sought out many "inventions" in his long pilgrimage down the ages, in slow painful gropings in the dark, in hard battlings with disorder and despair, with wild stormful passions in and around him. Still he has always been growing, advancing, and doubtless it is this same "inventive" faculty, restrained by culture and directed by wisdom, that is destined yet to "conduct the world to freedom."

DANIEL McCULLOCH.

I think nobody but a bishop or a bank director can ever be rogue enough to deserve hanging.—*Ruskin, 'Fors,' Dec. 1874.*

LABOUR AND LAZINESS.—But some one may say, "Have you not a word to give us about the workmen?" Certainly. We look forward to a time when the artizan shall not be regarded as a machine for the capitalist to squeeze; we know—alas, how well we know!—the life of the men who are up in darkness, and who labour until they are too tired to read or think or do anything but doze sluggishly till bed-time. A little laziness would not do some of these fine fellows any harm. We have seen boiler-makers come home night after night with their strong arms almost numbed. If the men sit down for a few minutes after tea, they are like inert masses, and no idea can penetrate their dulled senses. On the other hand, we know the eager vigorous men who go out to political meetings or lectures or who attend reading-rooms, and we admire them and their life. We should like to see the mechanic and labourer have a steady, certain amount of leisure—call it time for laziness if you like; we are not particular over names. We emphatically declare that a nation is disgraced in which thousands of the most useful citizens pass their days in fierce toil and their brief leisure in semi-somnolence. The prudent, active artisan of the future will take care of his own interests, and we shall not see clever hard-working fellows housed like pigs, and resting content with the dull enjoyments of brute beasts.—*Family Herald.*

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**SEAMEN'S WAGES.**—An increase of 5s. in the wages of seamen and firemen was conceded at Dundee on January 10th, the rates for a steamer being 80s. and 85s. per month respectively.

**LANARKSHIRE MINERS.**—The miners at the extensive collieries of Archibald Russell, Greenfield, Hamilton, have been notified that on and after Monday, 14th inst., they will receive an advance of 6d. per day.

**FACTORY WAGES AT DUNDEE.**—On January 10th, the executive of 'Dundee Mill and Factory Operatives' Union resolved, "On account of continued improvement in local trade and scarcity of hands, to agitate for a third increase of 5 per cent. in the wages of the operatives."

**LOCK-OUT AT WEST HARTLEPOOL.**—The following notice was posted on January 8th in Gray's and Company's shipyards: "In consequence of the action of the men engaged in the iron department, this yard will be closed on the 16th inst., and all except those required by the respective foremen will be discharged. Such men as we retain will be engaged from day to day."

**SAILORS' STRIKE.**—The strike of sailors and firemen in the employ of Lord Londonderry at Seaham Harbour and Sunderland, was brought to an end at a late hour on Thursday night. The whole of the men's demands have been conceded, and the settlement is attributed to the power of the National Union of Sailors and Firemen, which the men joined in a body last Tuesday. Many attempts were made to fill up with "rats," but none could be got.

**JEWISH LABOUR IN MANCHESTER.**—A strong effort is being made to organise the Jewish work-people in this city, as is being done in London, Leeds, and other places. Meetings have been held, with the result that a large number gave in their names for the purpose of forming a club, having for its aim the enlightenment and education of the workers on all subjects bearing on the labour question, as also to combine the workers employed in different trades for the purpose of co-operating with the English workers in their struggle against the sweating system.

**ADVANCE IN MINERS' WAGES.**—On Friday 11th, deputations from the various pits in Burnley waited upon the two firms of colliery proprietors, viz., the executors of Colonel Hargreave and Messrs. Brooks and Pickup, asking for 10 per cent. advance in wages. The increase was granted. It affects about five thousand miners. A great strike was threatened if it had not been conceded, and an agitation is still in progress on the question of unionism. The masters decline to recognise the Union which is being formed, and a considerable number of men have been discharged, as they allege, for joining the organisation.

**COTTON TRADE.**—At Blackburn, the Park Place Mill dispute has gone in favour of the men.—The weavers at Loughbridge Shed, Kelbrook, have struck against unjust arrangements of work.—The Cotton Hall Company's disputes at Darwen has ended satisfactorily for the weavers.—The strike of weavers at Lower Heyes Mill, Macclesfield, has now entered its twenty-sixth week, and there has been nothing new during past week.—Further negotiations took place on Friday 11th, with regard to the dispute in Bolton, whereby some thirty thousand operatives are working short time three days a week. The masters renewed their offer to pay £2 18s. per spinner weekly wages; but this the operatives at once rejected, suggesting a conference between the committees on the subject. The dispute has now entered on its fifth week, and great privation is experienced owing to the loss of wages.

**DUNDEE MILLWORKERS.**—The spinners at Broadford Works came out on strike for an increase of 5 per cent. on their present rate of wages. They base their demand upon the fact that the employees at the jute works on two occasions during the past year received an advance of 5 per cent. (10 per cent. in all), and that there seems to be general prosperity in trade. A deputation waited on the manager on Thursday evening, and made a representation to this effect. He stated he would "only be too glad to grant the increase asked for, but that the state of the flax trade was such at present as to make it impossible for any advance to be conceded." There appears to have been an understanding between the employees and their masters that a week's notice would be given of the workers' intention to strike, but at eleven o'clock on Friday the spinners to the number of about a thousand came out. None of the other departments in the factory are affected by the stoppage of the spinning, and are all in full operation. In the course of the day the girls paraded the streets. On Monday, Rev. A. Williamson, the President of Dundee and District Factory Operatives' Union, addressed a mass meeting. Comrade Webster also spoke.

**SLAVES OF THE DUSTHEAP.**—Disclosures of sweating at their own dust wharf surprised the Clerkenwell Vestry at the meeting on the 10th. It was reported that an explosion of carbolic powder at the wharf had seriously injured the right eye of a woman dust-sifter, and as she would be unable to resume work for at least a fortnight, the Works Committee recommended that she should meanwhile receive 12s. per week, the explosion having occurred through the act of a vestry servant. Mr. Evans informed the vestry that the sifting of dust was not done by the superintendent of the wharf, but by a contractor, who received 1s. 3d. for each load, and drew in one year near £500. He engaged a number of poor women, who, standing up to their knees in dust, sifted the dust for 7s. a week when they made full time. Often, for lack of dust, they only laboured half-days, and then their pay was proportionately less. Young women, however poor, would not do such work at the price. They preferred prostitution. The sweeter himself strutted about with a big cigar in his mouth, like a gentleman. So arduous was the work that two women engaged in it in a neighbouring parish dropped dead while sifting; but these two women would take a load and divide the price of sifting and the value of occasional things of worth which were found in the dust-heap. The result was they were much better paid. £1 a week was not too much to pay the injured woman, but care must be taken that none of the money was appropriated by the sweeter. The clerk said that in addition to the 7s., the injured woman received something in kind in the shape of coal, and the wharf superintendent valued her income at 12s. weekly; but when asked, where did she get the coal, answered, "From the dust itself!" It was agreed to give the woman 12s. weekly during her disablement, the vestry clerk paying her directly. It was then unanimously resolved that the whole system of dust-sifting at the wharf be referred to the Works Committee for consideration and report.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE once great and influential labour organisation known all over the world as the Knights of Labour, is rapidly sinking into insignificance. The members are leaving the body in swarms. The Blacksmiths' Assembly of Reading, Pa., left on Dec. 25th in a body. A short time ago the strength of this assembly was four hundred members. A week before Christmas the Coopers' Local Assembly of Chicago also withdrew, and it is more than probable that within two weeks after new-year's day all the fifty-one local coopers' assemblies in the United States will also withdraw from the Knights of Labour and form themselves into a national organisation, with honest officers and principles to suit the radical ideas of the coopers. It is greatly to be regretted that an organisation which in its earlier development promised so fair has come to this. The Knights of Labour was founded specially to bring about a fraternization of the workers as a class in contradistinction to orthodox trade-unionism, which dealt principally with the combination of workers belonging to one trade. Speaking of the future of labour organisation, comrade Lum, the editor of the *Alarm* and an old Knight, says this week—and I may add that I thoroughly endorse his view:

"Organisation still remains, but it is reactionary. The trade-union spirit is selfish; instead of a generous combination with fellow workers, interest is narrowed to one, whose interest becomes the concern of only those directly allied with him. What can be more dreary than a trade union meeting where but few attend and all business is purely routine? The labour movement demands more than unions to force wages up. It demands the fraternization of the workers combined with decentralization of power. On the one hand we have fraternization and autocracy [Knights of Labour]; on the other isolation and decentralization [American Federation of Trades and Labour Unions]. This cannot last. The spirit of the age demands an organisation wherein different trades may mingle and fundamental economic principles may be inculcated. The unions should remain, for without them the workers would be left a prey to sordid greed; but from these unions let men come together in fraternal accord. This was the dream of the Knights before betrayed by Powderly. The work will now have to be done elsewhere. And it will be done."

The pessimism of the last two years, which has crushed the spirit of even the most enthusiastic advocates of labour rights, is gradually giving place to a healthy and energetic optimism.

The trial of Charles T. Parsons, the slave-dealer of Northampton, Mass., whose general character I described in the *Commonweal* of December 15th, has come off in Springfield, Mass. Parsons was found guilty of gross cruelties. He was sentenced—to pay a penalty of 500 dollars!

"The Ford Immigration Investigation Committee will shortly introduce a bill in Congress to restrict immigration. What is really needed is a bill consisting of three words only: 'Shut that door.'"—Daily paper. Comment superfluous.

Another alleged dynamiter is convicted, and society is safe once more. On the 24th Dec., as a Christmas gift, the jury in the Bauereisen conspiracy case at Geneva, Ill., returned a sealed verdict. Bauereisen was found guilty and sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. The jury stood eight for five years and four for a fine; but they soon compromised their difference. The prisoner's council moved at once for a new trial, and the judge set Jan. 3 apart for hearing the motion. Bauereisen was speedily taken to jail. He was tried under an indictment charging him with exploding dynamite at South Aurora, Ill., on June 14th, 1888, at the time of the great "Q" strike, and with complicity in a general conspiracy to destroy property of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad. All the evidence against him consisted of testimony given by informers. I have reported the case at length in previous letters, and therefore need not go into it again. The most interesting feature in the case is that the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers, the most conservative and aristocratic labour organisation in the world, has been openly charged, to use the exact words of solicitor Chester Daves, with being "if not guilty of complicity in the dynamite outrages against the Burlington company, at least guilty of aiding, encouraging, and shielding those of its members who have been found in the plot."

The employees of the Pottsdown, Pa., Iron Company were dismissed rather summarily, and this shows how little feeling employers have for their men. Without previous notice, on Christmas Eve the men, after being paraded, received the following notice: "Please take notice that the accompanying pay is in full of all your wages to date, and terminates your employment with this company."

It may be possible that, in the beginning of the new year, all the engineers of the western railroads will go on strike. The engineers want the classification system, which prevails on a good many western roads, abolished, and the mileage system introduced instead. This predicts a very lively time for the roads. There is hardly one which has not, owing to the rate wars, lost money, and they are therefore not in a condition to battle with their engineers. If the engineers strike quickly, they may strike good.

Preparations are being made for taking the eleventh census of the United States. A Bill has been presented to the Senate providing for a thorough examination of the industries of the country; of the employment and idleness of the people; of the tenures and amounts of the holdings of the lands of the nation by individuals; of companies and corporations; and of the indebtedness or liabilities in the form of mortgages or deferred instalments now resting upon the farms and produce of the people. A petition has been sent to Carroll D. Wright, superintendent of the Labour Bureau in Washington, asking that the statistics of the unemployed be taken. Interviewed on this point, Wright gave the following answer: "I have a long petition here asking that the statistics of the unemployed be taken, and stating that the provision for taking them in the law of 1879 was disregarded. The fact is that they were taken, but the answers were so unsatisfactory that it was not thought worth while compiling and publishing them." Query: How is it that a Government official is never in want of a ready answer?

The State of Pennsylvania must be mad. Anyhow, it looks to reasonable people that way. To explain: The State of Pennsylvania has resolved to sue Jay Gould for having violated the constitution of that commonwealth. About a year ago young Robert Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio system, went mad because, in his absence, Jay Gould bribed the officials of that system to sell to him the Baltimore and Ohio Telegraph Company. This the officials did. Since then the Baltimore and Ohio Telegraph Company has been consolidated with the Western Union Telegraph Company (Jay Gould's property). The State of Pennsylvania does not like this consolidation, but the State ought to know that Jay is more powerful than courts, legislatures, and executives—that, in fact, he and his clique are THE Government. Notwithstanding this knowledge, or perhaps only for

the purpose of making a show, Attorney-General Kirkpatrick, in the name of the people of Pennsylvania, on the 29th of December made an application to a judge in Harrisburg, Pa., for a writ of *quo warranto* against the Western Union Telegraph and the Baltimore and Ohio Companies for violating that part of the constitution of Pennsylvania prohibiting the consolidation of competing lines. The writ is returnable on the 29th of January. But oh, my! won't the people of Pennsylvania get worsted by Jay!

The time for the city elections in Chicago is nearing again, and, in order to be able to pose anew as saviours of Chicago, Major Roche, superintendent of police Hubbard, and Bonfield are suppressing meetings to the right and left. On the 27th December, comrade Lucy Parsons was announced to speak at Waverley Hall, in Chicago, but the police locked the door and permitted nobody to enter. The Arbeiterbund, a Socialist society with a very moderate programme, is not permitted to hold meetings anywhere in Chicago. This society has made an application to the Master in Chancery for an injunction restraining the police from interfering with or preventing their meetings. The decision has not been given yet. Even the capitalistic press is unable to support the police any longer. The following story I clipped from the *New York Herald*: "Frederick W. Soelter, of Cincinnati, a wealthy maltster, left Chicago for home last night, threatening damage suits against Chief of Police Hubbard and Inspector Bonfield. Mr. Soelter's grievance is that while in the city on business, and notwithstanding that he had 6,500 dollars on his person, he was arrested and detained several hours, being treated meantime to a ride through the streets in a patrol waggon. He was not brought into court, and when he sought satisfaction at police headquarters was told with warmth that the best thing to do was to get out of Chicago as soon as he knew how. Previous to his arrest, Mr. Soelter had been to a Radical gathering that turned out harmless enough."

The Chicago *Times* is very bitter in its denunciations of the police. In its issue of December 24th it contains two leading articles against Bonfield, concluding with the words: "The power of the law to curb misuse of municipal power is yet to be shown."

HENRY F. CHARLES.

Newark, N.J., January 1st, 1889.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

Comrade Baudelot, administrator of the bi-monthly paper *Ca Ira*, is to be prosecuted by the Paris Court of Assize for several articles which did not please the Republican Nupkinses.

A provisional committee, consisting of the following members: Cluseret, Ferroul, Planteau, Félix Pyat (Deputies), Champoudry, Chassaing, Dumas, Marsoullan (Municipal Councillors), Ostyn, Protot, Urbain (ex-Members of the Commune), Bricon, Chatelain, Closmadeuc, Fesneau, Cougny, Gravier, Martelet, Mijoul, Quinoux, Rousseau, and Royannez (members of various revolutionary bodies), have formed a new revolutionary group, called "La Commune," and also issued a manifesto urging the revolutionary masses to prepare themselves for the "next" Commune. "Since the Commune of 1792, the greatest revolutionary act has been the Commune of 1871. Each individual and each party must be considered and judged by the part they took in the latter uprising; 1792 has saved France by its victory, 1871 has saved the Republic by its sacrifice. The Commune of the Centenary will save France, the Republic, and above all the Social Revolution." We earnestly hope that this forecast may prove true. It is timely enough that the French Socialists should look forward, for the possibilists of the so-called *Parti ouvrier* become more and more reactionary and Floquettists, and Cadettists.

### AUSTRIA.

The Social Democrats assembled at Hainfeld, have constituted their party on the following lines:—The Social Democratic party is not national, but international; all means of propaganda, press, meetings, congresses are to be used; all measures of coercion to be fought against; Parliamentarism, though not of much importance in their eyes, is to be taken advantage of; reduction of hours of labour, abolition of children's work, etc.; obligatory, gratuitous, and secular education, hence separation of State and Church; abolition of standing armies, to be replaced by complete armament of the people; in all questions, political and economical, to struggle for the interests of the proletariat as a class. We would have expected somewhat "more" than these paltry measures from our Austrian friends; perhaps they will "march on" in a little while.

### ITALY.

Two new Anarchist papers are about to be started, *Il Libero Patto* (Free Contract) at Ancona, and *Humanitas* at Naples. The latter is to appear secretly, since the former paper of that name has never been lucky enough to be published without at once being confiscated. The Socialist press in Italy has an exceptionally hard struggle to face, but our Italian comrades, to their honour and credit be it said, are of indomitable energy and endurance.

V. D.

There are, indeed, said to be republican villages in America, where everybody is civil, honest, and substantially comfortable; but these villages have several unfair advantages—there are no lawyers in them, no town councils, and no parliaments. Such republicanism, if possible on a larger scale, would be worth fighting for.—*Ruskin*, 'Fors,' No. 1.

During the last year five persons, three of them Londoners, left ten and a half millions of money to their successors. Seventeen other persons left eight and a half millions of money between them. Other nineteen each left more than a quarter of a million of personality. The estates of forty-one persons thus account for twenty-five millions.—*Court Journal*.

EXPEDIENCY.—Caiphas was a man of expediency; he assembled the Sanhedrim that they might consult, lest the Romans should come and take away the place and nation, and asked: "Know ye not that it is expedient that one man should die for the people?" and the priest of expediency triumphed: the "one man" was crucified. Within 50 years from that time Christianity was going forth into all the regions of the earth, and gathering together the Roman and the Greek, the Barbarian and the Scythian, the bond and the free, into the fold of Christ. Meanwhile the ploughshare was passing over the dust of Jerusalem.—*W. J. Fox*.

## WHEN THE PEOPLE HAVE THEIR OWN AGAIN.

THOUGH prating fools in Parliament  
May do their utmost to prevent  
The people's knowing who are who,  
Or finding out what they can do;  
In spite of them all, how'er they may bawl,  
And Wrong defend with might and main,  
The Right it shall win, and the good days begin  
When the people have their own again.

The lawyers all may do their best  
For profit, rent, and interest,  
And parsons also after fees  
May give the coward conscience ease;  
But writ on the wall is the tale of their fall,  
Whose pleasure is the people's pain;  
Ere long they'll be gone, and freedom be won  
When the people have their own again.

We see the promise in the east,  
The dawning day of Freedom's feast;  
And though the despots call it crime  
To hail with joy the coming time,  
Right well do we know how soon they must go,  
And hear their threatening with disdain;  
We know that at length we shall rise in our strength,  
And the people have their own again!

AN GEALBHAN GARAIÐH.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

**Executive.**—At the last meeting of the Council, comrades Kitz, Nicoll, and Cantwell were elected as a sub-committee to organise the celebration of the Paris Commune. In the course of a discussion upon the management of *Commonweal*, it was urged that secretaries of branches, especially of the provincial branches, should make their reports as readable as possible by giving a general idea of the work in their districts.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Feb. 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. Notice to Branch Secretaries—Please remit to Central Office your Branch-Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.—J. H. Middleton, 4s. 6d.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following have handed in their names as guarantors for sums of not less than 6d. weekly:—S. Presburg, D. Nicoll, J. Presburg, H. Davis, Morris Wess, H. Daum, L. Trunk, R. Turner, J. Turner, W. B. Parker, J. Lane, H. Sparling, M. Morris, V. Dave, Wm. Blundell, Curtis, F. Kitz, B. W., B., S. Mainwaring, J. Morris, W. Leatham, C. Tilley, Samuels, Solomon, Esther Isaacson, Frieden-holl, Kahan, Rochman, A. Seglie, and Mrs. Schack. Five hundred wanted.

**NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.**—Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, January 22nd, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members who are interested in the propaganda are asked to attend.

D. J. NICOLL.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday evening, Brookes in the chair, D. Nicoll lectured on the "Commune of Paris." Hall closely packed, and enthusiastic discussion followed by members and visitors. *Commonweal* sold well, also pamphlet entitled "Paris Commune."—S. P.

**FULHAM.**—On Tuesday evening, at the back of Walham Green Church, Smith, Bullock, Beasley, and Groser spoke to a fair meeting. On Sunday evening, Tochatti, Smith, and Groser spoke outside rooms, and drew a fair audience inside for Turner, who lectured on "Insufficient Remedies." Many questions asked, and good debate followed.—S. B. G.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meetings at Latimer Road and Weltje Road on Sunday morning. At Latimer Road, choir sang new song, "To Arms," and others. Speakers were Maughan, Tochatti, A. J. Smith, Dean, and Fox. At Weltje Road, speakers were Maughan and Morris. Choir sang "No Master" and "March of the Workers." In evening, H. H. Sparling lectured at Kelmascott House on "Luxury now; Necessity then." Many questions and fair discussion.

**HYDE PARK.**—Good meeting held in conjunction with the S.D.F. Those in charge of this station are requested to bring the platform next Sunday.

**NORTH LONDON.**—A lecture was delivered at 6, Windmill Street, on Friday, 11th inst., by D. Nicoll, on "The Social Revolution, the Means and End." A very interesting discussion followed. This was the first lecture announced by the branch, and it is their intention to follow it up by a series every fortnight during the winter months. Socialists of all shades of opinion are invited to attend.

**VICTORIA PARK.**—Good meeting held at this station last Sunday.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 7th, Morris's lecture, "How we live, and how we might live," was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, usual meeting addressed by Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham, the first speaker dealing with the strike at Broadford Works, where he is a heckler.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 5, Glasier and Pollock spoke at Paisley Road Toll. This station is within the bounds of Govan, where the present election contest is going on. The speakers denounced vigorously both candidates, who are typical capitalists, and laid down the principles of revolutionary Socialism. Those who believe that anti-Parliamentary teaching is unpalatable to the working-class, would probably modify their views had they been present. The attendance of members at our rooms is good—but there appears at present to be a lull of public interest in Socialism, and indeed in all political propaganda, except when artificially stimulated by an election.



**NORWICH.**—Sunday afternoon, usual meeting in Market Place; large audience. Mowbray spoke on the unemployed question, and also referred to the sweating tailoring firm, making several challenges for this firm to come forward and confute. In evening, in Gordon Hall, very interesting discussion on "Socialism." Several important questions asked and answered satisfactorily; audience larger than usual. Fair collections and sale of *Commonweal*. During the week large unemployed meetings have been going on daily, the men also marching through the streets with a large black banner, inscribed; "We want work, not charity."

**YARMOUTH.**—A fair meeting was held here on Sunday morning. In the afternoon, an audience of about 1,000 listened attentively to comrades C. Reynolds, Mills, and Poyntz; two quires of *Commonweal* sold, and every prospect of a strong Branch being formed.

## LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Sunday Jan. 20, at 8.30, George Cores, "Parliamentary Government." Branch will hold a meeting on Clerkenwell Green prior to lecture.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday January 13, at 8 p.m., S. Bullock, "Adulteration."

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 20, at 8 p.m., Sydney Olivier (Fabian Society), "Socialist Individualism." Wednesday 23rd, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian), "Democracy."

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Mitcham.**—Meets every Sunday, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, at 11 a.m. Special Meeting on Sunday Jan. 20, at 11.30. Members please note.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Waltham and Camberwell.**—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels (Scot Sect.).**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Ipwich.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, A special meeting of members and friends will be held in the Gordon Hall, to consider the present position of the *Commonweal* and its future success; it is hoped there will be a good attendance. Monday, at 8, A Concert on behalf of comrade Mowbray, who is leaving this branch for London. Tickets 6d. and 3d. each. A good programme will be provided, and a string band in attendance. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members Meeting. Wednesday and Thursday, Hall open from 8.30 until 10.30. Friday, at 8, Committee Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder (Scottish Section).**—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 20.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park...The Branch  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park...Nicoll & Parker  
3.30...Victoria Park...Mrs. Schaack & Hicks  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...The Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...The Branch  
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk....Hammersmith

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 20.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11...Mrs. Schaack.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Ipswich.**

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

**ST. PANCRAS REFORM CLUB,** Grafton Lodge, Prince of Wales's Road, N.W.—Rev. S. D. Headlam, a lecture. Thursday, at 8.30.

All those desirous of helping in the work of the S.L. in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with comrade F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB,** 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.—On Saturday January 19th, Benefit Concert in aid of Pamphlet Fund.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fifth lecture will be delivered on Sunday January 20 by Graham Wallas—subject, "Property under Socialism."

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday Jan. 19, at 7.30 p.m. Members please send their subscription cards to the Secretary for audit.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

**DER ARBEITERBUND "GLEICHHEIT"** ladet alle deutschen Arbeiter Londons, welche mit den Bestrebungen der Arbeiterbewegung sympathisiren, ein, sich am Montag, den 21 Januar 1889, abends 8 Uhr zur Besprechung ihrer Interessen im Cosmopolitan Club, 38 Charles Square, Brunswick Place, Hoxton, einzufinden. Eintritt frei für Jedermann.  
DER ARBEITERBUND "GLEICHHEIT."

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

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[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE result of the elections for the London County Council and the Govan election, shift the scales once more toward the "Liberal" side; for, as a matter of course, in spite of all disclaimers the County Council election was fought out in London on party lines. As to the Govan election, if the Liberal success tends at all to bring the Irish matter any nearer to a conclusion, it is so far favourable to us. As to the County Councils once more, it must be a very sanguine Socialist indeed who can really believe that they will have any inclination to go beyond the well understood lines of very moderate "reform," which will make no monopolist in the least in the world anxious about the safety of his heart—i.e., his purse.

It is surely a matter to regret that our generous-minded and energetic comrade John Burns should be pitchforked into that thicket of red tape, which our new "Parliament for London" is pretty certain to turn out; but, undoubtedly, the return of such a "dangerous" man at the head of the poll is a sign of the times worth noting.

An account in the *Boston Investigator* of an interview with Colonel Ingersoll on the subject of Robert Elsmere, is interesting as showing the effect which the Socialist movement has had on that outspoken and eloquent Secularist. As far as I remember, in his early works Ingersoll shows no sign of being able to see beyond his own class; with him, as with so many intelligent middle-class men, the world was made up of the triumphant middle-class engaged in putting the finishing strokes to the work of demolishing feudal and absolutist oppression, and clearing away the cloud of superstition which yet hung over the latter end of the contest. The following sentence amongst several others has a very different ring about it.

"The poor man willing to work, eager to maintain his independence, knows that there is something higher than charity—that is to say justice. He finds that many years before he was born his country was divided out between certain successful robbers, flatterers, crawlers, and cringers, and that in consequence of such division not only himself, but a large majority of his fellow-men are tenants, renters, occupying the surface of the earth only at the pleasure of others. He finds too that these people who have done nothing and who do nothing have everything, and that those that do everything have but little."

Again, as to "charity": "For instance in England, think for a moment of the manner in which charities are distributed, the way in which the crust is flung at Lazarus. If that parable could be now retold, the dogs would bite him. The same is the case in this country (America). The institution has nothing but contempt for the one it relieves." It is much to be wished that all Secularist orators were as open to such generous ideas as "Col. Bob" seems to be. More power to him!

Apropos of charities, I have been begged to contribute to the Providence (Row) Night Refuge and Home for deserving men, women, and children. I have no word to say against the charity in question, which seems to do what work it can with less expensive machinery than most, and at least is doing good service in stating the facts plainly; I notice also that it has no harsh words for the poor folk it succours; but I must emphasise the word "deserving" by the way, for surely if there be any one who *deserves* less than the quite elementary help a night refuge can give him, what can that less be, short of a merciful bullet through his brains? Heavens! what strange words we use—about other people! The circular speaks about "the appalling destitution which is in the midst of us; and the number of persons who are walking the streets for nights homeless." Again, another word. Whom, I pray, does this appal, unless it be the sufferers themselves? Yet they, too, surely are long past being appalled. Will it appal the London County Council? I fear not.

And yet it well might if they could think of it. A hundred thousand people starving to death is appalling, I think, on any terms. One hundred thousand people is the population of a tolerably large town, even in the populous nineteenth century, if they were all brought together in one town. Reading, e.g., has 42,000. Fancy living in Reading with *all* its population out of work, i.e., starving! Think of yourself on a considerable island with no one in it able to do a stroke of work! Would that be less than appalling? And is it less appalling when this is happening amidst prosperous and respectable men going contentedly about their business and pleasure?

And why is not everybody who could by any chance amend it, always talking about it and about nothing else? Surely all business, public or private, should be but subsidiary to such a question as the solution of this "difficulty," this "problem," as we call it with lying cowardly evasion. For that is not all. Listen again: "There are numbers of women under the sweating system working from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m., and sometimes till 3 p.m., can only earn from 4s. 3d. to 5s. 6d. a week." We know the story, don't we? Or if we don't, *why* don't we, if it is true? As it is.

Do we know also that while business is improving, as is the word on all hands, "the applicants for poor-law relief exceed by 3,000 the number last year, and the charitable institutions are besieged." You capitalists, that is appalling enough if you will only consider what those two facts brought together mean. But you are not appalled, and I think will not be, until all doubt that your own skins are in immediate danger is at an end.

Again: "The outcasts who were at a distance, at Stratford, Victoria Station, Hyde Park, New Road, Dalston, and Hackney, had the bus fare paid to them to Liverpool Street, were most of them so poor, ragged, and dirty, that the conductors would not admit them, etc." Never mind, they were equal before the law to the Duke of Westminster and Mr. Blundell Maple. Oh pleasing and useful equality! Three cheers for civilisation!—with one cheer more for its—lice!

Yes, an old story indeed; and the why and wherefore of well-to-do people, not ill-natured or specially stupid above their fellows, looking on and sending from time to time a guinea to some such charity as this above mentioned, is not far to seek. No consideration of the subject, no talk, if it were continuous for a dozen years, would help. They would not know what to do, except by way of feeble palliatives, if they were to turn their whole attention to the subject. For they have not yet conceived the possibility of getting rid of the curse of private property and the struggle of the strongest for profits, which is its natural outcome. And the necessary outcome of that is that the extremely unsuccessful are not fit to ride in the same bus with even the moderately successful, or, if you please, even the moderately unsuccessful; so many minor grades there are in this hierarchy of the money-bag.

Most of all we have to remember that the only way out of this dreadful misery for the many, and the shame and crime for the few, of being forced to forget that it exists, is the attainment of a SOCIETY OF EQUALS. All inequality, whatever specious pretexts it may be veiled with, bears beneath the veil this grinning skeleton of stolid misery, side by side with soft, cowardly, well-to-do life. All inequality, I say, unless we are consciously striving to extinguish it, must in the end result in this last degree of inequality. The classes in a society can be "moderately" unequal when a man can be "moderately" honest and a woman "moderately" chaste.

The Immigration Bill before the Congress of the United States has suddenly flashed on the capitalist press as a kind of morning star of hope. To build a brazen wall of perpetual peace round the fools and snobs of the civilisation of a Continent, so that no soul should inhabit it except the said fools and snobs and their miserable slaves, is indeed an invention worthy of the Nation of Inventors. It is no wonder that the *Telegraph* is so enthusiastic about it. A reasonable man however, is likely to ask, "Will it work or burst?" W. M.

WHIGS ASTRAY.<sup>1</sup>

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN

OWEN MARK BAKOUNINE JONES, an architect (unsuccessful), and—the  
 Rev. SWATH STRIDE, a Nonconformist parson, and } advanced Radicals.  
 MR. JEREMIAH BROWN, a business man

SCENE—A comfortable bachelor-looking room in Mr. BROWN'S house, with tobacco and pipes and grog to the fore. MR. STRIDE and MR. BROWN sitting on either side of the fire, looking important and self-satisfied. Between them MR. JONES with an occasional ill-concealed grin on his face.

(Concluded from p. 19.)

S. 'We are in favour of giving some relief by way of security of tenure to leaseholders who are exposed to enormous losses and ruin. It is true that this may only be in accordance with a contract voluntarily entered into; and it must be admitted that the evil is a difficult one to deal with.'

J. Yes, so difficult with your qualification tacked on to the remedy (as you think it) that you won't deal with it at all. It doesn't matter: a man who can have enormous losses must be rich: it is a question between two groups of capitalists. Pass on.

S. 'We are in favour of the State making some provision for employing men and women who are unable to find work. It is a matter requiring very careful treatment; but no one can believe that the State as the people's executive has exhausted its powers in this matter.'

J. Well, if it has, certainly exhaustion has come before effort; for it has never tried to give work to the rejected of the labour-market; and if it did try it could only do so at the expense of the workers generally.

S. Well, but you see, 'the work provided and the wages paid need only be sufficient to stave off hopeless poverty; but that at all events a wise and practical system of government might offer.'

J. Yes, indeed, only sufficient to stave off hopeless poverty: an easy job, isn't it? Man alive, do you know what hopeless poverty is? Live the life of it, and then you will know. And how many live such a life!—two thirds of all the workers? Nearer three thirds, I think. Your system of government need be wise and practical indeed to stave that off.

S. Let us hope it will be; for we say 'there ought not to be a single human being in the nation who can honestly stand up and say: I am willing to work, but I know not where to go to earn house-rent and daily bread.'

J. Of course there ought not, and I am glad to hear you say so; but what are you to do but cherish your sentiment as a pious opinion? Can't you see that if it were so, labour would be dear; the capitalist would have to compete for the workman, instead of the workman for the capitalist, as is now the case? The capitalist would be undone, and would cease to employ, unless by the aid of new machinery he could once more win the blessing of having a due amount of men willing and unable to work. And if the capitalist won't employ labour—i.e., workmen—how is it to be employed?

S. They must employ themselves, I suppose.

J. I suppose so. In that case, where are those non-producing classes that you are so tender of?

S. Well—gone, I suppose.

J. So do I suppose. And yet you have been speaking of them as though they and their necessary complement, the poor, were essential and eternal.

S. (after a pause). For my part, Jones, I think you are trying to confuse the simplicity of true democratic ideas with your pedantic political economy. Let us come back to the point. Now please attend. 'We are in favour of making justice easy of access to all.' The path to the judge ought to be the most easy; but it is the most difficult. Justice ought to be the cheapest commodity in the nation; and it is the dearest.'

J. The path to the judge is pretty easy for some people; and it strikes me that when they find him, they pretty often find an animal which is a cross between a baboon and a tiger. But do you know that I suspect that by justice you mean law; and I more than doubt if that wouldn't be dear at any price. For doesn't all civil law mean the enforcement of private contract, with all its intricacy, by the overmastering violence of the executive, which doesn't trouble itself to consider whether the carrying out of the contract will be injurious to the private person or to the community, so long as it has been entered into legally?

S. I really don't understand you.

J. I fear not; and there are many in your case, who think that peace means the rule of law. So much the worse for all of us. I advise you to watch a civil process in a law court (if you haven't done so already), and then tell me what you think of it. If you then don't understand what I have been saying, it's no use trying to make you understand.

S. Well, listen to this! Now I think that you will agree with me: 'The Radical is in favour of a resolute reform of the Land Laws, with a view to getting the whole of the land into the hands of the com-

munity or the State. Our great towns, especially London, are getting dangerously congested simply because the countrymen who are pressing into them cannot get at the land; and they cannot get at the land because of laws and customs which were never made for tenants and labourers, but for landlords and aristocrats; and there will never be any hope for the labouring classes in the country districts until these bad old laws and customs are changed.'

J. I agree with what you say, and with what you might mean, but which I don't think you do mean, since you began by cursing those who set class against class.

S. Why! what do you mean?

J. Ain't the landlords and aristocrats a class?

S. Well—well—perhaps they are.

J. They are, when you have properly understood the meaning of the word aristocrat nowadays; to wit, a person privileged to live on the labour of others.

B. Of course he doesn't mean—

S. (interrupting). Yes, yes, Brown, you're quite right. Of course, I don't mean that the land shall be taken from the landlords without compensation; though, perhaps, not full compensation.

J. Mr. Brown, will you lend me a pound?

B. (putting his hand in his pocket). With pleasure, my dear fellow.

S. (laughing rather sulkily). Only he will require compensation.

J. Twenty shillings, eh?

B. Oh, silver will suit perfectly well.

J. Now I was thinking 15s. would do.

B. (grinning). I see; an apologue. No, Mr. Jones, I shall want the twenty shillings in full.

J. So will your landlords, friend Stride—if they can get it. Believe me, they will try for more if a Radical government should (the fancy is a wild one) try such a measure as "getting the whole of the land into the hands of the community or the State." And if they can't get more, I promise you they won't take less without fighting for their position.

S. I don't know; perhaps they will if the thing is done carefully, without frightening them. Of course they won't if you go hillooing Socialism at them.

J. Well, if you like, we will grant that they will agree to the land nationalisation which you propose to them. What are you going to do with the other capitalists?

S. The other capitalists! We shan't meddle with the capitalists at all.

J. Indeed! They will do what they like with their riches then?

S. Certainly; it would be mere slavery for them else.

J. And what are their riches?

S. Well—well—well—

J. I see you don't know, so I must tell you. So much privilege to make the producers of wealth pay for leave to live for no cause except the "interests" of the taxers. That is what you have got to take away from the landlords and aristocrats. If you leave them that, whatever measure of land nationalisation may be passed, whoever owns the land, they will monopolise the use of it. And how can you compensate people for taking away such a monopoly but by giving it back again to them?

B. (gasping). But—why—Mr. Jones, you are advocating the abolition of private property!

J. Mr. Brown, you are a clear-headed man. Shake hands!

[BROWN seems rather doubtful, but JONES seizes his hand and shakes it enthusiastically.]

S. Never mind, Brown, he doesn't mean half he says.

J. I wish I could say half I mean.

S. Now comes the really important and practical part of our platform. We 'are in favour of one man one vote . . . of equal suffrages for men and women . . . of a more democratic House of Commons . . . the candidate under certain conditions should be freed from the official conditions; and it might be good policy to offer a small annual payment to those M.P.'s who need and desire it—'

J. Hold on, your qualifications and exceptions and cautions are muddling me sadly; but it don't matter.

S. We 'are in favour of making an end of the House of Lords as a house of hereditary legislators.'

J. Yes, so that you may have the Lords in the Commons; more qualifications. Well, go on; are you nearly at an end?

S. Yes, yes! I'm just at the end. 'When Ireland has its Parliament for Irish affairs, and Scotland has its Parliament for Scotch affairs, and Wales has its Parliament for Welsh affairs, the present House of Commons might be turned into the English Parliament; the House of Lords might then be converted into a great Imperial Parliament for Imperial affairs, in which there should be representatives from every part of the Empire at home and across the seas. This is the great Radical ideal.'

J. Well, that's a new way of abolishing the House of Lords, certainly! I don't think they will grumble much at it. At any rate, you wind up with a good thumping piece of nonsense.—Well, I must be off; that lecture will be half over by now, and I promised to go.

B. (showing renewed energy after a tendency to sleep). Stop a bit, Mr. Jones; I think I ought to explain to you that the earlier part of our programme—

S. (interrupting). Yes, Brown, yes; our friend understands. You see, Jones—

B. (rather indignantly). I say, Stride, just let me have one word. Mr. Jones, all that about land nationalisation, and State works for

<sup>1</sup> The portions of this dialogue between the single "quotes" are taken from a genuine document—"A Radical's Creed," by John Page Hopps, in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 10th, 1888.



the unemployed, and the old people at the workhouse, and all that—you musn't be too severe upon it; because, I say, it is put in—(no, stride, let me go on!)—just to make people, or some people, help us in these suffrage matters, which is the thing we advanced Liberals or Radicals really care about; and I flatter myself we know something about it too.

J. Well, I must say I think you ought to, considering the number of years you have been hemming and hawing about it. But look here, gentlemen, I must go, I bet the lecturer is just in his peroration. But, I say, isn't "Advanced Radicals" rather lengthy in spelling?

B. But, Jones, how would you spell it?

J. Try—it will save you some letters—try W-H-I-G-S A-S-T-R-A-Y—it means the same thing if it don't spell it. Well, good-bye; I shall just be in time for question-time.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### GERMANY.

The stonemasons of Berlin have been on strike since the 9th of this month. On the 2nd of January they were asked to sign a sheet presented to them by their foreman, by which they agreed to resign from the union of their trade. This Stonemason's Union has existed for over seven years, is very well organised, and has done a lot of good to the members, especially as a relief fund for patients. The workers, of course, declined to sign their resignation, and in consequence of their refusal were at once dismissed. Our Berlin friends now request their English comrades to do for them all they possibly can, in order to enable them to win the battle. All moneys in support of the strikers are to be sent to the following address: Joseph Jeschky, stonemason, Melancthon Street, 5, Hof I, Berlin, N.W.

The German police at Hamburg has suppressed the paper of the chalk and stoneworkers, *Der Grundstein*, which was a very ably edited trade organ.

### BELGIUM.

The tribunal of Mons has begun its work of vengeance against the miners who some weeks ago struck in the Centre and Borinage districts. A first series of fourteen workers have been tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, ranging from one to seven months. Other series will follow, and then only the "big" trial for high treason against Defuisseaux, Laloi, Gérard, Maroille, etc., will take place. These last-named Socialists have done nothing whatever which looks "high treasonable," but the Government could not afford to spend all their dynamite for mere trifling trials with two or three months jail as ultimate result. Hence "high treason" must be got up and shall be.

Comrade Laurent Verrycken, the initiator of the open-air propaganda meetings in Belgium, is now being tried in half-a-dozen courts of justice for the flimsy offences of obstruction, rioting, unlawful assembly, and so on, and takes opportunity of making also indoor meetings before the magistrates. He is always sentenced, of course, but only in a fine of 4s., which is much cheaper than the hiring of a hall would be, and the magistrate's courts are always fully crowded with Socialists.

The Belgian *Parti ouvrier* has started a Socialist satirical paper at Brussels under the title of *La Trique* (The Cudgel).

### AUSTRIA.

At Fünfhaus, ten Socialists have been arrested, among whom are comrades Sticht, Schuhmaier, and Wiesinger. At Ottaking, seventeen more "criminals" have met with the same fate, comrades Trojan, Haubner, Vitza, and Schmidt being among their number. At Vienna, comrades Raab and Hader have been expelled. The editor of *Gleichheit*, comrade Adler, will soon have to stand his trial, and for certain will be found guilty of all sorts of mischievous deeds. And so it is that the social revolutionary ideas day after day are winning more ground in that old feudal and rotten land of the Hapsburgs.

### SWEDEN.

We told our readers, some weeks ago, that three Socialist papers had been prosecuted, and now we have two more to add to them, the *Socialdemokrat* at Stockholm, and *Arbetet* at Malmö. The editors of the three former have just now been sentenced to several months of imprisonment; Pehr Eriksson, editor of *Volkstimme* (People's Voice), to twelve months for one article. At this very moment all the most known Socialists of Sweden are in prison. The government have resolved to kill the Socialist movement, and never before has the party entertained better hopes towards its rapid development. That is the curse of persecution.

### RUSSIA.

A Russian paper gives some interesting but dreadful figures on transportation, from which we take the following *résumé*:—Number of persons transported to Siberia from 1827 to 1846, 159,755; from 1867 to 1876, 156,585; from 1870 to 1877, 114,370; from 1880 to 1886, 120,000; total, 545,710. Out of that number the following were "political" criminals: from 1827 to 1846, 51,000; from 1867 to 1876, 78,500; from 1870 to 1877, 62,442; from 1880 to 1886, 64,531. Alexander II. caused even more people to be transported to Siberia than the atrocious despot Nicholas, and then we find "respectable" historians telling us that Alexander II. was a most liberal-minded ruler, and that he, at least, did not deserve his fate.

V. D.

There are, practically, two absolutely opposite kinds of labour going on among men for ever. The first, labour supported by capital, producing nothing. The second, labour unsupported by capital, producing all things. A little while since, I was paying a visit in Ireland, and chanced to hear an account of the pleasures of a picnic party, who had gone to see a waterfall. There was, of course, ample lunch, feasting on the grass, and basketsful of fragments taken up afterwards. Then the company, feeling themselves dull, gave the fragments that remained to the attendant ragged boys, on condition that they should "pull each other's hair." Here you see, in the most accurate sense, employment of food, or capital, in the support of entirely unproductive labour.—Ruskin, *'Fors'* No. 2.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 2, 1889.

27	Sun.	1800. Trial of Gunpowder Plot conspirators. 1775. Schelling born. 1808. D. Strauss born. 1814. Kichte died. 1817. J. K. A. Godin born. 1832. Mazzini founds "Young Italy." 1841. Marsoilles. 1842. Outbreak at Oporto. 1871. Capitalism of Paris.
28	Mon.	1796. William Stone tried for high treason. 1824. Bernard Becker born. 1876. Francis Deak died. 1885. Industrial Revolution Conference began.
29	Tues.	1737. Thomas Paine born. 1794. Hamilton Rowan tried for sedition. 1794. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at the Globe Tavern. 1799. <i>Northern Star</i> , organ of the United Irishmen, suppressed. 1833. First "reformed" Parliament met. 1860. E. M. Arndt died. 1880. A secret press of the <i>People's Will</i> seized at St. Petersburg after armed resistance; compositor Lubkin shot himself.
30	Wed.	1649. Execution of Charles Stuart the Elder. 1794. Hamilton Rowan tried for seditious libel. 1871. House of Representatives (by 172 to 21) welcome Fenians to the United States. 1877. Trial for a demonstration on the Kazan Place, St. Petersburg: 21 tried, 5 sentenced to the mines, 10 to Siberia.
31	Thur.	1804. Lighting of the Beacons. 1811. Peter Finnerty imprisoned for 18 months and bound over for 5 years for "libel" on Castlereagh. 1849. Auguste Reinsdorf born.
1	Fri.	1801. Maximilian Paul Emile Littré born. 1840. Commutation of sentence on Frost, Williams, and Jones. 1851. Mary Wollstonecroft Shelley died. 1863. Lassalle publishes his "Open Letter" to the Leipzig Central Committee on the convoking of a General German Workers' Congress. 1875. Lock-out of 50,000 South Wales miners.
2	Sat.	1808. Ledru Rollin born. 1866. Fenian (Special Commission) trials closed: convicted, 36; acquitted, 3. 1884. Wendell Phillips died.

*Bernard Becker*.—German political writer, born at Breslau 1824. After the revolutionary events of 1848, in which he took an active part, he was compelled to leave his native country and went to London, where he lived up to the year 1862. He then returned to Germany and settled at Francfort-on-the-Main. After the foundation of the "German General Workingmen's Association," Ferdinand Lassalle designated Becker as his representative for the section of that body established at Francfort. November 2, 1864, he was elected by all the branches of the country president of the Association, in lieu of Lassalle, who died on the 31st of August previous. But soon after the great agitator's death, disharmony and discord grew fast among the members of the party, Countess Hatzfeldt and Becker were unable to come to an agreement, the latter refusing to allow the Association to serve the interests of the Prussian Government and those of the reactionary-feudal party. In the month of July 1865 Becker was expelled from Prussia, and at the end of the same year he resigned the chairmanship of the Association. In the course of one year he succeeded, in spite of the intrigues of Countess Hatzfeldt, in trebling the number of the members of that once famous organisation. He then went to Vienna, where he started, with some other revolutionaries, in the month of February 1868, the first Austrian Socialist paper, *Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung*. In 1872 the Brunswick section of the International Workingmen's Association delegated him to the General Congress of the Hague, where he always voted with the *authoritarian* fraction, represented by Karl Marx. Since that time he alternately lived in England and in Switzerland. As his writings contain valuable information for various periods of the history of the social revolutionary movement in Europe, we may as well quote here his principal productions: 'die deutsche Bewegung von 1848' (Berlin, 1864, 8vo); 'Missbrauch der Nationalitätenlehre' (Vienna, 1867, 8vo); 'die Reaction in Deutschland gegen die Revolution von 1848' (Vienna, 1868, 8vo); 'Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Lassalle's' (Schleiz, 1868, 8vo); 'National-öconomische Raketen' (Sonderhausen, 1871, 8vo); 'Der alte und neue Jesuitismus' (Brunswick, 1872, 8vo); 'die Arbeiterfrage und das neue Evangelium' (Schaffhausen, 1872, 8vo); 'Karl Fourier' (Brunswick, 1874, 8vo); 'Geschichte der Pariser Commune 1789-1794' (Brunswick, 1874, 8vo); 'Briefe eines deutschen Bettelpatrioten' (Brunswick, 1875, 8vo); 'Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Lassalle's' (Brunswick, 1875, 8vo); 'Geschichte der Pariser Commune 1871' (Leipzig, 1879, 8vo). This last work, full of dirty insults and of deliberate calumnies, has caused many revolutionaries in nearly all European countries to raise vehement protests against the writer, who since that time seems to have given up all Socialist writing and now devotes his literary faculties to the interests of commercialism and bourgeoisdom.—V. D.

The following note relates to Jan. 24, 1867:—

*The Unemployed sack bakers' shops*.—Hyde Park riots were not the only revolutionary symptoms of these years of Reform agitation. Bread was dear and wages were low, and riotous demonstrations were common by impudent people who declined to starve while bread could be had, by the most irregular means. If distress was bad anywhere it was bad in Deptford and Greenwich. The suspension of shipbuilding and other works had caused a great scarcity of employment in these populous suburbs, and a large number of workmen were reduced to severe distress, aggravated by the inclemency of the weather. Doubtless under these circumstances the good bourgeois were not surprised to see symptoms of a riot appearing in Greenwich and Deptford, unemployed men parading the streets and attacking some of the shops. During the afternoon some relief had been distributed at the relieving offices, but it was not sufficient for the hundreds who were clamouring for bread. They were turned away empty, and this catastrophe followed. Suddenly a simultaneous movement was made towards the shops in High Street, Deptford, and in a few minutes the crashing of glass was heard and a baker's shop was completely cleared out. They then came to the shop of another baker, who to save damage distributed his bread freely among the people. In the Broadway another attack was made upon the shop of a baker, and bread was carried off under the noses of the police, who were, we are assured, in additional force that evening, but were wholly insufficient to prevent the riot; and it was not until the arrival of large reinforcements of mounted men that "order" was restored. Next morning large numbers of men again assembled, panic-stricken tradesmen closing their shops in every direction; but there was no renewal of the rioting. Its effect as usual was seen in the effusive distribution of middle-class charity, although of course it was all put down by the ordinary press to that dreadful and malign creature the London "rough."—D. N.

Non-union carpenters are referred to in Denver as "bushwhackers," in Pittsburg as "jay-hawkers," in Texas as "Punch and Judy showmen," and in California as "travelling chips."



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW ME HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

LURGAN (Ireland).—Can any of our readers give name and address of a probable correspondent?

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 23.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Knights of Labor	ITALY
Casson's Circular	Vorbote	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Justice	Baecker Zeitung	Cremona—L'Eco del Popolo
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Barcelona—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	Seville—La Solidaridad
Postal Service Gazette	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Ruskin's Reading Guild Journal	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Sozial Demokrat	Denver—Arbitrator	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Telegraph Service Gazette	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Worker's Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
INDIA	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	HUNGARY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Proletariat	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Madras—Peopl's Friend	La Revolte	DENMARK
UNITED STATES	Le Coup de Feu	Social-Demokraton
New York—Der Sozialist	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Malmö—Arbetet
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	WEST INDIES
Jewish Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	Cuba—El Productor
Alarm	Bulletin Continental	MEXICO
Workmen's Advocate	GERMANY	Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier
Boston—Woman's Journal	Berlin—Volks Tribune	
Liberty		

NOTES.

FOR staggering superlatives, the political promises dangled before the eyes, and dinned into the ears of the working-men in Govan, during the past contest, were enough to make the spread-eagleism of the biggest mouthed spoil-seeking swash-buckler in the United States take a back seat in the top gallery. The big braggadocios on either platform went through their antic pranks on this occasion for the entertainment of the working-men alone. The non-workers and overpaid under-strappers don't require to be convinced of what the good Parliamentary men do for them in this "great and glorious" empire, but the working-men apparently need a lot of convincing.

Both platforms rung with the praises of the late member for Govan—Sir William Pearce—and what he did for the working-men of the Clyde. They took as granted that if William Pearce had not lived, the world's commerce would not have required the ships his firm built, and the workmen would not have got the work they did. The working-men of the Clyde enabled William Pearce, who came among them comparatively poor, to die, leaving a fortune of a few hundred thousand pounds over a million. He died a millionaire, they are working-men still, and some of them starving.

From the one platform the working-men were assured that if they voted for Pender, the Unionist candidate, the Tory Government would

send lots of war-ship work to the Clyde; but if they voted for Wilson, the Gladstonian, the Clyde and all its works would be wiped out from the face of the earth. The other platform assured the working-men that they owe all their "liberties and advantages" to the Liberals, and if they voted for Wilson, the Gladstonian, they would be supporting "the righteousness which exalteth a nation," and all they have to do after that is to shut their eyes and see what god will send them.

It is hard to tell which was the biggest bamboozler. Both candidates roll in wealth made up of the balances left after "doing their best for the working men in their employ." The pretensions of both were equally insulting to the intelligence and manhood of the working men they addressed. The antic pranks of both in their frantic fight have something akin to those which characterise a street brawl, got up to entertain the dupes who become the victims of the nimble fingers of pals in crime to the pair of performers who are so mad at each other. The political world is, at last, becoming too thin to deceive working men.

It is reported in the Unionist paper: "Sir John Pender said they would not expect a long speech from him, because he had a good deal of hard work in prospect, and they knew what that meant. One reason for his coming to the Govan Division at this time was his desire to keep them all hard working." Has it come to this, that an acceptable bribe to working men is the assurance of being kept hard working? Socialists somehow have been under a delusion in thinking the working class did too much work and received too little wages. The work which Sir John Pender promises to bring to the Clyde is enough to undermine the loyalty of other shipbuilding places in this "great and glorious" empire, for, according to his statements, if he be returned the Clyde will get all the trade and the integrity of this "great and glorious" empire will be secured, even although the Clyde's gain should be the Thames' loss.

The pranks and pretensions of the religious ranter are no less ridiculous than those of the political poltroons. At the Free Church Presbytery meeting in Edinburgh which settled the call to the Rev. John McNeill, London's choice told his brethren that "at length he had come to sufficient light from heaven to make the decision." The congregation of Regent Square will now be the happy possessors of a minister who possesses "sufficient light from heaven."

The "ladies and gentlemen" of Kelvinside—according to a "J. B. Fleming" who writes to the Glasgow Herald in a hey presto manner about the affair—have demonstrated the fallacy of an allegation often made by Socialists. It appears from this great economist's crowing that 278 of the Kelvinside gentry have, by a prodigious effort, managed to collect £156, 10s. for "Old John," a car and bus driver, who has been on their route for the past thirty-five years. With that sum they purchased an annuity of £6 4s. 8d. per quarter from the Prudential Assurance Company, and in that transaction "J. B. F." finds sufficient argument in support of the following silencer to Socialists: "The result shows how false is the allegation frequently made by Socialist agitators that the better classes have no care for their humbler neighbours. This man was honest and civil and obliging in the station God placed him, and he has not been left to want in his old age."

The cock-sureness of "J. B. F." in his "result" is really refreshing. He appears to think that the growing discontent of the workers with the present arrangement will be removed by this isolated act of charity, which, after all, the "better classes" do not provide. If he would reflect on the source of the Prudential Company's income, and how they are enabled to provide this annuity, he would see, if he be not economically blind, that it is not the "better classes" who have really come to "Old John's" aid in his old age. Justice, and not charity, is the great need.

The "better classes" of Kelvinside are mostly persons who have risen from as humble a position as "Old John's," through the tricks of trade. Obviously the traits of character which they admire in "Old John" did not form any part of their assets "in the station God placed them." The care of the "better classes" for their humbler neighbours, notwithstanding its rarity and thinness, has always lurking within it something of the insurance policy or the investment intended to bring profit. G. McL.

HENRY GEORGE.—Henry George's Standard makes a protest against the attitude of the Chicago authorities toward public meetings and processions. It is too late in the day, Mr. George, for you to pose as a champion of freedom of speech. You once had a chance to vindicate that cause such as comes to a man but once in a lifetime, and in the trial hour you not only failed the cause, but betrayed it. Let one of the meetings against the suppression of which you now protest be held; let someone present throw a bomb and kill an officer; let the speakers be arrested on a charge of murder; let a jury packed with the hirelings of capital convict them; let a judge sentence them to be hanged; let the supreme court formally sanction the whole; let a large portion of the people, hounded on by a bloodthirsty and prostituted press, clamour for these men's death; and let this culminate in the middle of a political campaign in which you are running for office: under these circumstances should we not see you do again what you have done once already,—declare that a supreme court can do no wrong, that in face of its opinion you recant yours, that the convicted men deserve to be hanged, and that you will not lift voice or pen to save them? We have known you, Henry George, in the past, and we know you for the future. The lamp holds out to burn, but for no such vile sinner as yourself. In vain your efforts to return to the fold. As Ingersoll says, "Twon't do."—Liberty.

## SKINNING THE LOUSE.

"See Sir James Grubb absorbed in deep laid schemes,  
Gold haunts his thoughts all day, all night his dreams.  
Possessed of half a million, still he's poor,  
And saves a penny to increase his store:  
Give him the hide and tallow for his pains  
He'll whip a louse a mile, and boast his gains.  
In thrifty maxims he displays his wit,  
'Get what you can, and hold fast what you get.'  
He'll tell you with an oily canting tongue,  
'Man wants but little here and that not long':  
Though from his eager groping it appears  
As if he thought to live a thousand years."

In a foot-note to the above passage it is related of Sir James Lowther that one day, after paying twopence for his dish of coffee, for which he changed a piece of silver, he was helped into his chariot (being very lame and infirm) and was driven home. A short time after he returned to the coffee-house, on purpose to acquaint the woman who had served him that she had given him a bad halfpenny, and demanded another in exchange for it. Sir James had £40,000 per annum, and was at a loss whom to appoint his heir.

If it were not for some such louse-skinning, it would never be possible to pile up such stupendous fortunes as from time to time the papers make note of. It is reported that in 1888, ten persons died leaving behind them for the lawyers to lie about, £10,544,000; seventeen others bequeathed £8,500,000; nineteen others left £7,000,000; and 900 additional persons left £25,000,000. Close on £52,000,000 in the hands of a little over 900 persons. This sum of money was left in sums of £3,544,978 to a minimum of £150,000.

Some, perhaps, may urge that louse-skinning would do but little towards piling up such gigantic sums, but such objectors miss a very essential point—that all large masses are made up of infinitely small atoms. All, or most of, these immense fortunes are made up by the power which the exploiter has of repeating a very small operation an infinite number of times. Go on to any exchange and note the haggling which takes place over a fraction of one per cent., the secret of the chaffering lies in the fact that the particular deal may be for some hundreds of thousands of one particular article, in great demand.

Very few great fortunes are made by deals in articles of little demand, such as Castles or Koh-i-noors. Manchester cotton goods, of which the output is reckoned by hundreds of millions, has probably been the source of some of the largest fortunes in this country, and has allowed more of the louse-skinning. By the almost imperceptible addition of china clay and other adulterants, the quality of the fabric has been reduced, which gives two chances of profit; selling rubbish at price of cotton and quickly returning demand; but with slow improvements in manufacture comes increased output at reduced cost, and increased power of playing man off against man, and increased power of sweating the operatives paltry pittance. A manufacturer with ten men at work for him could make but a small living for himself, even if he fined the ten men two shillings each; but having ten thousand men in his employ, could live luxuriously on a fine of one penny per man.

Two shillings per man on ten men would only be £1—not enough for a bottle of wine, some would say. One penny per man on ten thousand men is just on £42; good louse-skinning that. John Rylands, one of the merchant princes who died a few weeks ago, had some twelve thousand men in his employ. Among other sources of revenue he kept a laundry, and it is related that on one occasion, overhearing a conversation which led him to think he had been robbed of the cost of washing a shirt, he "raised snakes" for the hands of the washerwoman's department.

Besides the sweating of wages which is so profitable over large numbers, there are a hundred other ways in which the control of large numbers of slaves is made to produce an infinity of profits so small in themselves as to escape challenge, but which in gross make large fortunes. By supplying the necessities of daily life, by providing some sort of lodgment at extortionate rents, by lending money in advance of long-deferred payment of wages, and last, but not least, by borrowing of the workers. "Borrowing?" say some; aye, borrowing. Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been borrowed by unscrupulous employers in the pettiest of sums on promise of interest or annuity, sometimes repaid, but very often not. Ten thousand workers invited to take shares in their works subscribe a few pence, or perhaps a shilling a week. Ten thousand sixpences, £250 per week, or £13,000 per annum. Of course, no slave paying in only sixpence per week is allowed to challenge the financial solidity of the "Firm," and wouldn't know how to go over the accounts if he did. At the end of ten years comes a smash, and the £130,000—invested in the wife's name—is just enough to retire to Italy on, or go into the House of Commons with. Hurrah for louse-skinning!

Arrived in the "House," the opportunities of skinning are vastly increased. Invited to become managing director of some big company, he can carry on his same old games, by the power of securing Government contracts for the vast stores required by the nation; by securing the appointment of some relative to manage a clothing factory, say, the sweater inside helps the sweater outside; by the power of war-making all over the globe the demand for stores is increased; for a royalty of a few pence a patriotic inventor will sell a new shot, or any other war material, to his own country—or any other.

Our soldiers in Egypt to-day, sent there to support the pretensions of the vilest gang of skimmers who ever cursed two countries, are fighting with shoddy weapons, made by the same sweaters who supply

the enemy against whom they are arrayed. No matter, the stuff is made and sold, and the skinner skins until he dies and leaves his three or four millions sterling; and the millions still go on growing simply by force of attraction. This power of attraction has been proved repeatedly of late years in a variety of ways in the increasing number of large fortunes left by manufacturers, and in the tendency to amalgamation of firms, companies, and special industries.

A great outcry is being made as to the growing evil of syndicates, rings, corners, etc. This is all nonsense. We should welcome these naked expressions of monopoly as the most positive evidence of the speedy breaking up of present-day commercialism; as a proof that the much-vaunted claim of the so-called captain of industry is all rot; as a proof that the capitalist pure and simple is not an essential in production, for he can be replaced by the small shareholder, managing directors, foremen, and other reasonably-paid servants taking the place of the now played-out speculator-in-chief.

It is related in Pliny's 'Natural History' that at one time one-half the province of Africa was owned by only six landlords, whereupon the emperor—Nero—slew the whole six. See the amount of knife-grinding which this syndicate saved, as compared with France a hundred years ago. This emperor evidently understood the great advantages of having to deal with a syndicate, for he expressed a wish that all his enemies could have but one neck, so that he could have one big strangling match. ●

The syndicate-mongers of to-day are performing a most useful function: they are reducing to a coherent, easily-understood system the absolute power of a few over the many. The "advantages of competition to the general public" has been played down so fine that the "doctrine of diminishing profits" now proves to the competing exploiters that they must now do their skinning without competition.

While the public had more than one sole garment to be robbed of, the robbers robbed independently, and the sufferer failed to understand all the details of the performance. Now that there is nothing but the one skin to remove, the robbers agree to do the scalping in Indian fashion—one to scalp and the others sit in a ring and smoke. Now that there is nothing but skin to remove the public will kick, and there are fewer to serve the kicks out to, so each will have a bigger share.

And they will get it too. It is generally believed that "making a cross," as done by uneducated persons when unable to sign their name in full, dates from the time when even the nobility were in the same position. The cross represents a sword, in the pommel of the sword was inserted a seal. Charlemagne, when issuing the document by which the Romish liturgy was ordained throughout France, "made his mark" to it, and Mezeria states that under the mark was commonly inserted, "I have signed it with the pommel of my sword, I promise to maintain it with the point."

Education is spreading, very few now use the mark the masses can even read, and as a result they are learning how much the sword has been concerned in their exploitation. Of all the shams of this sham-ridden country, the talk about our commercial supremacy is the rottenest, in that it claims that it is "powerful." The fashion in which some men of light and leading talk about the blood-stained fashion in which the Old World empires were built up, while our mighty empire has been simply the result of the force of ideas, aided by our very superior manufactures.

Among the great landowners the farther you travel back the nearer you get to the time of the sword. The instrument of conveyance was not a parchment but a sword, the conveyancer was the owner of the strongest arm. Gained by the sword, sealed by the sword, maintained by the sword.

Then come the manufacturers, the emigrant, and the colonial trading company. The first helping to drive the second out of the country; the emigrant by force or by fraud, or by both, effecting a landing, securing a footing, and at last killing off the native of the desired land; opening new markets for the manufacturer, and paving the way for the big trading company, which at last in the new land unites in one body the devilments of both the landowner and capitalist manufacturer, as found and left at home.

Every now and again, where the killing out of the aborigines has not been effectual, there comes a big upheaval, as the Sepoy *mutiny*, or as the Egyptian, and at this particular minute in Central Africa. Once more comes the demand to uphold, by the power of the sword, the supremacy of the peaceful missionary and his equally peaceful blood-soaked exporter-manufacturer; and more important still is it borne in upon the whole of the units concerned, that what has been gained by the sword will have to be maintained by the sword, even the right (!) to "Skin a Louse" foreign or native.

THOS. SHORE, jun.

In ancient Egypt, crimes could not be compounded as in so many other ancient lands by the payment of a fine. The man who witnessed a crime without attempting to prevent it, was punished as a partaker. The civil laws were administered in such a manner that the poor could have recourse to them as well as the rich.—Winwood Reade's 'Martyrdom of Man.'

The true root and basis of all Art lies in the handicrafts. If there is no room or chance of recognition for really artistic power and feeling in design and craftsmanship—if Art is not recognised in the humblest object and material, and felt to be as valuable in its own way as the more highly rewarded pictorial skill—the arts cannot be in a sound condition; and if artists cease to be found among the crafts, there is great danger that they will vanish from the arts also, and become manufacturers and salesmen instead.—Walter Crane.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**STRIKE AT LIVERPOOL.**—The shore-gangs struck on Jan. 17th, and at a meeting same night they decided to stand firm.

**ENGINEERS' WAGES.**—The men engaged in the repairing shops at South Shields, who were out for an advance of 2s. per week, have had their demands granted.

**BIRMINGHAM NAILMAKERS.**—A meeting representing 15,000 nailmakers was held in Birmingham on January 17th, and an application made for an advance of 10 per cent.

**LIVERPOOL SEAMEN.**—The demand of the seamen of Liverpool for higher wages is likely to be conceded. On Friday 18th several crews were shipped at advanced rates, and no disturbance took place.

**MAYBOLE SHOEMAKERS.**—The men and women employed in St. Cuthbert's Shoe Factory, after being on strike since the new year, resumed work on the 18th, the dispute having been amicably settled on the day previous.

**SHIPBUILDERS' STRIKE.**—The shipyard hands of the Tees and the Hartlepool left their employment on Jan. 16th, having declined an offer of 5 per cent. advance on piece-work and 1s. per week on time wages, with a similar advance in July. They demand 7½ per cent. and 2s. per week. Eight or nine thousand men are affected.

**BLOCK CHAIN TRADE.**—Notice has been given on behalf of the operatives engaged in the block-chain trade for an advance. They ask for a return to the 4s. list, which represents an increase of 10 per cent. on rates now paid. Two attempts have been made to convene a conference of employers and representatives of the operatives to consider claims, but they failed, and the operatives felt that they had no alternative but to demand an increase in the usual way. The men have been empowered by the Midland Trades' Federation to give notice, and will no doubt receive the support of that organisation.

**SEAMEN'S STRIKE.**—The seamen and firemen of Glasgow came out on strike on Friday 18th. At a meeting of the National Amalgamated Seamen and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That we, the seamen and firemen of Glasgow, considering our wages to be far lower than they ought to be, resolve to demand the following rate of wages—for firemen, £4 5s.; seamen, £4, in all classes of steamers, except weekly boats, for which the wages demanded will be 30s. per week; for sailing vessels to the Baltic and Quebec, £3 15s., and southwards £3."

**LURGAN HEMSTITCHERS.**—The strike among the hemstitchers has extended in a very serious manner. In addition to the employees of Ross and Co., who have been off work a fortnight, the hemstitchers of Thomas Falloon and Co. and of James B. Hanna and Co. have now gone on strike. There is reason to believe that the operatives now out are being sustained by the hemstitchers of other concerns not affected by the present movement. Some of the employers allege that if the strike continues much longer it will inflict permanent injury on the trade of the town, but outside the principals in the trade there is undoubtedly much sympathy with the workers in their effort to resist unjust and unfair treatment.

**COTTON TRADE.**—At Macclesfield the strike of weavers at the Globe Mills, after lasting six months, has ended in a defeat for the strikers, who have accepted 5 per cent. under standard rates, instead of the Blackburn list they asked for.—At Soughbridge (Kelbrook), weavers have gone back on being promised all they asked; same at Navigation Mill, Blackburn.—At Holme Mill, Padiham, over 400 looms are idle through extra work and other grievances.—At Millsteads Mill, Todmorden, the Blackburn list has been conceded, and trouble is over for the time being.—The grinders at Beard Mill (New Mills) have won. Some of the rats that came to take their places are out in the cold and seem likely to be kept there.—The Belton strike has been brought to an end by the acceptance of the operatives' terms.

**ABERDEEN.**—Under the heading of "Dundee Mill-workers," a report appeared in this page last week of a strike of the employees at Broadford Works. A correspondent writes that these works are situated in Aberdeen, not Dundee. The workers remained out for three or four days, but as there was no combination among them, and as they had no funds to enable them to remain out on strike, it was deemed best to go in again on the old terms in the meantime, but to form a union of the 3,000 girls and men, and if the desired increase of 5 per cent. were not given in a few weeks, to come out again organised, and with funds to support them while out. The Rev. Henry Williamson (Dundee), Rev. Comrade A. Webster (Aberdeen), and the local Trades' Council have fought well for the workers; but it is very suggestive of the character of trades' unionism as a whole, that an attempt was made by a minority of the Trades' Council to pass a vote of censure on some of their office-bearers for presuming to take up the cause of unskilled and unorganised labour without the permission of the Executive, to obtain which it would have been necessary to call a meeting, which would have paralysed all action for several days.

**A MINER'S INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.**—Everything nowadays is becoming sensational, except coal-mining, says a Lancashire correspondent of the *Labour Tribune*, and even in that avocation the continual recurrence of accidents, fatal and otherwise, is looked upon as something extraordinary; and I am hoping that, notwithstanding the resistance of some of the workmen, the period is close at hand when by full compliance with the law, and the introduction of safety appliances in the shape of detaching haws preventing overwinding, safety catches and extra precautions in preparations and examinations of shafts, levels, brows, and working places by competent officials, and last, but not least, by the adoption of an explosive compound that will not ignite gas when exploded in the presence of a feeder or sudden outburst, accidents will be few and far between. While the coal industry in this district is as good as it is at present, everybody engaged in this great industry should learn to "make hay while the sun shines." Six days per week at the pit ought to be sufficient for the man who works; but of course four has been the most that could be put in during the Christmas and new-year's holidays; consequently the strain upon the housewife's purse has been greater than it could possibly bear. I happened to drop into a house on Saturday afternoon last, where there are seven. The father and one boy aged thirteen were the workers. The pay had just arrived, and myself being recognised as the best scholar present, I was requested to dot down the items of income and expenditure. The latter I give; the former—as I leave your readers to guess—was insufficient to meet demands. Here are the items of expenditure: Rent (a fortnight), 9s.; grocer, 7s.; baker, 4s. 6d.;

vegetables (or greengrocer), 2s. 9d.; clothing, 2s.; coal, 1s. 6d.; milk, 1s. draper, 1s.; clock repairs and literature, 3s.; insurance, 1s.; understandings (boots and clogs), 2s.; ornaments, 1s.; sundries—for crocks, blacking, black-lead, etc., not mentioning paste for plate; amounts to £1 17s. 9d.; while father and son had only mustered in real wages about £1 2s. 0d., deficiency 15s. 9d. This has to be fetched up by extra effort, increased vigilance, more work, or longer hours in the mine. All this with a 10 per cent. advance recently conceded, an increasing trade and unprecedented prospects. For, taking prices of coal all round, as given in the Manchester papers, it averages 6s. 6d. per ton. So putting: getting and drawing per ton, average 1s. 10d.; haulage, hooking, and brow work, 7½d.; ripping roads, packing ditto, etc., day wage, 1s.; management and office work, 7½d.; royalty and wayleaves, 9d.; depreciation, or reserve fund, 3d.; total, 5s. This deducted from 6s. 6d. leaves just 1s. 6d. profit. Now, just take a colliery yielding 2,000 tons per day, the profit would be £40 per day, or for six days per week, as colliers in this district are working, £300 per week. Supposing the capital invested to be £60,000 and the working weeks forty, a profit of £12,000 is shown, or an interest of 20 per cent. While this is so, is it right or reasonable that the collier should toil to the extent that when he ceases it must be from sheer exhaustion, rendering his little bit of leisure time as useless as it is possible to make it for want of rest?

### THE GOVAN ELECTION.

THERE is a deal of significance in the result of the Govan election to Socialists. At the last election Sir William Pearce, Tory, polled 362 votes over Mr. Dickson, Gladstonian Liberal; while at the present election Mr. Wilson, Gladstonian Liberal, has polled 1,071 votes over the Unionist candidate, Sir John Pender. The election was fought on the very same questions as before. Whence, therefore, the difference? I am absolutely certain that not five men in a hundred have changed their views on the Irish or on any other question during the interval. The reason is really this: Whereas before the Unionist candidate, Sir William Pearce, was the most influential employer of labour in Govan, the present Unionist candidate has no trade connection with the district whatever; whereas before the Liberal candidate had no trade interest in the district, the present Liberal candidate has. It is true Mr. Wilson's works are situated in the adjoining constituency; but his interest as a local employer of labour is not much the less on that account. He is in a business way connected with and is probably on friendly terms with all the Govan shipbuilders. They did not care—or dare—to boycott him and use their influence with their men against him, as they cared and dared to do against Mr. Dickson, the previous Liberal candidate, who was a stranger. On the other hand, Sir John Pender, the Unionist candidate, had no direct means of coercing the electors, like Sir William Pearce. Sir William Pearce employed when busy nearly 5,000 men. It was notorious that—explain it as we may—Sir William succeeded in making hundreds of his employees who were Gladstonians either vote for him or abstain from voting altogether, for fear of losing their bread—not to mention butter. At least 1,000 men have voted Gladstonian in this contest who did not vote at all at the last contest; while some 260 have deserted the Unionist side. Thus we see how the electors, being, comparatively speaking, free on this occasion to vote as they chose, have voted for Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule, instead of Toryism and coercion—it being apparent to every observer that in Govan as in most parts of Scotland the majority of working men are, and were at the last general election, on Mr. Gladstone's side.

We have therefore in the result at Govan a most significant example of the power of the capitalists to enslave the workers not only economically but politically.

It is the universal opinion that had young Sir G. W. Pearce, the son of the late member and the present head of the great Fairfield Shipbuilding Company, stood as candidate—politically ignorant and incapable as he is—the result would have been vastly different: which means, as plain as plain can be, that his power as an employer of labour would have constrained the workers of Govan to violate their political convictions. The incident therefore shows that in this country, as in America and elsewhere, no amount of mere statute or constitutional freedom can secure freedom of political action to the workers. So long as the workers are economic slaves they will be political slaves.

The new member, Mr. John Wilson, has no qualities to recommend him as a candidate except that he is rich and is willing to support Mr. Gladstone on the Home Rule question. He has no sympathy with the claims of the workers, and is opposed to almost every proposal of an "advanced" kind. His record as an employer of labour is bad. He was the first employer in the brass trade to raise the hours of labour from 51 to 54 per week, and to reduce the wages of the men 1s. per week. Even during the contest an action at the instance of H. M. Inspector of Factories for violation of the Factory Act was brought against him, and is still *sub judice*. The jubilation of working-men at his return is therefore a species of insanity. One Irishman was heard to exclaim, "It is the greatest victory of modern times next to the battle of Waterloo—except perhaps the battle of Bannockburn!" There is however an aspect of the matter in which even we as Socialists may see cause for hope, if not rejoicing. The more capitalists of the type of John Wilson sent into Parliament the sooner the working class will see the hypocrisy of their pretensions as champions and friends of the rights of labour, and the sooner will active hostility between the capitalist class and the working class be begun. In the meantime at least it is better to send capitalists than Socialists to Parliament—capitalists will speed the revolution, Socialists will only retard it.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

### Is it not so To-day?

In the modern world we find luxury the harbinger of progress; in the ancient world the omen of decline. But how can this be? Nature does not contradict herself; the laws which govern the movements of society are as regular and unchangeable as those which govern the movements of the stars. Wealth is in reality as indispensable to mankind for purposes of growth as water to the soil. It is not the fault of the water if its natural circulation is interfered with; if certain portions of the land are drowned while others are left completely dry. Wealth in all countries of the ancient world was artificially confined to a certain class. More than half the area of the Greek and Roman world was shut off by slavery from the fertilising stream. This single fact is sufficient to explain how that old civilisation, in some respects so splendid, was yet so one-sided and incomplete.—Winwood Reade's *Martyrdom of Man*.

## THE BATTLE-CRY OF FREEDOM.

(ADAPTED FROM A CELEBRATED SONG OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.)

We will rally round the Red, boys,  
We'll rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;  
We will rally from the hill-side,  
We will rally from the plain,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

*Chorus*—Then Labour forever! Hurra, boys, hurra!  
Down with the tyrants, up with the flag,  
While we rally round the Red, boys,  
Rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

We are answering the call  
Of our brothers gone before,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;  
And we'll fill the vacant ranks  
With a million freemen more,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

We are gathering around us  
The noble, true, and brave,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;  
And although he may be poor,  
None shall ever be a slave,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Many fall amid the fray, boys,  
But we'll face them to the last,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;  
And our comrades brave shall hear us  
As we go rushing past,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

For the liberty of Labour,  
We are leaping to the fight,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;  
And we'll make the Wrong go under,  
Win the victory of Right,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

## SOCIALISM V. INDIVIDUALISM IN LEICESTER.

COMRADES.—Some time ago a local Fabian here induced the Leicester Secular Society to have the Fabian lectures on the Basis and Organisation of Socialism given in the Secular Hall. The first series is now over; has been brilliant, Clarke's lecture calling forth the admiration even of the Individualists. The Secular Hall has been quite full, and reports have been sent to the advanced local press. But the Individualists determined upon a course of lectures to counteract, or throw off the scent. The first was a real red-herring trailed by Mrs. Fawcett, widow of the late Postmaster-General. She consented to come down here for the modest sum of £15 (afterwards commuted to £12 we hear). There she stood, glittering in diamonds, flattering the "dogged honesty" of her sex, that safe-guards it against Anarchism and wicked schemes of expropriation. Her subject was, "Why are Women's Wages Lower than Men's?" Her matter was a string of commonplaces, except when she declared that appropriating the land would be robbery, and the removal of capitalists social suicide. People were expecting an eloquent discourse: they were disappointed. Our next antagonist was J. H. Levy on "The Economics of Individualism." You must know that the "Liberty and Property Defence League" have published the statement that they organised this opposition course of lectures in Leicester. Levy took up time in denying this, and repudiated the L. and P. D. L., evidently quite ashamed of it. He opened with a loud flourish of trumpets. He would challenge Socialists to find "a loophole in his armour" (*sic!*). He coolly appropriated some of the principal positions of Socialism as Individualism, and then denounced Socialism as tyranny, slavery, and wholesale interference with everybody. He diverted attention from the main question by turning down the by-lanes of "population" and "vanishing rate of interest." He said man had a right to all his own faculties do produce, and no one should stand between him and the "raw material." Being asked whether the labourers' faculties had not produced the improvements put into and on the land, and whether Individualism proposed the restitution of these with the "raw material," he did not answer. Contradicted Mrs. Fawcett point-blank re land nationalisation. Was good enough to remind Socialists of the difficulties they would have to encounter in carrying out their principles. Predicted the recession of the revolutionary wave, etc., etc. Mr. Levy has a very objectionable manner of gesticulating in the faces of opponents. He directed his gaze and his discourse towards us Socialists several times, as if "put on" to us. In his opening flourish of trumpets he undertook to be rigidly "logical." He was reminded of this in the discussion following, and some half-dozen pure assumptions in his address pointed out to him; but he declined to answer and make the attempt to justify himself.

Next Individualist lecture was by a Mr. Reed, "Philosophy of Individualism." It was originally intended for Individualists: if they never have it delivered to them they will be more fortunate than we. I cannot describe it better than one of the audience did—"something like the weather of late." At the outset of the Fabian lectures, Hubert Bland, hearing the Individualist lectures announced, congratulated the audience. He said he had found Socialism had always spread more after a course of Individualist lectures. It would be so in Leicester. His prediction has been fulfilled; *teste* the opposition to the Individualist doctrines, and the loud applause accorded to the Socialist lecturers and discussants. Our cause is pushing forward; the ideas are working; prejudice is broken; we are comprehended. The Fabian method is a wise one for a town like Leicester. We are converted nearly hundreds of us, and may be quite by the end of the lectures; but still I doubt if we shall organise any more. We shall see.

THOMAS BARCLAY.

## THE DESPOTISM OF ORDER.

AMONG the superstitions of education are those in favour of what is called order. It is not that there is no such thing as order, but that its advocates are bigoted, narrow, and exclusive. It is coolly taken for granted that if what somebody calls order is good, what that same somebody calls disorder is bad. As if there might not be bad order as applied to things? It is simply arrangement according to some notion, and disorder is simply arrangement according to some other notion. If a parlour is arranged with chairs in rows all around the walls, with everything in right lines, every one says, "How stiff, how intolerable, how little taste is manifested!" But swing round the lounge in the corner carelessly; let the chairs be scattered about, just as they would be if persons had but used them; shove the centre table a little out of the very middle of the medallion, so that it shall not be set, and then people say the parlour has a social and easy air. What is this but a disguised revolt against the despotism of order?—*New York Ledger*.

### INSCRIPTION FOR AN OBELISK IN PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE

A page of the *Times* the Devil read,  
And he flung it down:—Ahem!  
I'm the father of lies, I know, he said,  
But I'm damned if I father them!

—LINTON'S *English Republic* (p. 249).

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Feb. 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Clerkenwell, to December. 1889:—Leicester, to January.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

H. K. Austin, 14s.; Aug. Heine, 1s.; J. W. Browne, £1; W. Bell Scott, £1.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following sums have been received towards this fund:—S. Presburg, 1s. 6d.; D. Nicoll, 1s. 6d.; J. Presburg, 1s.; H. Davis, 1s. 6d.; H. Daum, 6d.; L. Trunk, 1s.; R. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 1s.; W. B. Parker, 1s.; J. Lane, 5s.; F. Kitz, 1s.; H. H. Sparling, 1s.; M. Morris, 1s.; Wm. Blundell, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; S. Mainwaring, 6d.; Kahn, 6d.; Rochman, 1s.; J. Morris, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; A. Seglie, 1s.; C. Tilley, 6d.; B. (per R. Turner), 1s.; B. W., 1s.; Knifel, 6d.; Diemshietz, 3d.; Matlouski, 2d.; and Goldstein, 1d. The following have also given in their names as guarantors for sums of not less than 6d. weekly:—Curtis, Morris Wess, W. Leatham, Friedentoll, A. Solomon, Esther Isaacson, V. Dave, and A. Scheu. Five hundred wanted.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Good meeting at the Green, addressed by Brooks, Nicoll, and Hicks. After the meeting, comrades and friends adjourned to the hall at 13, Farringdon Road, where Cores lectured on "Will Parliamentary Government Benefit the Workers?" An animated debate followed. The subject stands adjourned for discussion to Sunday evening next.—P.

**FULHAM.**—A fair meeting addressed by Smith, Bullock, and Groser on Tuesday evening, at back of Walham Green Church. Sunday evening, after Groser and Ashbourn had spoken outside, R. Catterson Smith lectured in our rooms to a good audience. Many questions, good discussion, and 2s. 8d. collected.—G.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Meeting at Latimer Road Sunday morning at 11.30 a.m., fair audience; speakers were Maughan and J. Smith, assisted by choir. Good meeting at Weltje Road at 7 p.m.; speakers, Wm. Morris and Lyne, jun. *Commonweal* sold fairly during day. In evening, S. Olivier lectured at Kelmecott House; good discussion.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 14th, G. B. Shaw's paper, "My Friend Fitzthunder the Unpractical Socialist," read and discussed. Semple in chair, and attendance good. At Castle Street on Saturday night, large meeting addressed by Barrow and Leatham, choir singing "The Proletariat," "March of the Workers," and "Hark the Battle Cry!"—L.

**GLASGOW.**—Two very successful meetings on Sunday—at 2.30 Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke on Jail Square; at 5.30 the same speakers addressed a good audience at Paisley Road; 1s. collected and the *Commonweal* sold out. In the evening, under the auspices of the Christian Socialists, comrade the Rev. Mr. Forrest of Kilmarnock delivered an admirable address on "Social Salvation" in the Waterloo Hall to a large audience.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday afternoon, large meeting in the Market Place; Mowbray spoke upon the condition of the workers; audience very attentive; good collection; *Commonweal* sold out. In evening, good meeting of members and sympathisers held to consider position of *Commonweal*; several suggestions made, and a guarantee fund opened by the Branch. It is hoped as many comrades and sympathisers as possible will support it, in order to help to make the paper a success.

**YARMOUTH.**—As Sunday morning was wet, there was no meeting. A fairly attended meeting was held in afternoon; some 'Weals' and 'Chants' were sold. The mayor of Yarmouth has denied that there is exceptional poverty, and attributes the agitation to the Socialists. Several names have been received for starting a branch. It is hoped to find a place of meeting during week; and get branch started at once, although many of the men are afraid of being seen at our meetings, fearing to lose their work. Several Radicals are joining.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Business meeting every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Sunday Jan. 27, at 8.30, J. Turner will lecture on "How to obtain Anarchist Socialism without the aid of 'Parliamentary Government,' continuing the discussion on 'Parliamentary Government.'"
- Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday January 27, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then."
- Buckney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 27, at 8 p.m., William Clarke (Fabian Society), A Lecture. Wednesday 30th, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Socialism."
- Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.
- London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.
- Mitcham.**—Meets every Sunday, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, at 11 a.m.
- Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.
- North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Friday Jan. 25th, debate between Samuels and White. These discussions will be continued every alternate Friday.
- Waltham and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.
- Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.
- Wimbleton and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbleton and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

## PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.
- Bristol.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivelgate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
- Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.
- Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
- Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.
- Glasgow** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.
- Gulltown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.
- Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.
- Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.
- Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.
- Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.
- Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, Hall open from 8.30. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. Sunday February 10th, a farewell Demonstration by comrade Mowbray will be held.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
- Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
- West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.
- Yarmouth.**—All desiring to join branch in course of formation here should communicate with C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, who is acting as Secretary *pro tem*.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 27.

- 11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park...The Branch  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park...Nicol, Parker, & Cores  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...The Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...Cores  
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith

Tuesday.

- 8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

## EAST END.

SUNDAY 27.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Mrs. Schaack &amp; Cores

## PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday Jan. 26, at 7.30 p.m. Members please send their subscription cards to the Secretary for audit.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The sixth lecture will be delivered on Sunday February 10th by Annie Besant—subject, "Industry under Socialism."

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

IPSWICH LABOUR REFORM LEAGUE.—Pioneer Club, Theatre Yard, Tacket Street.—On Sunday Jan. 13th J. Thomas lectured to good audience upon "What is Socialism?" F. Brown in chair. On Sunday 20, F. Brown gave interesting lecture on "Christianity v. Science" to fair audience; Murphy in chair. Good discussion both times.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting will be held on Saturday January 26th, at 40 Berner Street, at 8.30, to discuss the amalgamation of the East-end Branches of the League. Members please note.—A united meeting of members of the Hackney, London Fields, and Mile-end and Bethnal Green Branches will be held at 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney, on Sunday February 3rd, at 4.15 p.m.

DRUM AND FIFE BAND.—Junior members of the S.L. and other revolutionary bodies willing to join a band are requested to attend at the Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, Sunday January 27, at 6 p.m. prompt. Those who have already given their names in, please notice. The object of the band is to assist in every way possible the revolutionary propaganda. For further information address communications to R. Turner, jun., care of F. Kitz, 13 Farringdon Road.

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. . 6d  
Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.  
**True and False Society.** By Wm. Morris. . 1d.  
**Useful Work & Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . 1d.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. O'BRIEN has got another four months, which no doubt is as little as could be expected "under the circumstances." But the circumstances are curious. A citizen is summoned before a court, and with his counsel has to fight his way *into* it; when in it, he finds that his judges are going practically to try him with closed doors, and being naturally indignant at this proceeding, takes the far more reasonable course of fighting his way *out* of it amidst the applause of everyone except the said judges. Here are strange proceedings against the respectability of a Court of law-and-order! Such things have been the immediate preface to open rebellion.

Robespierre in his time was accused of "demoralising" the guillotine by too indiscriminating use. Mr. Balfour, in his career of pasteboard-Tory-Robespierre, will have to beware of this trap of the demoralisation of punishment; or rather he has already fallen into it, and thereby won the sincere thanks of all Socialists; for, though it may be said that the Balfourian persecution in Ireland is but a game being played between two bodies of politicians, yet it must be remembered that the tortures of the prison-cell are a very palpable reality, and also that they have not been inflicted only on "gentlemen," who have duly counted the cost and accept it as part of the political game, but also on poor people who will receive but a very moderate amount of glory as a reward. The felon's punishment has been "demoralised" in Ireland, and bears with it no least shadow of disgrace, but honour rather; and the reflection of this demoralisation is spreading even to respectable England.

The *Star* and the *Pall Mall*, the two Radical prints of London, are at daggers drawn just now, and perhaps for the rest of their natural lives. This may well be thought a mere battle of the kites with the crows; though apart from the blind and obvious partyism of the *Star*, and the amusingly blatant jingoism of the *Pall Mall*, both papers have been of some service to us. But to a bystander the whole controversy anent the aldermen is a curious commentary on electioneering in general. "Fight hard," says the *Star*, "get in your Liberals while you can, you may not have another chance." "Fight soft," says the *Pall Mall*, "perhaps our opponents will remember our generosity when their turn comes, and fight soft also."

I must say that from a party point of view the *Star* seems to me to have the best of the argument; for if you go into the game, you must take the advantages of the game as they turn up, or lose them. On the other hand, that you should be obviously afraid to put up for re-election your men who have just won does not say much for the wisdom of the ballot-box. Our two contemporaries illustrate neatly the two quagmires in which politicians wade, and become so loathsome thereby. For the *Star*, reforms are means toward that great end the success of the Gladstonian Liberals, which by some unexplained magical process will at once both destroy poverty and sustain riches and make us all happy,—or if not, it isn't our business. For the *Pall Mall*, Radicalism is an enterprise for the discovery or manufacture of a moralized Toryism (under the name of democracy) whereby the British Empire, having reduced the rest of the world to starvation, shall reign supreme, with the ten Commandments of an exclusive ancient eastern tribe (glossed by modern hypocrisy) our rule of life, and a high court for the trial and punishment of anatory excesses;—or, indeed, is this also only another and less honest form of the great political maxim, "We in, you out, and the rest to the Devil"?

The *Daily News*, in an article on the O'Brien incident, says, "We disapprove of boycotting, whether it is practised by the Primrose or National League." O holy simplicity! Of the journal, too, which the other day was praising the proposal of the United States Congress for the wholesale boycotting of Socialists from the soil of America. But *Nulle fides cum hereticis servanda*—no faith need be kept with heretics.

We have had another anniversary lately; that of the fall of Khartoum and the death of the general of the Christian commercialists—Gordon, to wit. It is to be supposed that as long as it is convenient to remember him and his virtues we shall have them dinned into our ears. But whatever they may have been, or however amiable they may have made him to his friends, do not let us forget that he *was* the general of these pests of the world; and that he had to carry on war as war—that is to say by means of slaughter and destruction—and that slaughter and destruction carried on wholesale in a bad cause is murder of the worst kind: murder, the evil consequences of which are hard to foresee or measure. The Fall of Khartoum was a victory of the oppressed; and whatever Gordon might have been had he been fighting for the good of the world, as it was he fell not as a martyr to a great cause, but as an instrument of oppression whom fate at last thrust aside.

The acceptance of Boulanger's triumph as a victory for monarchism can only come of ignorance or impudence: of course the various openly reactionary factions would vote for their champion, but it is now notorious even to our middle-class press that their votes would never have returned the General; and that a great mass of Socialists have voted for him simply to be used as a stick wherewith to beat the opportunist dog, and the worse the man is the properer for that purpose, for the easier he will be to throw away when he is done with. That is their view, but undoubtedly it is a dangerous game to play; surely they had better have voted for Boulé, and thus have registered themselves definitely as revolutionists along with men like Vaillant. It is strange, too, that they should have forgotten the extra-ferocious part which Boulanger's regiment played amidst those who massacred the Commune.

W. M.

Comrade Hobart, who put up as a candidate in one of the divisions of St. Pancras, deserves our sympathy. The *Star* announces that he wasn't only defeated because he was advanced, but that he was "rather too much so." This means, I suppose, that he did not drop his principles sufficiently to please the respectable householders of St. Pancras. How this goes to confirm what William Morris has always said, "that for a Socialist to get elected, it is absolutely necessary that he should get in as something else." Comrade Hobart is to be commended for his honesty; but he may be advised to drop the electioneering business for the future. He is plainly not suited for it.

Our valued contemporary, the *Star*, went into ecstasies upon the attainment of its first year of existence. With the modesty so characteristic of its eminent editor, it spent two columns in singing its own praises. Among other good things too numerous to mention, it recounts that "Thanks to our efforts, the stupid ostracism of the Socialists has come to an end; and on their side, too, Socialist organisations have abandoned much of the wild talk, the viewy aims, the impracticable methods which they inherited from German sources."

It will be news to German Socialists to hear that they are noted for "their wild talk," etc. If Socialism had come from T. P.'s own beloved country it might be understood. But how do our State Socialists relish T. P.'s assertion that "He," by the seductive blarney of a countryman of O'Connell's, has converted them from "raving revolution" to the mild paths of constitutional agitation? We can imagine indignant denials from some of them; but let that pass.

What I want to deal with particularly is the "stupid ostracism" of the Socialists by, I presume, the respectable Liberal party. We ought, it seems, to be thankful to T. P. for providing us with an introduction to respectable society. But, unfortunately, the stupid ostracism has rather intensified on the part of the respectable press. Take the *Daily News*, for instance, which boycotts the very mention of any Socialist meeting, and its example is copied by one or two Radical journals I could name.

This was not so a few years back, when the *News* and these other papers looked upon Socialism as a mild form of lunacy, to be treated

with good-natured indulgence. Now it is so formidable that it is endangering the existence of the great Liberal party, and therefore it is ostracised as much as possible.

That Socialism is becoming popular among the workmen Radicals of London cannot be denied; but for that we haven't to thank the *Star*, but the events in Trafalgar Square. The shoe's on the other foot; the *Star* tolerates Socialism because its customers want it.

I have merely cited this passage from the *Star* article as an instance of the admirable cheek of a certain able editor. It forms a splendid example of the primary art of a commercial age, the art of self-advertisement. To those who desire to become proficient in this charming accomplishment, we may recommend them to study that two columns in the *Star*.

What T. P. has done for the State Socialist party is this—He and his party have served them like Disraeli served the Whigs, stolen their clothes and left them breathless and shivering. Result, every political humbug is masquerading on the County Council as a State Socialist, while the editor of the *Star* ejaculates, "Hooray! that's one of our candidates!"

D. N.

## THE MANCHESTER MARTYRS.

THOSE who have listened with quickened pulse to the spirited war-song "God Save Ireland" must often have wondered who were the "noble-hearted three," whose gallant death is so brilliantly celebrated in T. D. Sullivan's stirring verses. For those among us of the younger generation, and, perhaps, for some even of our elders, there is but a dim and misty recollection of an event which happened nearly twenty-four years ago. I can recall hearing much when a boy of the dreaded Fenians, whom I, in common with other middle-class lads, looked upon as a species of newly-discovered cannibal, noted for their savage ferocity; but this dread was mingled with a large amount of admiration; and when the news came of the gallant attack on the prison-van at Manchester, and later the account of how Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien boldly and calmly met their death upon the scaffold, then I, with many others, began to reverence such dauntless heroism. Election speeches and eloquent gasconade are all very well, but a brave deed under the banner of a cause which we are taught to loathe will dwell in our memories far longer than all the palaver of the mightiest orator that ever lived.

The memory of these events is well worth reviving at any time, and especially now, as only recently a very distinguished countryman of the gallant Fenians who were basely murdered by English law, has taken occasion to eulogise the murder of our Chicago comrades by the administrators of the capitalist-made laws of the United States of America, and so, by reflection, endorses the murder at Manchester. Let me tell briefly what led up to that legal murder at Manchester of the men who knew how to die for their country.

After the fiasco of '48, one or two of the refugees held still to the hope of an armed rising that should sweep alien rule out of Ireland. James Stephens and John O'Mahony studied in Paris all the methods of the more experienced Continental revolutionists, and, having done so, proceeded to put them in operation, Stephens at home and O'Mahony in America. In the south of Ireland Stephens found little subterranean fires were smouldering that afterwards broke out in the "Phoenix Society." 1858 saw the first little sputter; a few years more and there came the Civil War in the United States. Here the Irishmen saw, as they thought, a golden opportunity; not only was it a school of arms where in deadly earnest they could prepare to meet the English red coats, but at the time England was supposed to be so involved with the Southern States that the crushing of Secession would mean war with her. Into the Federal ranks poured the Irishmen in thousands; the Fenian societies spread like wildfire in Ireland and America. In 1863 the *Irish People* was founded in Dublin, and preached Fenian doctrines uncompromisingly; in September 1865 it was seized by the authorities and every Fenian arrested on whom they could lay hands. In May 1866 the Fenian invasion of Canada took place, when the grateful Republic repaid the Irishmen who had sustained it on their bayonets by betraying them to the British Government. Then it was resolved to beard the lion in his den. The whole story of the risings, the alarms, and the misfortunes of '67 is too long to tell here; our part of it begins on November 11, 1867, when before daybreak some "active and intelligent" constables noticed four broad-shouldered, muscular, but "suspicious-looking" men loitering about a clothes-dealer's shop in Manchester. Two were arrested after a desperate struggle, but two got away; those taken had tried very hard to get their hands into their coat pockets; and as they had loaded revolvers there, it is quite possible that the constables might have paid dearly for their interference. After several remands, the truth was discovered by accident, and the supposed burglars proved to be two famous Fenian leaders, Colonel Thos. J. Kelly and Captain Deasy. When first arrested they had given false names and the police could not find anything against them, but the magistrate kindly remanded them under the Vagrant Act, and on their being brought up again, and the intelligence of the police force of Manchester still not being up to time, a second remand was decreed by the Solon of the magisterial bench. The whole of this proceeding was clearly illegal, for they were certainly not vagrants in any sense of the word; but any stick will do to beat a dog with, and any law is good enough for a Fenian or a Socialist.

It was the afternoon of September 8th when the two prisoners Kelly and Deasy were placed in a police-cell, after their remand, to wait for the prison-van which was to convey them to the City Jail, Bellevue. About three o'clock the van was drawn up to the front of the police-court to remove all the prisoners, and among them the two Fenians. At this time the police noticed two men hanging about the court whom they suspected to be Fenians. They attempted to arrest them, but on the display of a revolver and bowie-knife by these dangerous persons, the police thought better of it, and allowed them to get off with very little difficulty. This appears to have caused some slight alarm among the police-court officials, and Kelly and Deasy were put in irons, and other precautions also were taken. Seven policemen accompanied the van, in addition to the driver and Sergeant Brett—three riding with the van and four in a cab following; Sergeant Brett was seated in the corridor inside the van. Besides the two Fenians, one woman and three or four boys were inside the van as prisoners. The van started; but it was not noticed by the sage police authorities that beside its guard of police it was preceded by several Fenians in a cab.

About midway between the city and the jail the van had to pass under a railway arch, which crosses the Hyde Road, adjacent to which are a number of clay-pits. There is a large hotel near the railway bridge, called the Railway Hotel, where a number of military-looking men were gathered. As the afternoon drew on, the number of these men increased, and at three o'clock more than fifty had collected. Amongst them was one taller than the rest; he was a fair-complexioned man, wore a black coat and cap, and seemed to be the leader. This man was afterwards identified as William Phillip Allen. At about four o'clock these men seemed to get restless and excited; they kept walking across the roadway in front of the hotel, and from the summit of a high bank of clay looked intently towards the city. At length Allen took up his position on the clay bank, and one by one, ten or twelve men gathered around him. The rumble of the prison-van was heard in the distance; Allen held up his hands, and from different points men glided towards him. The majority of these men were either mechanics or people evidently belonging to the middle-class; very few of them were poorly dressed.

When the van came in sight, Allen held up his hands, and two revolvers glittered in the light. His comrades followed his example. The few spectators of the scene noticed that they were all armed with new revolvers. The moment the van approached the arch, Allen stepped forward, and presenting a revolver at the driver, called on him to stop. He had scarcely spoken before a volley of pistol-shots were fired at the van. Then followed a wild scene; one of the horses was shot, and began plunging; the other, frightened, turned aside; and from that moment Allen and his friends were masters of the situation.

When the pistol-shots were fired the officers on the top of the van scrambled down as quickly as they could, and the driver was knocked off with a large stone. One of the leaders climbed up to the top of the van, and at a signal from him about twenty labourers, who had been hiding in a clay-pit, climbed up after him. The armed men formed a circle round the van and menaced all who approached with loaded revolvers. Those on the roof were supplied with huge stones, and battered at the roof, which was too strong for them. Allen then directed some labourers armed with hatchets and crow-bars to burst the door in. The constables, aided by some tavern loafers and a few other English slaves, eager to do a good turn for a policeman, with the snobbish servility of their class, attacked the brave Fenians; but a few revolver-shots quickly sent them to the rightabout. It was found impossible to force the door, and one of the party discharged a pistol through the lock. The policeman Brett, who refused to get out of the way, and applied his eye to the keyhole of the door at the critical moment, got a bullet through his head for his stupidity. His keys were taken from him, the doors unlocked, and the prisoners released. As Deasy was borne from the van, Allen clasped his hand and exclaimed, "I will die for you, Deasy!" He kept his word. Their object effected, the Fenians dispersed; but unhappily Allen and a few others were captured by the police and their toadies. Other persons to the number of twenty were afterwards captured in the general hunt for suspects that followed, and five men with eighteen others were placed on trial charged with the killing of Brett.

The Government appointed a special commission to sit at Manchester for the trial of the prisoners, and on the 27th of October Mr. Justice Blackburn and Mr. Justice Mellor arrived in that city, and the commission was opened on the next day.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be continued.)

**LONDON PAUPERISM.**—The number of paupers in London, exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants, on the last day of the second week in January, was 103,685, as compared with 104,618 on the corresponding day of last year, 101,114 in 1887, and 96,228 in 1886. The vagrants relieved on the same day numbered 1,090, of whom 943 were men, 132 women, and 15 children under 16 years of age.

**THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE COUNTY COUNCIL.**—The Social Democratic Federation have convened a meeting of the unemployed at Cleopatra's Needle, Thames Embankment, for Thursday, 31st, at two p.m. It is proposed to send a deputation from the meeting of the unemployed to the meeting of the new London County Council at Spring Gardens, to "call upon the member of that Council to use their utmost efforts, collectively and individually, to organise the labor of honest workers, who demand justice, not charity, on artisans' dwellings, embankment of the Thames, improvements of the streets, the erection of baths, washhouses, public halls, improved latrines—such as have been built in the city—and other useful public works."

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 9, 1889.

3	Sun.	1757. Volney born. 1769. Wilkes expelled from House of Commons for publishing "No. 45." 1794. Trial of Alexander Scott for sedition. 1813. Leigh Hunt tried for seditious libel. 1887. Sir Henry Maine died. 1888. Interpellation in the French Chamber on the decoration swindle.
4	Mon.	1555. Rogers burnt at Smithfield. 1615. Porta, physician, died. 1793. Trial of James Smith and John Mennon for sedition. 1794. National Convention abolishes slavery in all French colonies. 1811. Trials of the Caravats and Shanavests. 1861. Southern American Confederacy formed. 1878. Trial ends of 193 Russian Socialists for carrying on their propaganda: sentences—13 to mines, 20 to settlement in Siberia, 80 acquitted but banished by administrative order; the "trial" had lasted three years.
5	Tues.	1781. Lord George Gordon tried for high treason. 1799. Galvanni died. 1820. Dr. Drennan died. 1846. Johann Joseph Most born. 1872. Five months' strike of the Brussels marble-workers began. 1878. Vera Zassulich attempts the life of General Tropoff, chief of police at St. Petersburg, by whose order Bogoliuboff had been flogged. 1881. Thomas Carlyle died.
6	Wed.	1649. House of Lords abolished. 1778. France acknowledges the independence of America. 1804. Dr. Priestley died. 1813. Hugh Fitzpatrick tried for publishing Scully's <i>History of the Penal Laws</i> .
7	Thur.	1633. William Prynne tried before the Star Chamber. 1649. Monarchy abolished in England. 1803. Trial of E. M. Despard for high treason. 1812. Charles Dickens born. 1828. Robert Taylor sentenced for blasphemous libel. 1849. Charles Gavan Duffy tried for high treason. 1868. Arrest of the Fenian "Captain Mackay" at Cork. 1870. Barricades thrown up in Paris. 1877. J. F. O'Mahony died. 1879. Strike-riot at Liverpool Docks. 1879. Ossinsky, Sophie Leshern, and others make armed resistance to arrest; for which Ossinsky afterwards hanged and two sent to the mines. 1885. Reinsdorf and Kuchler beheaded.
8	Fri.	1576. Robert Burton born. 1849. Karl Marx tried at Cöln for provocation and rebellion. 1870. Street fighting continues in Paris. 1886. Unemployed riots in West-end of London. 1887. Anniversary meeting "proclaimed" but held; labour riots in Blantyre same day.
9	Sat.	1574. Vallée burnt for crime of heresy. 1849. Proclamation of Roman Republic. 1874. David Friederich Strauss died.

*Sir Henry Maine.*—Born 1822; died Feb. 3, 1887. Was educated at Cambridge, where in 1842 he took a brilliant degree. He was after Tutor of Trinity Hall, and in 1847 became Regius Professor of Civil Law. Three years later he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn and also at Middle Temple, in 1854 was appointed Reader of Jurisprudence at the Temple, when he resigned the Cambridge chair. In 1856 he wrote 'Roman Law and Legal Education' in the 'Cambridge Essays,' followed, in 1861, by the larger and profounder work on 'Ancient Law.' In 1862 he was made a law member of the Supreme Council of India, and after a long stay in India, returned to become professor of jurisprudence at Oxford (1870). A year later he was made a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India and K.C.S.I. In the same year appeared his published lecture on 'Village Communities in the East and West.' In 1877 he was elected Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. In following year he resigned his Oxford professorship. His principal works, besides those already named, were 'The Early History of Institutions' (1875), and 'Dissertations on Early Law and Custom' (1883), and 'The Popular Government' (1885). Most of them are but parts of a great enquiry into a science of law, which he did not live to complete, but which is of material service to later students.—S.

*William Drennan.*—Born at Belfast, May 23, 1754; died same place, Feb. 5, 1820. Educated at Glasgow, where he took his M.A. in 1771; then went to Edinburgh to study medicine, taking his M.D. in 1778. During his stay at Edinburgh he was noted as one of the foremost students of his time, distinguishing himself in philosophy as well as medicine, becoming a favourite pupil and personal friend of Dugald Stewart. He practised two or three years in Belfast, and then moved to Newry, where he began to study with great interest the political and social movements of the period. His writings, signed "Orellana, the Irish Helot" (1784), attracted wide attention. In 1789 he moved to Dublin, where he gained a good practice and a conspicuous place in the really brilliant society of the capital. He was one of the celebrated "Monks of the Screw," and a friend of Lysaght and Curran and their like. At the same time his interest in political affairs grew ever deeper; he belonged to the club founded in 1790 by T. A. Emmett and Peter Burrowes; and in June 1791 he wrote the original prospectus of the United Irishmen. He was one of the moving spirits of the United organisation, and wrote for it most of its earlier addresses and proclamations. Among them were: the Test of the Society of the United Irishmen of Dublin, Nov. 1791; Circular specifying objects of the Society, Dec. 30, 1791; Address to the Society on proceedings being taken against their secretary, J. Napper Tandy, Feb. 28, 1792; Address to the Friends of the People in London, setting forth the state of the representation in Ireland and operation of the Penal Code on Catholics, Oct. 26, 1792; Address to the Delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland, Nov. 23, 1792; Address to the Volunteers of Ireland, signed by Hamilton Rowan, chairman, Dec. 2, 1792 (this was the address beginning "Citizen Soldiers," for distributing which Rowan was convicted); Address to the Irish Nation, William Drennan, chairman, Jan. 25, 1793 (for this Drennan was tried for sedition, and acquitted, June 26, 1794, after splendid defence by Curran); Resolutions adopted by the Society of United Irishmen as to the imprisonment of Oliver Bond and the Hon. Simon Butler—Bagenal Harvey in the chair, Thomas Russell, secretary (five years later, the chairman and secretary were hanged, Bond was condemned but died suddenly in prison, and Butler was banished); Address of the Society to their Catholic countrymen, June 1793; Address to Dr. James Reynolds, on refusing to be examined on oath before a committee of the House of Lords, Henry Jackson, chairman, Aug. 14, 1793; Address to Oliver Bond and Hon. Simon Butler, John Sheares, chairman, Aug. 16, 1793; Address to Thomas Muir, Bagenal Harvey, chairman, Nov. 22, 1793; and others. He wrote constantly for the *Press*, and afterwards in the *Harp of Erin*, contributing songs and poems and some striking articles. In 1791 appeared his poem "The Wake of William Orr"; in 1795 "When Erin First Rose"; in 1798 "The Wail of the Women after the Battle" and "Glendalough." These poems are those by which he is now best known, but they by no means represent his whole work even in this one part of it. He was the first to call Ireland the "Emerald Isle," which he did in "When Erin First Rose." After 1798 his political career closed; while his opinions were unchanged, he thought their

realisation hopeless. Feb. 3, 1800, he married an English lady of some wealth, and in 1807 left Dublin for Belfast, where he quietly remained till his death, devoting himself entirely to literature. He founded the Belfast Academical Institution, and started the *Belfast Magazine*, to which he contributed largely. He was carried to the grave by six Catholics and six Protestants. As a poet he was possessed of much power, but has been overshadowed by the better-known Moore, to whom some of his pieces have been ignorantly ascribed. His published works are: *Dissertation... de Venæsectione in febribus continuis*, *Edinburgh* 1778, 8vo; *Essay on the moral and political state of Ireland*, in a letter to Earl Fitzwilliam, *Dublin* 1795, 8vo; 3rd edition, *London* 1797, 8vo; *A Letter to... W. Pitt (On the Contemplated Union of Great Britain and Ireland)*, *Dublin* 1799, 12mo; *A Letter to... C. J. Fox (on the means to ameliorate the condition of the Irish People)*, *Dub* in 1806, 8vo; *Fugitive Pieces in prose and verse*, *Belfast* 1815, 16mo; *The Electra of Sophocles* (translated by W. D.), *Belfast* 1817, 8vo; *Glendalough and other Poems*, 2nd edition (with a memoir), *Dublin* 1859, 8vo.—S.

*John Francis O'Mahony.*—Born at Kilbeheny, county Cork, in 1816; died in New York, Feb. 7, 1877. Son and nephew of two who had been "out" in '98, he did not want from his earliest boyhood for rebel influences. He studied at Trinity College, Dublin, but did not take a degree, his course of reading by no means coinciding with that prescribed for him; he became an accomplished Gaelic scholar, acquired a thorough knowledge of Greek, Latin, and French, and a passable acquaintance with Hebrew and Sanskrit. In 1843 he interested himself in the Repeal movement; afterwards attached himself to the Young Ireland party, and in 1848 was one of those who took the field with O'Brien at Ballin-garry. He managed to escape to France, and lived in Paris for several years, where he supported himself by journalism and the teaching of Greek and Latin. In 1854 he joined Mitchel in New York and took a prominent part in various Irish organisations. In 1857 he published a translation of Keating's *History of Ireland*, the earlier part of which is largely taken up with the deeds of the ancient Fenians. While at work on this he no doubt first thought of applying the old name to the new secret military organisation he had planned with Stephens at Paris, and which started in the United States about 1859. In 1861 came the great Civil War, and the Fenians flung themselves by tens of thousands into the war on the side of freedom. O'Mahony was colonel of the celebrated 69th New York, mainly made up of Fenians, who also formed the bulk of Meagher's Irish Brigade, the Corcoran Legion, and other regiments with records. The Fenian, or Irish Republican, Brotherhood (I.R.B.) was reorganised at conventions in Chicago (1864) and Cincinnati (1865). O'Mahony threw up his commission even before the close of the war, so largely did the society grow, and gave himself wholly to the task of organising. Although he had many differences with Stephens and the Central Council on matters of policy, he remained president for some years. He did not take a personal part in the invasion of Canada (1866), when his comrades were betrayed by the United States Government to that of England, nor in the rising in Ireland (1867), but kept on steadily at what he held to be the more pressing duty for him—organisation. The latter part of his life passed in continual toil for a livelihood, amid ill-health and poverty. Of him it was said: "He had friends who were willing to sacrifice anything for him; yet he was often in need of a dollar, and when his poverty was discovered he declined to receive assistance in any shape or form. One way or another, he always managed to earn his own living. He seemed, however, to care nothing for success in life, his whole mind being absorbed with one idea—rebellion in Ireland. A ten-dollar greenback over and above his immediate wants was a fortune to him, but one he held a loose hold of, for any person who approached him with a woeful story was sure to get it out of him." His body was brought home to Ireland and buried at Glasnevin, with the honours of a public funeral.—S.

## WHITE-LEAD WORKERS' WOES.

IN Burdett Road, Mile-end, E., there is a white-lead factory which is owned by a Mr. Johnson, who recently stood as the Tory candidate for the County Council in the Limehouse division. The white-lead industry is a notoriously unhealthy one, even when conducted with the most careful precautions against danger; and its unhealthiness is increased manifold when, as in Johnson's factory, even the mild degree of care compelled by law is not strictly regarded. Last week a number of the men employed at this factory came out on strike, and a *Star* reporter gathered from them some details as to the nature of their work and the special grievances of which they complain in this particular case. The manufacture of white-lead is a simple enough process. Ordinary lead is first melted down in huge cauldrons, and when melted is run off into crates, each weighing 3lb. These are then rolled four together, and the masses of 12lb. each are stowed in pots with acid and a covering of tan. They are left here for three months, at the end of which time they are taken out white-lead. The most unhealthy part of the work is the removing of these from their receptacles. The tan is rotting, and—especially in raw weather—sends up a poisonous steam, and the lead is covered with a fine dust that flies about at the least disturbance. Respirators covering the mouth and nose should be worn by the men employed in removing the lead, to prevent the poisonous dust penetrating into their throat and lungs. The grievances which at Johnson's factory intensify the danger of the work are several. First, as to hours of work and rate of wages. The working day, except on Saturday, is 10 hours; the pay is 4½d. an hour; the average wage, if a man worked his full time, would reach about 24s. Then as to the conditions under which the work is done. While the lead is being moved, it is the custom to saturate it in order to abate the dust; but, as it would make more labour to water the tan, this precaution is neglected in Johnson's establishment. The respirators supplied by the firm are extremely defective. They are simply little bags of thin linen with cord attached at opposite sides to be tried round the head. A handkerchief tied loosely over the mouth would be a better protection, for the respirators are of such a shape that they become damp with the men's breath, and the dust sticks to them and gets into the mouth. Many of the men suffer from lead-poisoning through this; they are often ill, and the unsightly eruptions that cover their hands and break out over their bodies tell but too plainly of the lack of proper care. The joints of the fingers become rotten; the hands, blotched with sores, lose all power. A doctor is supposed to inspect the factory three times a week; as a matter of fact, the men complain that his visits rarely extend themselves beyond an exchange of courtesies with the manager in the office. He never speaks to the men, and very seldom ventures into the factory itself. In some mysterious way, the master always seems to know when the inspector is coming, and things are carefully prepared beforehand. One of the worst grievances is the driving conduct of the foreman. Meanwhile, although the men have come out on strike, they are without organisation or means of carrying on a prolonged struggle. They allege that women have been set to the work they had left. If so, Mr. Johnson has rendered himself liable, for the employment of women at this particular branch of the work is illegal. Not that the illegality of it much matters these days, for to sweat his men in that fashion is so profitable that he can afford to pay a few fines. The only present hope of the workers lies in publicity and the boycott the publicity may bring; their only lasting hope is in Socialism.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. H. (New Cross).—Will advertise your books next week. WILL BE USED.—G. McL. (The Kirk's Alarm); H. D. (Free v. State Communism); J. H. W. (The End of a World); G. S. (A Utopian Nightmare). J. B. L. (Islington).—Will reply by post.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 30.

ENGLAND	ITALY
Justice	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Labour Elector	Turin—Il Muratore
Labour Tribune	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Norwich—Daylight	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Postal Service Gazette	Cremona—L'Eco del Popolo
Railway Review	SPAIN
Social Democrat	Barcelona—El Productor
Worker's Friend	Seville—La Solidaridad
New South WALES	Madrid—El Socialista
Hamilton—Radical	PORTUGAL
Sydney—Australian Star	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Bankipore—Behar Herald	AUSTRIA
Madras—People's Friend	Wien—Gleichheit
UNITED STATES	Brunn—Volksfreund
New York—Der Sozialist	HUNGARY
Friedheit	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Truthseeker	ROUMANIA
Jewish Volkszeitung	Jassy—Muncitorul
Alarm	DENMARK
Workmen's Advocate	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	WEST INDIES
Chicago—Knights of Labor	Cuba—El Productor
Vorbote	
FRANCE	GERMANY
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Port Worth (Tex)—South West	
Port Angeles—Commonwealth	
San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	
S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	
Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	
Lucifer	
Denver—Arbitrator	
HOLLAND	NETHERLANDS
Hague—Recht voor Allen	
FRANCE	NETHERLANDS
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	
Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	
La Revolte	
La Revue Socialiste	
NETHERLANDS	NETHERLANDS
Ghent—Vooruit	
Antwerp—De Werker	
Liege—L'Avenir	
NETHERLANDS	NETHERLANDS
Arbeiterstimme	
NETHERLANDS	NETHERLANDS
Berlin—Volks Tribune	

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT is not an agreeable thing, because it murders men haphazard. If it was applied impartially to all men at the age of thirty, there would be some use in it. As a rule, men become useless lumber after reaching thirty years, so far as their fellow-beings are concerned. If you wish for truth, hope, courage, honesty, generosity, enthusiasm, go to the young. If you seek for selfish cynicism, rotten morality, mischievous plottings, and deceitful humbuggery, seek among the men of years, who "know the world." There are some splendid exceptions to this sad rule nevertheless. Wendell Phillips was the most splendid exception of all. "Age could could not wither, nor custom stale" his youthful ardour for justice, truth, liberty, and progress. He belonged not to the tinpot band of social reformers who possess only strength to advocate, or mind to conceive, some petty cause of the hour. All "arrows of the chace" met in the flashing eye of Phillips a sympathetic glance. From the day of his birth in Boston, on Nov. 29, 1811, to the day of death in Boston on Feb. 2, 1884, he was always the soldier of human freedom, and made Boston a beacon-light to all the oppressed souls of earth. The son of the first mayor of Boston, of a family for generations the pride of the town, and himself always the darling of the city, it was yet Wendell Phillips' chief delight to gird at the Yankees. Not the Yankees of London penny-a-liners—

anything from an Esquimaux to a Patagonian—but the real Yankees, the New Englanders, the race which has dominated so much the Western world as to overshadow all other peoples. Yet Wendell Phillips was of the sanctum sanctorum of Yankeeedom. But just as his cousin, Oliver Wendell Holmes, has administered a famous home slap in his phrase "the Hub of the Universe," so Phillips chastened what he loved, and exemplified the same characteristic which has made the English race the imperial race, the fact that they are able to have "a searching of heart," and to know and denounce their own faults as no stranger can denounce them. It was comical, a few months ago, to see the strange incapacity of a Frenchman to understand how an English playwright could savagely satirize his own race to the advantage of a foreigner. No man but an Englishman or a Yankee can understand this proud pre-eminence. No real Englishman or no real New Englander ever boasts about the achievements of his people. It all speaks for itself. It is their swarm of penurious parasites of all nationalities who, in both the Old and the New worlds, do all the bombastic parading of achievements they are only able to mar and not help, and do not understand. It was this love of criticism of his own people which made Wendell Phillips such a power for good. If there was a wrong to be redressed, he denounced every traitor to his ancestry who in New England condoned the offence. It would have been waste of breath for Wendell Phillips to have addressed a less sensitive or more ignorant constituency, as William Lloyd Garrison found when he tried to teach human rights to the illiterate muckworms of Maryland. Wendell Phillips once remarked that "brains rule the world, and it will be a sad day when brains cease to rule it." This was his guiding principle. He was determined that the brains of lazy permitters of injustice should not rest. In chattel slavery, in wage slavery, in social corruption of all kinds, Wendell Phillips found a life work for his surpassing oratory. It should be the joy of every toiling slave that the most perfect oratory the world has ever known (even Demosthenes and Grattan pale before Phillips) was wholly devoted to his cause. Unlike many famous orators, notably Edmund Burke, Phillips was as great to the favoured ones who had his oratory hot from the mouth as to the student who pores over his recorded utterance. Wendell Phillips, with a visage and person like a Grecian statue, with a voice no favourite of the theatre possessed the equal of for melody and flow, and, above all, with a perfect possession of his whole reasoning faculties at any emergency—with all these splendid attributes Wendell Phillips might have been the idolised pet of all the rich and powerful of earth, and had poured into his lap every gift which a corrupt aristocracy can lavish upon the advocates who sell their genius to the cause of oppression. Instead of this, Wendell Phillips made a free gift of his finest efforts to the cause of the toiling poor. The son of aristocracy he renounced his class, and gave to democracy his life-strength, his courage, and his commanding talents. As a mere youth he hurled into lasting ignominy the cowardly apologists of the murder of Lovejoy. In his early prime he, above all other, made New England too warm for a scurvy politician of any rank who dared advocate the doctrine of human slavery. Giants like Daniel Webster and Edmund Everett, men the equal of whom for forensic strength in pleading any cause which had a shred of argument to cover it could not soon be found, were yet hustled from the pedestals they had disgraced. Nor when mere chattel-slavery went down on the terrible blood-dripping altar, piled with a million of human victims, was Wendell Phillips's life-work yet half accomplished. For the last twenty years of his life his daring tongue sent forth again and again stinging attacks upon the infamies of the wage-slavery system which had replaced the horrors of chattel-slavery. No social question was treated by Wendell Phillips except in the most truth-telling and thoroughly educated spirit. Superficial critics spoke of his arguments as "brilliant" and "apparently convincing"; for they possessed no power to answer them, and wished to lead the mob to infer that these arguments were only for effect. As a fact, a record of Wendell Phillips utterances on the labour question is a text-book of scientific exactness and permanent value. Above all things, Wendell Phillips repudiated officialdom and mere political place-hunting. He was a democratic communist of the natural type, and a thorough-paced advocate of individual liberty and responsibility. He never would take an office himself, and probably formed the only instance of a man for whom the officials of his country suspended their labours in honour of his death, when he had never been ought but a private citizen. Perhaps the most important factor in Phillips's usefulness to humanity was the beauty of his private life. The wife of his youth, who had inspired and sustained him in his noblest purposes, became in age a confirmed invalid, entailing long years of the most chivalrous yet enslaving devotion from the great orator. He who above all others broke the forced shackles from humanity, yet presented the most heroic picture of that ennobling slavery which comes from devotion to those we love.

L. W.

THE SOCIAL PIPE.—Somebody who is not particularly pressed for time has been making a lot of tobacco statistics. He says the total consumption of tobacco in Europe may be put down at an average of 2½lb a head. In the Netherlands the proportion is a little over 7lb., in Austria-Hungary 3½lb., in Denmark 3½lb., in Switzerland 3½lb., in Belgium 3½lb., in Germany 3lb., in Norway 2½lb., in France 2½lb., in Sweden nearly 2lb., in Spain 1½lb., in Great Britain and Ireland 1½lb., in Italy 1½lb., and in Russia 1½lb. In the United States the proportion is greater than that of any European country except Holland; it amounts to 4½lb. The largest revenues derived from tobacco are those of France, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, and then Spain and Italy.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

Boulanger has, of course as was expected, been returned for the Seine Department, and by a big majority too. All the Republicans, together with the sham Socialists of the *Parti ouvrier*, have not been able to avert from Paris the ominous threat of Caesarism. We do not know what he is likely to do, but certainly the 17,000 men who have voted for Boulé, as representing Social Revolution, are not going to allow the wholesale murderer of the Communards in 1871 to have his own way towards dictatorship and reaction. At any rate the contest has already done this much: the Floquet ministry is near its death, and the Premier and his colleagues informed the President that they were prepared to resign, should M. Carnot consider their departure from office a step calculated to improve the chances of overcoming the difficulties which might be apprehended. The first difficulty France will have to face will be the dissolution of the Chamber, which may be the first step towards Revolution. If so, then all is well that ends well.

## GERMANY.

A bit of fun comes from Germany. In the neighbourhood of Offenburg, where an election for the Reichstag took place some days ago, the burgomaster of a small village posted on the walls of his little kingdom the following announcement: "All those who shall vote in favour of the Socialist candidate, Adolf Geck, will be fined one thousand marks, or be imprisoned for six months!" That burgomaster is much more of a statesman than Bismarck, he knows best how to get rid of these unpleasant people. He is a contributor to the *Kladderadatsch*, or to the *Kikerikiki*, no doubt!

At Magdeburg, several arrests of Socialists have been made during the last fortnight. Hundreds of revolutionary leaflets have been distributed, and those arrested have been caught whilst doing their deserving work. In some other places of the "beloved Fatherland," thousands and thousands of leaflets have found their way to the reader without any mishap to the distributors.

At Kottbus, comrades Flassig and Haidle were sentenced to six and four months of jail respectively, for having distributed a quantity of electoral leaflets, which were merely announcements for the Socialist candidates. *Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein!*

## BELGIUM.

Our Belgian comrades, Georges Defuisseaux, Laloi, Maroille, and others, are still in jail, waiting till the magistrates have finished their shameful work of "constructive" plot against them. Nothing has been found until now to construct a plot with, but since the Nupkins have been ordered to make discoveries, they will no doubt at last come forward with some flimsy indictment good enough at any rate to make safe once more "religion, order, family, property," and all the rest of bourgeois institutions. Whilst they are busy at work, they generously distribute weeks and months of imprisonment among the "minor" offenders of the last strikes.

Comrade Paul Gille has been sentenced by the Court of Assize at Brussels to six months imprisonment for the mere utterance of his opinion towards the police, for his sole offence has been to have shouted, "A bas la police!" The police, of course, had as usual interfered with the right of public gathering and knocked down some Socialists, who were parading through the streets as they had a perfect right to do. But since Bismarck reigns supreme in Belgium, once so proud of its sense of freedom, all liberties are trampled under foot by the livery-men of the Iron Chancellor.

The Executive Council of the *Parti ouvrier* has issued a circular to all their branches and affiliated bodies, convening them to their annual general Congress, which is to be held at Jolimont, in the province of Hainault, on 21st and 22nd of April next.

Besides the *Parti ouvrier*, numerous Anarchist groups are formed throughout Belgium, especially at Brussels, Louvain, Antwerp, Liege, Verviers, and other places, and very interesting discussions are carried on between the Socialists and themselves, *La Révolte* every now and then giving information about these meetings.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

No less than two hundred and thirty newspapers are now prohibited in the land of the reactionary Hapsburgs, namely, sixty-seven written in the Italian tongue, forty-eight in German, twenty-nine in Servian, twenty-four in Hungarian, twenty-two in Roumanian, three in Russian, and one in Turkish. Most of these publications are either Socialistic or advanced Radical.

Since our Austrian comrades have held their Congress at Hainfeldt, numerous arrests have taken place. At Fünfhaus ten Socialists have been arrested, as we told our readers last week; seventeen at Ottakring, five at Prague, two at Brünn, etc., etc. As a set-off, comrade Adler, editor of *Gleichheit*, and three other Socialists, against whom a charge of secret conspiracy had been constructed, have been dismissed.

## RUSSIA.

In spite of all that has been said by the bourgeois press regarding the dreadful railway accident of Borki, where the Russian autocrat and his family have "wonderfully escaped death through the benevolence of Almighty God," whose magnanimity, however, did not extend to thirty-seven persons of the imperial suite who were killed, the "accident" has now proved to have been the result of a Nihilist attempt. Accordingly, the officials of the railway, who at first were only dismissed, and the authors of the inquiry, who simply concluded their report by attributing the whole affair to a mere accident, have been arrested. But the Nihilists connected with the attempt have not been found out, and it is already stated that the principal organiser of the conspiracy has happily passed the frontier of his despotic fatherland. We wish the same good luck to all those concerned in the holy work of freeing Russia.

V. D.

## SPAIN.

CUBA.—HAYANNAH.—Propaganda for the freedom of labour goes on with a certain briskness in this region. A "section of working shoemakers," for instance, issues a sturdy and enthusiastic manifesto to their fellow-workers, on the occasion of their own successful strike in this city, followed by one in the same trade in the neighbouring town of Guanabacoa. Among several sensible remarks on the present position and future of labour, the circular points out that co-operation is not the end-all, be-all, to be tried for: and that in England, where it has gained so distinct a position, the workers as a whole are pretty much where those of other countries are. The co-operation and organization of the workers as a means towards the one especial end, they of course advocate warmly, and are trying to stir up their comrades in the island to a similar feeling of *esprit de corps*.

M. M.

## SOCIALISM IN SOUTH AMERICA.

You will be glad to hear that in this country the workers have begun to bestir themselves. Until about two months ago the capitalists in general lived in a fools' paradise, always repeating that, whatever might occur elsewhere, we were ages away from strikes or anything of the sort in Buenos Ayres. But any one who directed the slightest attention to the matter knew well that the condition of the workers had become unbearable. Everything was booming for the exploiters, while the wages of the workers had risen nothing, and the paper money was depreciated to the extent of 45 to 50 per cent. Rents at the same time had risen enormously, and a tremendous increase in municipal taxation on food (!) had made meat, it was said, as dear as in London,—this in a country where meat is looked upon as almost worthless.

But suddenly the skilled workers of the Southern Railway (an English company) declared that they were no longer able to bear it, and demanded that their wages should be paid in gold, and as the company, ever since the depreciation of the paper money, now about five years, had charged for everything at the price of gold, it seemed reasonable they should do so after being robbed of 40 or 50 per cent. for five years. They were refused, of course, and went out on strike. They met to consult among themselves in a public square, and were clubbed and about 120 of them taken prisoners. The constitution of this "free" country of course guarantees the right of public meeting; naturally it must be on a level in everything with the most advanced countries, as they say, but somehow or another the police have orders to disperse by force any meeting, notice of which has not been given twenty-four hours previously, and permission obtained to hold it!

Well, after great reluctance, and all the while declaring that the masters had the welfare of the workers deeply at heart, the company agreed to give an increase of 25 per cent., and the workers accepted it. Since then, however, it has been a scene of fresh strikes every day, and at present the capitalists are in a most pleasing state of annoyance and even fright, for the matter had not gone far when they found out that there were large numbers of Socialists among the workers, and now the theme of eloquent leading articles of the most powerful "organs" is the injury done to the workers by the Socialists who have induced them to strike! As if starvation was not good enough incentive!

The Germans have a club some years established, and I believe it has a good number of members, though the Germans are few compared with other nationalities in Buenos Ayres. A public meeting was called last Sunday at the German Club, in order, as the announcement stated, to discuss the question of strikes. It was attended by workmen, Socialists and non-Socialists, of all nationalities, and also by some members of a masters' association, called the Industrial Club.

The discussion was opened by our comrade Enrique Malatesta, who is a thorough and active Anarchist, and who has tried twice to establish a paper in Buenos Ayres in the last four years. He spoke so well that even the capitalists present learned something, and they confessed in their papers next day that he was not quite a raving maniac, but seemed to have some reason for what he said. He was followed by others in Spanish, French, and Italian, many of whom spoke out vigorously the language of Anarchism. The members of the Industrial Club found themselves, as they thought, in a hornets' nest; the air smelt of dynamite. They hastened to clear out, and now every day the capitalist papers are doing good propaganda work by raving at us like wild bulls—or asses. On Tuesday last *La Prensa*, which disputes with one other paper here (*La Nación*) the place of the *Times* of this Republic, came out with a leader attacking Socialists and workmen all round in the most furious style. It said that all was the work of the Socialists, and that all the latter were foreigners without one exception, as it was impossible for any one to become Socialist on the soil of this country; also that if workmen turned Socialists they would all be turned out of the country and that capitalists in any case would soon get so disgusted if striking continued that they would withdraw their capital and go to speculate!!

Perhaps you will scarcely believe that the ignorance of the writer could go so far, but so it is written, and I preserve it in the original for future reference. I have written to the paper showing what a fool the writer is, but I feel certain my letter will not be published. I told him, among other things, the fact that I am acquainted with many Argentines who understand Socialism, and among them one of the few literary men the country can boast of has written a pamphlet entirely Socialistic in spirit, and has declared himself to me to be a Socialist.

On the other hand, *El Correo Espanol* which is the "organ" of the Spaniards, adopted a very different tone. It admitted that there was abundant reason why workmen should combine to try and improve their condition, as they were not able to live at present, and that the condition of the workers here, with all that the other papers are so constantly saying of their happiness, was actually worse than in Europe,—at least, it said, it could answer for Spain.

Since writing the above, I have seen Malatesta, and he tells me the chief of police sent for him a few days ago and said that for the future the meeting of the Anarchists which is held every week would be attended by a policeman! This is liberty as understood in this Republic!

Malatesta desires me to send his fraternal salutations to Dr. Merlino and Krapotkin, with whom he has been a fellow soldier in the Cause.—Yours fraternally,

JOHN CREAGHE  
(Physician and Surgeon).

Lujan, Provincia de Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic, Nov. 30, 1888.

## OUT OF WORK MEMBERS.

Two painters, one labourer, and a carriage trimmer (Hammersmith Branch).

One member who would be glad of odd jobs, another in want of situation as bootmaker (Clerkenwell Branch).

THE SYNDICATE SYSTEM OF "SKINNING THE LOUSE."—A Workington correspondent writes to the *Glasgow Herald*, January 26th:—"It is reported that a London Syndicate have made important offers to Cumberland mine-owners for the sale of their iron ore mines in the West Cumberland district, and that for one property £130,000 has been offered, and for another £100,000. These offers are now under consideration of the respective firms."

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## BRITAIN.

The Lurgan hem-stitchers are still out, and show no signs of yielding.

**RAILWAYMEN.**—At Killylea Station on the Great Northern of Ireland, the station-master gets 16s. per week, less rent and superannuation.

**DUNDEE MILLWORKERS.**—At a meeting on 24th of January, of the Dundee mill and factory operatives, presided over by the Rev. Henry Williamson, it was agreed to request the employers to grant another advance of 5 per cent. on wages.

**STRIKE AT GREENOCK.**—The holeborers engaged in the shipbuilding yard of Messrs. Caird and Co., Greenock, have struck work for an increase in the rate of wages. The carpenter's labourers in the employment of Messrs. Russell and Co. have also demanded an advance of wages.

**SMITH'S WAGES ON THE WEAR.**—The smiths employed in the Wear shipyards have lodged a notice with the secretary of the Wear Shipbuilders' Association, claiming an advance of 3s. on time wages and 12½ per cent. on piece prices. The matter will be dealt with by the Conciliation Board.

**FALKIRK PIPE-MOULDERS' STRIKE.**—The strike of the pipe-moulders in and around Falkirk still continues. It has now lasted ten weeks, and some of the strikers have to appear in a court of "law"—not justice—for accompanying a few "scabs" on their way from work with singing and hooting.

**YORKSHIRE MINERS.**—The strikers at Church Lane Colliery, Dodworth (1,000), Gawthorpe Colliery (150), Stanley Colliery (about 250), are still holding out against the bosses' refusal to grant the generally conceded 10 per cent. They are receiving strike pay from the Association, and also the result of a voluntary weekly levy of 3d. per member throughout the county.

**DUNDEE AND LEITH SEAMEN.**—Four seamen arrived at Dundee last week to join the American Arrow Line steamer "Crystal." They had engaged at £4 per month, which is 5s. less than the wages demanded in Dundee. On their arrival they were met by the officials of the Dundee Sailors' Union, who treated them to breakfast and persuaded them to return to Leith. Later in the day, however, four "rats" were secured at Montrose at £4 per month.

**STAFFORDSHIRE MINERS.**—After speaking of the improved trade here, the *Labour Tribune* correspondent goes on to say that some of the pits "are so full of men that in some cases they cannot get 2s. a day. One man has worked six days for 7s. I know of one case where four men, personally known to me—men who can do a day's work with most men—earned for twenty turns' work the magnificent sum of £2 12s., charge less 2s. 9d., leaving a total to be divided among the men of £2 9s. 3d."

**COLLIERY ENGINE-KEEPERS.**—At a largely attended meeting of colliery engine-keepers in the Cambuslang and Rutherglen districts, after discussing their low wages (3½d. and 4d. per hour), their long hours and the great responsibility placed upon them, it was unanimously agreed to approach the managers and solicit an advance of 3d. per shift. The Fife colliery engine-keepers have resolved to enter into negotiations with the engine-keepers of the West of Scotland and the Lothians with a view to amalgamation.

**GLASGOW TRADES' COUNCIL.**—At last week's meeting the delegate of the Seamen's Association reported that the demands of the men had been granted, and the strike had consequently terminated. Mr. Elliot moved a motion demanding the resignation of Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., as secretary of the Parliamentary Bills Committee, on account of his refusing to put a question in Parliament regarding an accident in one of the public works in England at the request of Mr. Champion, which was discussed and adjourned.

**SAILORS.**—The National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union is going ahead. A few days ago it was 7,000 strong; since then two more branches have been formed—one at Cork, the other at Hull—and the membership has risen to 11,000. The increase is going on at the rate of 1,700 per week, and in every port at which it has been established sailors have gained the union rate of wages. This wonderful growth leads us to hope that it will not long remain a merely national organisation, but have to put International to its name.

**IRISH TRADE UNIONISTS.**—An association known as "The Irish Federated Trade and Labour Union," has issued a circular to all the labour associations in Ireland, in which its objects are stated to be: 1. To unite the various trade and labour organisations in Ireland into one organisation governed by a central body, holding congresses annually, or bi-annually, for the better protection of their interests, and the interest of Irish manufactures generally. 2. To establish a journal having for its sole purpose the furthering of the views of the governing body, by whom it shall be directly controlled. 3. To procure representation in Parliament and in local governing bodies. 4. To establish a bureau of correspondence, to which a list of contracts about to be competed for may be supplied; so that the governing body shall be able, if circumstances permit, to bring public opinion to bear on the manner in which such contracts may be disposed of. John Ward is chairman and T. J. O'Reilly and P. Belton are hon. secretaries. The committee rooms are at 33 Denmark Street, Dublin.

**MIDLAND IRON AND STEEL WAGES BOARD.**—The award has been made by Sir Thomas Martineau, president of the Board, with regard to the latest application for higher wages, saying that by an award dated October 5, 1888, it was directed that from October 20 puddlers' wages should be 7s. 3d. per ton; that wages of mill and forge men should be regulated by the same rate; and that award should be subject to one month's notice, to be given at the end of any week by either side of the Board; that about November 2 the operatives' secretary duly gave notice that the operatives would require the Board to reconsider the wages fixed by said award, with the view of an advance. In consequence of notice, negotiations took place between representatives of employers and operatives, but they failed to agree, and accordingly it was remitted to the president as arbitrator. A meeting took place before him at the Council House, Birmingham, on Monday January 7, when the operatives claimed that puddlers' wages should be increased 7½ per cent. Having carefully considered the subject, on the 21st the president made his award as follows: 1. That puddlers' wages shall continue at 7s. 3d. per ton until the 2nd day of February 1889. 2. That from and after that date until the 30th day of June 1889, puddlers' wages shall be 7s. 6d. per ton. 3. That wages of mill and forge men shall be regulated by the above rate in the same manner as heretofore. 4. That from and after the 30th day of June, 1889, the above award shall be subject to one month's notice, to be given at the end of any week by either side of the Board.

**LONDON COMPOSITORS DECLARE FOR EIGHT HOURS.**—The compositors of London have been polled on the eight hours question. The secretary sent out 5,075 papers asking the question, "Are you in favour of an eight hours working day?" There were 3,984 papers returned; 2,201 votes were given in favour of the proposition and 1,411 against it, while 372 remained neutral. There were 1,062 papers unaccounted for and 29 were informal. To the question, "Are you in favour of it being obtained by Act of Parliament?" 1,578 answered yes, 561 no, and 672 were neutral.

**SHOE TRADE.**—Delegates representing 18,000 shoe rivetters and finishers of the National Trade Union held a conference at Leicester on 21st, to consider course to be adopted owing to increasing introduction of machinery. Delegates from London, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, and other large towns took part in a protracted discussion. Special reference was made to the difficulties created by the Union rules, owing to their prohibiting payment by the day except over an entire establishment, and the desirability of making them more elastic, so as to suit the special requirements of increased machinery, was pointed out.

**SCOTCH COLLIERS.**—The movement throughout Scotland amongst the colliers for an advance of 6d. a day on their present wages is marked by a weak yammering feverishness. The associated masters in the west have conceded 17½ per cent. in all from the bottom rates; but it must be remembered that the Scotch colliers, before the upward movement, had been punished with a break of 7½ per cent., which their fellow-workers in England did not get; and even now the highest paid of the Scotch colliers are just about equal to the lowest paid colliers in England. There is only one district in England which works longer hours than Scotland. The want of unity amongst the Scotch miners is visited on them by the masters with a corresponding refusal to concede the advances in wages which the price of their product, even under the present unjustifiable burdens, warrants. Meetings amongst the miners in all the districts are numerous, but jealousy amongst the leaders paralyses any force of action the present favourable opportunity germinates. An advance of 6d. per day, which is equivalent to 10 per cent., has been conceded to the Airdrie miners. This makes 20 per cent. advance to them since November last. The men at Eaton Colliery, belonging to the Morningside Coal Company, struck for a few days, and received an advance of 6d. on their day. Threats of "drastic measures" if the 6d. a day be not conceded forthwith have been uttered by the men of the Mid and East Lothian Miners' Association, the Lanarkshire miners, the Stirlingshire miners, the Ayrshire miners, and the Clackmannanshire miners. The Fife men were showing some signs of probable action lately, but they have now succumbed on the masters promising an increase of 10 per cent. to take effect on 9th February. This gives the Fifers a total advance of 15 per cent., leaving them still behind all other districts in Scotland.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

**OWEN BROWN**, son of John Brown, of Ossawatimie, and last survivor of the Harper's Ferry insurrection, died last week and was buried at Pasadena, Cal., on January 12th. He was 74 years old. The last part of his life he lived like a hermit on a remote summit of the Sierra Madre Mountains, known as Brown's Peak.

The great "Q" strike of last year is settled at last. The basis of the settlement is that the company will not blacklist any of the engineers and firemen who were concerned in the strike, and will assist all those who have not been guilty of violence, or any other so-called improper conduct, in finding employment.

The last kick against T. V. Powderly's Knights of Labour has been dealt. Four of the surviving five of the original seven founders of the order have issued a manifesto against Powderly, and call upon all honest Knights to save the labour movement from destruction through corruption.

The "clearing house" scheme of the railroads, which I reported in detail in a previous letter, seems to have been impracticable. All the shareholders, the managers, and other officials of the American railroads, are yearning for concentration, for a trust. But as there can in one trust only be one leading mind, so the different presidents are fighting for this "elevated" position. All chances, of course, are that if the organisation is perfected, Jay Gould will be the ruling spirit. On the 10th inst., New York leading bankers, and the presidents of most of the railroads of the United States, met in New York city, and a plan was drawn up for an organisation embodying as its cardinal principles the maintenance of rates and the arbitration of disputes among the railroads west of Chicago. The new plan is similar to the "clearing house" scheme. At the same meeting the presidents of the Eastern roads resolved to form a similar association. The next day the presidents met again, and agreed to appoint an advisory committee of five to exercise a general supervision over the railroad traffic of the country, one member to represent the Eastern trunk lines, one the Western roads, one the Southern roads, one the North-western roads, and one the South-western roads. It is said that this committee is not to have any executive power, but is expected to exert a strong "moral" influence on the roads. One of the greatest difficulties the railroad men will have to meet in forming their trust, is the arrangement of a system of uniform classification. Under the present system the tariffs are of a rather chaotic nature, and changeable from day to day. But I am strongly of opinion that before this year is ended, the combination of the United States railroads will be completed, and then we will be confronted with the most gigantic monster organisation.

Claus Spreckels, jun., the California sugar king, has won his case against the Eastern Sugar Trust, ostensibly fought in the interest of the people of the State of New York. On the 9th inst., Judge Barrett, of the New York Supreme Court, decided that the North River Sugar Refining Company had forfeited its charter for having sold out to the sugar combination. He also pronounced the sugar trust illegal, justifying this action by saying: "It (the trust) comes as near to creating an absolute monopoly as is possible under the social, political, and economical conditions of to-day. If allowed to thrive and become general, it must inevitably lead to the oppression of the people and ultimately to the subversion of their political rights." The lawyers in the interest of the sugar trust are trying to get a stay of proceedings. The object of this is to prevent the appointment of a receiver to wind up the affairs of the North Side River Company, until the defendants have time to appeal to the Court of Appeals and get a decision. Great is the rejoicing among the faithful, i.e., the petite bourgeoisie and the aristocrats of labour over this decision. They exclaim, piously screwing up their eyes heavenward: "There are judges yet in America!" This is all nonsense. It is foolish to fight against combination. We are and must be



going fast in the direction of combination, competition having proved to be a wasteful mode of production. It is just like fighting against evolution to fight against the trusts. Fighting against them will do no good, but we must expropriate the owners of trusts and begin working combined capital in the interest of the community. There is one thing I have not been able to find out as yet, and that is, "Why did Judge Barrett declare trusts in general as illegal?" I know the sugar trust was combated in the interest of Claus Spreckels, jun., but this is not a complete explanation of the judges action. Some people say he did it in the interest of public morals. That's idiotic indeed, because public morals in the States are identical with—*Boodle*. Perhaps in my next letter I shall be able to clear up the mystery.

The *Chicago Times* is continuing its able and brilliant attack on the Chicago police. Bonfield has now also been drawn into the controversy. All the eastern newspapers never mention the affair at all. Mum is the word for them. The *Indianapolis Sentinel*, a capitalistic paper *par excellence*, says in an editorial: "Bonfield is a brute who has no more conception than one of the Czar's jailers of the nature of a free government. His campaign against Anarchy has been a crusade of fraud and false pretences, conducted with a view solely to his own glorification and without any regard for private rights or the public welfare. It was to his precipitancy and bloodthirstiness that the Haymarket slaughter was chiefly due, and the part he played in the prosecution of the men accused of complicity in that affair ought to cover his name with infamy for all time to come. Bonfield will find that fighting the *Chicago Times* is a very different matter from fighting a few penniless and friendless foreigners. We have no doubt that the *Times* will bring his inglorious official career to a speedy period." Well, is "our silence going to be more powerful than our speeches have been?"

On the 11th inst. Bonfield sent the following letter to the *Times*:

"To the *Chicago Times* and J. J. West, its editor-in-chief, and Joseph R. Dunlop, one of its editors.—For several days past the columns of the *Chicago Times* have contained articles charging me with gross corruption in my official position in the police department of this city. In reference to these charges I have invoked the courts of the country to determine their truth or falsity. I have been attacked not only as a man and a citizen, but as an officer of the municipal government, and therefore not only my own individual right but to a great extent the interests of the community are involved. J. J. West and Joseph R. Dunlop have this day waived an examination which would have disclosed the real truth. In the nature of things the decision of the court cannot be rendered in all probability for several months. I now, therefore, propose to you that the question of my individual guilt or innocence of corruption charged against me in each and all of your articles since the third day of January, 1889, be submitted without delay to three judges of the Circuit Court of Cook County. I propose that the three judges be named for the purpose indicated by all the judges of that court; that the three judges hear all the testimony which may be adduced on either side and render their decision. If their decision or that of two of them has the effect of sustaining any one of your charges of receiving stolen property or assisting or colluding or conniving with any member of the police force in receiving or of concealing stolen property, or in attempting in any way to suppress any evidence of such receiving by any member of the police or any other person, or of any collusion with gamblers, or any other criminal class, or any criminal, or of any taking of bribes or bribe under any guise, or of any dishonesty, or any dishonest act or action in my official position, then I will at once dismiss each and every civil suit in which I am the plaintiff now pending in the Circuit Court and will recommend to the State's Attorney to enter a *nolle prosequi* as to the criminal charges against J. J. West and Joseph R. Dunlop now pending in the Criminal Court of Cook County. I await your answer.—JOHN BONFIELD. I join in the above letter and make the same proposition for myself which Mr. Bonfield makes as to himself.—MICHAEL J. SCHACK."

Bonfield had evidently studied the Parnell investigation babble. But the *Times* was not to be caught napping. In an editorial it says: "It would be the height of folly to permit a subterfuge of this character to betray the paper into a free-for-all, go-as-you-please contest for the police to corral and intimidate proposed witnesses, and without a tribunal legally constituted to try the case. The plan proposed seeks to stop the investigation of the *Times* at this point, while every day accumulates new and important facts substantiated by reliable witnesses." When the case of Bonfield v. the *Times* was called in the police-courts the lawyers of the paper waived examination and so the matter will go to a higher court.

Newark, N.J., January 15, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

### THE MEETING AT MILAN.

Of late the whole energy of the Labour movement has been absorbed by the agitation for the European peace and disarmament. After a great number of demonstrations all over the country, a monster meeting was held on the 13th of January, at Milano, in the Theatre Dal Verne. It was not international as intended, as there were only French delegates, but it was at any rate imposing on account of the number of adherents. More than seven hundred Italian and French societies, mostly of working men, had sent their representatives. It is therefore to be regretted that the revolutionary idea did not dominate the resolutions, though it found vent in many speeches and an enthusiastic reception in the assembly. The chair was taken by Pantano, a Radical member of the Italian Parliament, with socialistic leanings, and our comrade Cipriani; and as honorary presidents, Anatole de la Forge, Liebknecht, and Saffi were nominated. The resolution arrived at demands: the suppression of the military system, international simultaneous disarmament and international arbitration, and calls on the nations to oppose by all means the criminal conspiracies of those who desire and prepare for war. What these means are, the Radical leaders of the concern wisely and cautiously did not state. To their great dismay, some Socialist speakers however pointed them out forcibly, as well as the inconsistency with which these soft-fighting Republicans ask for peace amongst the nations, whilst they do not object to the continuous murderous warfare that is going on in our present society. Those who deny this war, or declare it inevitable, and protest at the same time their love of peace, are either idiots or hypocrites.

The Milan meeting was at any rate a new proof of the goodwill existing between the working classes of all nations, and an indignant expression of disgust of the Italian workers at the infamous part that their government is disposed to play in the forthcoming monarchical war against republican France.

H. SCH.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.—Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, February 5th, at 8.30 p.m., to further consider Samuel's leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working-men," and other important business. *Elocution Class*.—At the conclusion of business of the Committee, Brooks will open a discussion on "The Great French Revolution of 1789." All members who are interested in the propaganda are asked to attend.

D. J. NICOLL.

## THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT.

FROM A SONG OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

WANT a weapon? Gather a brick,  
Club or cudgel, or stone or stick;  
Anything with a blade or butt,  
Anything that can cleave or cut.

Anything heavy, or hard, or keen!  
Any sort of slaying machine!  
Anything with a willing mind  
And the steady arm of a man behind.

Want a weapon? Why, capture one!  
Every soldier has got a gun,  
Belt and bayonet, bright and new;  
Kill a soldier and capture two!

Shoulder to shoulder, son and sire!  
All! call all! to the feast of fire!  
Mother and maiden, and children brave;  
A common triumph or single grave.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

**Executive.**—At Council meeting, Jan. 28th, upon a discussion, *re Commonweal*, it was decided to get the opinion of the members at their next London meeting on 4th inst.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Feb. 4, 1889, at 13, Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888.—Clerkenwell, to December, 1889:—Leicester, to January. Mitcham and North London, to February.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

W. Morris (Coleford), 5s.; A. Scheu, 4s.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Knifel, 6d.; J. Presburg, 6d.; H. Davis, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; J. Lane, 5s.; Tilley, 1s.; Seglie, 6d.; Solomon, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Leatham, 6d.; Morris Wess, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Morris, 7s.; B. W., 6d.; and Samuels, 1s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Regents Park*—Parker and Cantwell spoke. Good sale of *Weals*. *Hyde Park*—Nicoll, Parker, Cores, and Hicks spoke. Large audiences. Songs went off well. March in procession to Clerkenwell Green, escorted by police. *Clerkenwell Green*—Parker, Brookes, and McCormack spoke. After which comrades and friends adjourned to 13, Farringdon Road, to hear lecture.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday evening, at 8.30 p.m., Cores in the chair. J. Turner lectured on "How to obtain Anarchist Socialism without the aid of Parliamentary Government." Very good discussion followed of members and visitors, which were very ably answered by the lecturer. *Commonweal* sold well, and 2s. 6d. collected.—S. P.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road, Sunday morning, at 11.30. Speakers, Dean, Fox, Bullock, Davis, Maughan, and A. J. Smith. Choir sang during meeting. Good meeting also at Weltje Road in evening at 7. Speakers, Lyne junr., Dean, Bullock, and Beasley. Choir assisted. Morris lectured at Kelmscott House, at 8, in place of advertised lecturer, who was ill.—G. M.

**NORTH LONDON.**—On Friday a good debate on "The Social Democratic Programme," took place between Samuel (S.L.) and White (S.D.F.). There was a good attendance and much interest shown.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting, on 21st, Leatham read lecture on "The Modern Revolution," Cooper in chair, and discussion carried on by Barron, Duncan, and Slater. In spite of miserable weather, usual meeting held at Castle Street, Saturday night, Duncan and Leatham addressing large and boisterously enthusiastic crowd. Several questions at close. Choir sang several songs.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Wednesday evening Dan McCulloch read his paper on "Education, what it is, and what it should be," to the Maxwell Parish Church Literary Society. A discussion followed, which showed that there is a deal of heathenish notions on social matters surviving in the minds of those spiritually-minded young Christians. On Sunday, at 2.30, Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square, and at 5 o'clock Burgoyne, Glasier, and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road Toll. There were good audiences at both meetings.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday afternoon open-air meeting held in Market Place for a while, and then adjourned to the Gordon Hall to consider whether arrangements could be made for Mowbray to stay here; several suggestions made. In evening a general meeting of members was held, a large number turned up; lengthy discussion took place upon report of a Special Committee appointed to consider the causes of the dissension existing in the Branch. Good sale of *Commonweal*.

**YARMOUTH.**—A good meeting held on Sunday afternoon; questions asked and answered to the satisfaction of the audience. On explaining that we should have assistance from Norwich but for expense, the people immediately made a collection to cover railway fare of a speaker.

LECTURE DIARY.  
LONDON.

**Olerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday February 3, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian), "The French Revolution of 1848."

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmascott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 3, at 8 p.m., G. B. Shaw (Fabian Society), "National Wealth." Wednesday 6th, at 8 p.m., Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, "Christian Socialism."

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Mitcham.**—Meets every Sunday, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, at 11 a.m.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Friday February 3, Discussion.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street. All persons desirous of joining are requested to communicate with A. Coulon at above address.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.—SPECIAL NOTICE.—William Morris will lecture on "The Society of the Future" in the Albion Hall, on Sunday 10th February, at 7 o'clock. Admission: body of hall, collection at door; gallery, 6d.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Friday 1st, at 8.30, Members' Meeting: comrades are requested to attend for important business, election of officers. Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, Hall open from 8. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8 until 10.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Assoc.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—All desiring to join branch in course of formation here should communicate with C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, who is acting as Secretary pro tem.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 3.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Nicoll  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho .....The Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Cores  
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk.....Hammersmith

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 3.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...J. Turner.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.  
**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday Feb. 1 at 7.30 p.m. Members please send their subscription cards to the Secretary for audit.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The sixth lecture will be delivered on Sunday February 10th by Annie Besant—subject, "Industry under Socialism."

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—Please note.—A united meeting of members of the Hackney, London Fields, and Mile-end and Bethnal Green Branches will be held at 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney, on Sunday February 3rd, at 4.15 p.m.

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

DRUM AND FIFE BAND.—Next meeting will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, Sunday February 3, at 7 p.m. Contributions in aid of the funds are urgently needed, and should be forwarded to E. Turner, treasurer, care of F. Kitz, 13 Farringdon Rd. Any comrade capable of taking the post of instructor to the Band is requested to communicate with G. Cores, Secretary pro tem., Farringdon Road.

IPSWICH LABOUR REFORM LEAGUE.—Pioneer Club, Theatre Yard, Tacket Street.—A good discussion was opened here last Sunday by Creed, on "Has Machinery Lessened Labour?" There was a fair attendance and a very good discussion, in which Thomas, White, Spinks, Brown, Riches, Woodhouse, the Steward, and F. Charles (of London, in the chair) took part. The new ideas are steadily and surely making headway here. Next Sunday a debate between Thomas and Spinks on "Is a Representative Government Necessary?"

NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. . 1d.  
Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.  
**True and False Society.** By Wm. Morris. . 1d.  
**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . 1d.

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CHICAGO COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE.  
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
Donations from Clubs and Branches...	£ 5 12 7	Mrs. Parsons' Travelling Expenses	£ 39 6 2
Collections and Donations as per <i>Commonweal</i> at Chicago Meetings	7 10 4½	Hire of Halls	7 7 0
"Profit on Literature Sold"	18 18 4½	Printing of Posters, Handbills, Mrs. Parsons' Portrait, etc.	9 12 0
Sale of Mrs. Parsons' Portrait	2 9 5	Welcome Tea at St. Paul's Café	9 10 6
Sale of Tickets for Tea	11 9 0	Hire of Vans for Park Meetings	2 10 0
		Postage and Telegrams	1 15 0
By Deficit	17 19 2½	Incidental Expenses	1 10 9½
Total Receipts	£76 4 0	Loss on Store Street Meeting	2 18 6½
Deficit brought down	£17 19s. 2½d.	Total Expenditure	£76 4 0

COMRADES.—You see by this Statement that there is a Deficit of nearly £18. I appeal to all of you to assist me in making this amount up, as the League has no funds available for this purpose, and being a working-man it is impossible for me to pay the whole of it. All further donations will be acknowledged in *Commonweal*.

JOSEPH LANE, Treasurer of Committee.

LA REVUE SOCIALISTE.

EDITED BY BENOIT MALON.  
8, Rue des Martyrs, Paris.

SUMMARY OF THE JANUARY NUMBER.

"The Confluents of Socialism," B. Malon; "The Right to Strike, and its Consequences," P. Boileau; "Violence," G. Tridon; "Essay on Scientific Socialism," P. Argyriades; "Alcoholism," E. Fourniere; "Alarm Cry," A. Veber; "Socialist poetry," E. Herbel; "Mme. de Barrau," Emile de Morsier; "Social Movement," A. Verber; Correspondence; Books.

TERMS:—France, 6 months 9 francs, 12 months, 18 f. Abroad, 10 20.  
Payments to be made to M. Rodolphe Simon, 8 Rue des Martyrs, Paris.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 161.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE usual game is being played with Mr. O'Brien in Clonmel Jail as to prison clothes and the like. I suppose, since he has begun in this fashion, and has once considered himself bound to protest against "degradation," he must go on with it. We have over and over again in these columns expressed the commonsense view that it is the inflictor, rather than the endurer of prison brutalities, who is "degraded" by them; and also that we do not see why there should be classes in prison any more than in the outside world. At the same time, no one can refuse admiration to O'Brien's staunchness; he accepts the rules of the game and is determined to play it out to the end, and if he sticks to it he must win.

Balfour and his mates are certainly piling it on. The sentences on Mr. Sheehy carry the matter on a step further; six months and four, not to run concurrently as I understand, is good measure according to modern views of political criminality. However, Mr. Sheehy and his friends must remember that worse things have been done within the last two years. In America they hang people outright for the same crime as Mr. Sheehy has committed, and the Balfourian revenge for which the Gladstonians very rightly consider so monstrous; and, indeed, we may say of Ireland. "If they do these things in the green tree, what shall they do in the dry?"

The suicide of the Crown Prince of Austria is tragic enough—granted. Granted also that the contrast between his position, so high above the many agonies of ordinary struggling people, and the pain that slew him is dramatic. But not less tragic, surely far more so, is many a death that has taken place in London within the last few months that has had but a few disregarded lines in a daily paper for its epic. Even a day or two ago a poor man was charged before some magistrate with jumping into the Thames—with the crime of being able to bear it no more, since there was no chance for him on any side. I thought the piteous reasons he gave for committing this crime could hardly have been stronger; I am sure his case demanded considerably more pity than that of the late Prince; and, besides the pity, abundance of shame on our part; and between the pity and the shame longer newspaper articles might have been written, perhaps with profit, that have been concocted concerning the late tragedy in high life.

Mr. Goschen, in addressing a big Tory gathering at Stratford, took upon himself the pleasing and easy task of taunting Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone for not having done anything towards bettering the condition of the workers in spite of their democratic pretensions. This is a fair taunt coming from a Socialist, and even coming from a Tory cannot be satisfactorily answered by a Liberal; but a Socialist can answer with a clear conscience. "Goschen, two wrongs don't make a right; you have done no more than the others, and you only plume yourself on doing no less because your principles bid you do less—which makes your boasts absurd. You can only get any credit for some little thing you may have been forced into doing, by putting your position in this way: 'I am the enemy of the human race, and yet I have actually done something for the good of the human race.' Goschen, with all your usurer's cleverness, you are a fool!"

By the way, what between Lord Wolseley on conscription, Mr. Goschen on the national defences, and Mr. Stanhope's promise of a rapidly approaching European war, it is pretty clear that we are going to have a pull at the guinea-tree next Session on behalf of the army and navy, and that some glorious jobs will be set on foot. Some of the papers, even the *Jingo Pall Mall*, seemed to think that Mr. Stanhope had been overdoing it. That's quite a mistake; this kind of mustard-plaster should always be laid on with a trowel, and the *Pall Mall* shows by its practice that it understands that well.

The Balfourian banquet at Dublin with its "great laughter," and "shouts of laughter" over a man in prison, may turn out rather more

serious than Mr. Balfour thinks: people are often more moved by the way in which a thing is done than by the thing itself; and I should think that there could be few stomachs strong enough outside the purely party camp to stand this last strong meat (or strong drink perhaps) of Mr. Balfour. As to the man himself what can be said? The refined Cambridge gentleman, the superior person, the representative of culture, turning out such an unmitigated snob! Truly one doesn't want to scratch a middle-class tyrant very deep to find the low ruffian in him.

And after all, this hero, who boasts himself as having courage enough for anything, has faked and bolted, and Mr. O'Brien has had his clothes given back to him. Once again we fail to see that O'Brien has escaped a "degradation"; but, on the other hand, it is pretty clear that Balfour has tumbled into one.

The *Star*, the manager of the London Council election on the Liberal side, has had a roughish shake; but is pretty much quit for the fright, since it has got its "Progressive" list in as Aldermen with the single exception of the Earl of Meath, once Lord Brabazon (who the devil voted for him?)

But when you have looked at the list you won't find very much in it to frighten a Tory. The one distinguished person in it is Mr. Frederick Harrison, he has at least the advantage of not being a politician; but he himself would indignantly repudiate the name of Radical or Democrat, and he has on many occasions attacked Socialism directly. But certainly he is the best man on the list.

I am afraid that the *Star* having got rid of its fear, and having triumphed in this matter of the Aldermen, will not take warning by the incidents of the too obvious tendency of its machine politicians to rat when convenient.

We wish the *Star* well in virtue of some really useful articles it has from time to time; like the notes on our prison system which we quoted lately; or its excellent article on the Boulanger affair, which will clear the mind of many persons of misunderstandings on that point. But we wish it so well that its "unprecedented success" does not make us specially happy. Rather we wish it could understand the advantages of being in a definite and even narrow majority; the honour, the pleasure, the freedom of that position. No longer then need we puff Lord Rosebery or even Sir J. Lubbock and Mr. Edis a little; no longer need we have with sinking hearts to put in a daily column of Jeames-ery for the benefit of the democracy, or dangle before the delighted eyes of the dwellers in very small houses in the suburbs visions of the laces and diamonds of Society—h'm, well!—ladies. No longer need we in the same breath curse Warren and bless Bonfield, or look upon O'Brien's cell with horror while we are mildly satisfied with Parsons' gallows. We might be free, though our circulation decreased.

A Radical as a Radical in these days, when Socialism has already been well preached, must be a half-informed and somewhat blundering person, but he need not be an opportunist, or a machine-politician: he may be honestly struggling towards the light, and may have a genuine indignation at the unmerited suffering of the poor, though he has not yet thoroughly learned what causes them and does not know a remedy for them. Such men we may quarrel with at times, but they are not enemies, and they mostly will become our comrades. Let the *Star* be the organ of these men, and it will find a real function to fulfil, and be the intermediary between honest democratic enquirers and those who have been happy enough to learn what the real current of events is. This will be better than collecting a kennel full of curs that they may turn round and snap at its heels on the first opportunity.

Meantime, the fact that a really popular paper must of necessity, in order to sell, be such a very "mixed lot," shows what a prodigious amount of work has to be done, even among those who are beginning to understand their degrading position of dependence on the rich—their masters.

W. M.



## THE MANCHESTER MARTYRS.

(Continued from p. 34.)

WHAT the feeling was in England in those bad days, when even moderate reformers like Charles Bradlaugh often delivered themselves of their doctrines at risk of their lives, may be imagined from the vivid description of Mr. T. D. Sullivan, which tells the fatal story in better words than mine. "On Monday, October 28th, the three Irishmen were placed at the bar of the Manchester Assize Court, and formally placed on their trial for wilful murder. With them were arraigned Thomas Maguire, a private belonging to the Royal Marines, who was on furlough at Liverpool at the time of Kelly's liberation, and who was arrested merely because he happened to be an Irishman, and who, although perfectly innocent of the whole transaction, had been sworn against by numerous witnesses as a ringleader in the attack, and Edward O'Meagher Condon (*alias* Shue), a fine-looking Irish-American, a citizen of the State of Ohio, against whom, like his four companions, true bills had been found by the grand jury. It would take too long to describe the paroxysms of excitement, panic, and agitation that raged in the English mind during the period that intervened between the committal of the prisoners and the date at which we have now arrived. Nothing was to be heard of but the Fenians; nothing was talked of but the diabolical plots and murderous designs they were said to be preparing. The Queen was to be shot at; Balmoral was to be burned down; the armouries had been attacked; the barracks were undermined; the gas-works were to be exploded, the bank blown up, the water poisoned. [How like the rumours current in Chicago after the 4th of May!] North, south, east, and west, the English people [it ought to be middle-classes] were in a ferment of anxious alarm. Fenianism was cursed as an unholy thing, to be cut off from society; as an ulcerous sore; to be banned and loathed as pestilent—a foul creation with murder in its glare, and torch of the incendiary burning in its gory hand." Doesn't this read like the *Star* leader on Anarchism? Reaction uses always the same stale old libels to attack an advanced movement. Mr. Sullivan continues: "*Under these circumstances, there was little chance that an unprejudiced jury could be empanelled for the trial of the Irish prisoners.*" The Home Secretary was memorialised on the subject, and the application was renewed before the judges in court, but the efforts to obtain justice were fruitless. The blood of the British lion was up; with bloodshot eyes and bristling mane he stood awaiting his prey, and there was danger in trifling with his rage. Even special commissions were voted slow, and a cry arose for martial-law, lynch-law, or any law that would give the blood of the victim without hindrance or delay. So the appeal for time was spurned; the Government was deaf to all remonstrances; British (?) blood-thirstiness carried the day, and the trial proceeded without interruption."

As you read these lines, it is impossible for anyone to avoid noting the strong resemblance between the so-called fair trial of our Chicago comrades and the hideous burlesque of justice which was performed in the Assize Court at Manchester. The same coarse, stupid, brutal libels shrieked aloud by the mob of the middle-class in the drawing-room, and its humble imitators in the slum; nor were the hireling scribes of the reptile press behindhand in either cases in swelling the roar for blood against these "foreign incendiaries." In both cases all that could be done to hang the men was done, and successfully done, to the eternal disgrace and dishonour of the middle-classes of "free" England and America.

Let us glance briefly at the trial; it is well to be as brief as possible. The judges with their minds made up as to the sentence before they take their seats. The middle-class jury that never requires any evidence to convict revolutionists of crime. They must be criminals or how could they be revolutionists? Who could desire to revolutionise such a lovely and admirable society as ours but criminals? In this view are there not even to be found many middle-class Radicals—aye, and pseudo-Socialists too—who are ready to agree with the hucksters of the till and the counter? The witnesses—well, the less said about the witnesses the better. They were drawn for the most part from four well-matched classes—corner-men, sneak-thieves, prostitutes, and policemen. Those who know the high regard for truth and lofty notions concerning the sanctity of an oath entertained by these good people, may get some idea of the evidence. It is not surprising under these circumstances to hear that it varied strangely. For instance, there was considerable dispute among the witnesses as to who fired the fatal shot. One witness said it was O'Brien, others Condon, others Allen; but before the trial was over it was evident that the prosecution intended to fix it upon Allen. On one point most witnesses seemed agreed; whoever there was any doubt about, there could be none about Maguire. Seven witnesses swore positively that he was very active in the attack, and some even repeated the words he was supposed to have said. The value of this evidence was proved when the Crown admitted, by giving Maguire a "free pardon", his own statement that he was miles away at Liverpool when the attack on the van took place, and that he was totally innocent of any connection with Fenians and Fenianism. Nice evidence this to justify the passing of the death sentence upon five men!

On the evening of Friday November 1st the trials terminated. It was half-past five o'clock when Judge Mellor concluded his charge. The court was crowded with British respectability; the middle class was there in all its force—rich, over-fed, cruel. In their lust for blood, men and women keep their eyes fixed upon the prisoners, to enjoy their agony of suspense as the jury retires to consider their doom; but the

brave men show no sign of fear or faltering; they stand calm and erect in proud defiance.

The jury return after an absence of an hour and twenty minutes. Your verdict, gentlemen? "Guilty." Shouts of applause from the ladies and gentlemen in the court; but the men do not tremble, and their calm proud courage forces reluctant admiration even from the carrion crows around. The applause dies away; but another sound rises on the air: a cry of distress from women stricken to their hearts by the cruel verdict, mourning for son, husband, brother, who are to be butchered in the shambles of the law.

The martyrs are asked by the town-clerk if they have anything to say. Yes, they have; noble, brave words; brave and noble as their deeds. Allen speaks first. He declares his innocence of the death of Brett. The young hero faces his murderers, and hurls at them his burning words of courageous defiance. "I don't say this for the sake of mercy; I want no mercy, I will have no mercy. I'll die as many thousands have died for their beloved land, and in defence of it. I will die proudly and triumphantly in defence of republican principles and the liberty of an oppressed and enslaved nation. . . . I have been condemned to death upon evidence on which an Englishman would not hang a dog, on the evidence of prostitutes, convicted felons, policemen and loafers. . . . As for myself I feel the righteousness of my every act with regard to what I have done in defence of my country. I fear not, I am fearless, fearless of any punishment which can be inflicted upon me; and with that, my lords, I have done."

Michael Larkin spoke next; he looked a shade paler than at the beginning of the trial, but he showed no want of resolution in his firm set face. He spoke coolly and distinctly, and stated that so far from being concerned in the shooting of Brett, he had not even had revolver or pistol in his hand on that day. "I did not go to take life away, but I did go to the rescue of those two noble heroes confined in the van—Kelly and Deasy." In concluding, he declared that he forgave those who had sworn his life away.

O'Brien spoke with even more defiance of judge, jury, and ruling classes than the others. He spiritedly criticised English middle-class hypocrisy, that sympathises, or pretends to, with the oppressed abroad, but crushes down more mercilessly the victims of its tyranny in England and Ireland. This denunciation was too much for the judge, who tried to stifle the last words of this heroic young man. He appealed with a jesuitical assumption of kindness to O'Brien to say no more on such an unpleasant subject. "The only possible effect of your observations will be to tell against you with those who have to consider your sentence." But O'Brien spurned this hypocritical attempt to silence him, and continued his eloquent denunciation of English society. "They [the English middle classes] cannot find words strong enough to express their horror at the cruelties of the king of Dahomey, because he sacrificed 2,000 human beings yearly; but why don't these persons who express such horror at misgovernment of other countries look at their own? Let them look at London and see those that want bread there, while the aristocrats riot in luxuries and crime. Look to Ireland; see the hundreds and thousands of its people in misery and want; see the virtuous, beautiful, and industrious women, who only a few years ago—aye, and yet—are obliged to look at their children dying for want of food. Look at what is called the majesty of the law on one side, and the long deep misery of a noble people on the other. . . . I am not astonished at my conviction. The Government of this country have the power of convicting any person they choose. They appoint the judge; they choose the jury; and by means of what they call patronage, which is the means of corruption, they have the power of making laws to suit their own purposes. I am confident that my blood will rise a hundredfold against the tyrants who think proper to commit such an outrage." O'Brien seems to have been the only one of the prisoners who recognised that there was a social question common to all countries alike, and that the cause of the peoples is the same in every land.

Edward Maguire, who it will be remembered was a loyal Irishman who had no connection with the attack on the van, nor with the Fenian organisation, made a law'n'-order speech. Had never been a Fenian, had never seen Col. Kelly; spoke with feeling of "his queen and country"; referred to his services in the army, the high character given him by his commanding officer; and thus almost convinced judge and jury that they had made a mistake, and paved the way for a reprieve.

Condon made a spirited speech, pointing out the unfairness of the trial, the prejudice excited by the newspapers, and also reminded the court that if Jefferson Davis or Garibaldi had been released by similar means, England would have applauded the deed. He concluded his speech by the cry of "God save Ireland!" which was taken up with enthusiasm by his companions in the dock.

This concluded all the speeches. The judges produced their black caps, and passed sentence; the men standing firm and unflinching while these ghouls mumbled out their prearranged doom. The last words of mockery, "May God have mercy on you," had died away, and the heroes turned to leave the dock. Before they left they cast one glance to their weeping friends. The mournful pathos of their farewell rings still in the ears of those who read the account of the trial: "May God be with you, Irishmen and Irishwomen." But it will not do to show weakness before the enemy, and as they leave the court they raise their voices in another shout of defiance, "God save Ireland!" and the black door leading to the condemned cell swallows them up.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be concluded.)

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

Up to the present moment, we know of half-a-dozen International Congresses which will be held at Paris during the course of the present year. We mean, of course, such Congresses in which the Socialists and working classes generally are interested: 1. International Congress of Co-operative Societies, organised by the Federal Council of these bodies; 2. International Congress of the Mutual Relief Societies, organised by the section of Social Economy at the Paris Exhibition; 3. International Congress of Freethinkers, organised by the General Council of the Freethinkers' Society in Belgium and the Socialist Federation of the French Freethinkers, at which the social rôle of Freethought and the question of the emancipation of the proletariat will be discussed; 4. International Congress of Social Economy, convened by our friends of *La Revue Socialiste* and by the Republican Society of Sociology; 5. International Congress of Women, called by the Central Committee of the Society of the Rights of Women; 6. International Working-men's Congress, convened by order of the last Trades' Union Congress, held here at the end of last year. And if matters do not alter, we may have two International Working-men Congresses, instead of one; the first being called together by the Federation of the Socialist workers of France, that is to say by the Possibilists or *Parti ouvrier*, and the second by the organisers of the recent Conferences at Troyes and Bordeaux, the independent working-men's syndicates, the Socialist party of the Marxist school, the Blanquists or social revolutionary party, and others. If it were possible, we would rather see one real general and international Congress, the result of which would most certainly be the reconstruction, on a new scheme, of the old International Working-men's Association; if not, we need hardly say that our sympathies would be with the second Congress, as representing the most advanced section of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, to which the Socialist League has hitherto adhered. We shall soon have another opportunity to call back the attention of our readers to the same subject, which will be of very great importance as to the future development of Socialism throughout the world.

Last Thursday comrade Ossip Zedkine died at Paris, at the age of thirty-six years, having been born at Odessa in 1853. He belonged to a wealthy family, and began very early to disseminate the Socialist ideas among the working classes of his native land. In order to do better propagandist work, he became a carpenter. In 1871 he was obliged to fly and succeeded in reaching Switzerland. He afterwards settled in Germany, at Leipzig, where he worked several years for the cause, until he was arrested in 1881. After his release out of jail, he was expelled from Germany and went to Paris, where he lived ever since. He was a very learned man, knowing nearly all European tongues. For years past he has been a steady contributor to *Le Socialiste*, of Paris, *Social Demokrat*, then at Zurich, *Volks Tribune*, of Berlin, etc., etc. He was buried by his friends of the Social Revolutionary Party of France and by his comrades of the Russian political colony of Paris.

## GERMANY.

The Berlin police have decided not to allow in the future large meetings to be held on Sundays. Comrade Max Schippel, editor of the Berlin *Volks Tribune*, complains in the last issue of his paper of being subjected to the especial care and watch of the police. He is always accompanied, from morn till night, by a couple of detectives who have to take note of all his calls and steps in every direction. Schippel having not asked for "the pleasure of their company," is much annoyed by these importunate co-workers in the cause. At Mayence, more than forty houses were thoroughly searched, but the result was next to nil. At Lorrach, six Socialists have been arrested, whilst smuggling forbidden literature from Switzerland into Germany. At the very same time, a lot of fifty thousand leaflets of the same "forbidden" contents found its way to the "beloved fatherland." It was smuggled through the frontier at the other end of the same place of Lorrach. Good fun that!

At Frankfort-on-Main, comrade Georg Meier got three months for having belonged to a secret society—of which he was the only member! The judge who sentenced him must have been mad or drunk, or even both together. He will soon advance in the career and become a councillor at the Supreme Court of Leipzig. He is too good for Frankfort and must get "high treasoners" to judge. How idiotic these Nupkinses are all round!

At Berlin, comrades H. Lau, K. Schubert, A. Kuhn, E. Kann, P. Brunsch, F. Schultz, G. Brodenfeld, W. Langefeldt, and R. Volkman were tried as "secret conspirators," and sentenced to thirty-two months of imprisonment. Not one single private person was called as witness, the charge being merely substantiated by officials of the Irving-Mahlow type.

Although much annoyed by Bismarck's employees, as we said before, comrade Max Schippel has decided to start a Berlin workingmen's library. One pamphlet of thirty-two pages is to be issued every month at the price of twopence. The following will appear in the first series: 1. A socialistic novel; 2. The working women and the question of labour; 3. Trades' Unions and their utility in the workers' movement; 4. Labour legislation and the political parties; 5. The Government's plans of social reform; 6. The French workingmen's movement and their leaders; 7. Regulations and rules concerning the right of assemblage and meetings; 8. The threatening bankruptcy of the large European States. The first pamphlet has just been issued, and the second will be ready by February 23rd.

## BELGIUM.

Comrades Laloi and Mignon, two at least of the dangerous plotters against Belgium's security, have been set free. They have been imprisoned for several months, and the Attorney-General has failed to find out a charge on which to prosecute them. Why, then, are Defuisseaux and Maroille still in jail? They have done exactly the same thing as their happier friends, viz., nothing at all.

A new weekly paper has been started by the Socialists at Liege under the title of *L'Emancipation*. It is to be written on the same lines as the other organs of the Belgian *Parti ouvrier*.

Last week our comrade Louis Courgeon, died at Brussels at the early age of fifty-one years. He was a Freethinker and a Socialist of indomitable energy, and his death will be strongly regretted by the Belgian Socialists, whom he always helped in their struggles by word and deed. Courgeon served in the ranks of the soldiers of the Commune, having been the chief of a battalion which fought very bravely to the end. Ever since the days of proscription in 1871, he lived at Brussels, and had succeeded in making a new home in his adopted country. He will be long remembered by all those who have known him personally, and who are aware of the good

services he rendered to the cause of Revolutionary Socialism and of Freethought.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Comrades Kreutzer and Nemetz, both editors of the *Bücker Zeitung*, have been arrested at Vienna at the time they were reporting to their fellow workers the results of the Hainfeldt Congress of the Austrian Socialist Party. Comrade Eisenhuber met with the same fate. V. D.

## ITALY.

The demonstrations of the unemployed are on the increase. At Brescella the workers of the building trade, after a procession through the town, which was headed by a man carrying as a banner a long pole with a loaf of bread on the end of it, had the usual promises from the Mayor. In the small province of Ferrara more than seven thousand men are out of work. Some sham relief work has been granted by the authorities in consequence of the threatening attitude of the workers. At Faenza, on the 7th and 8th of January, several bakeries were pillaged by the starving and exasperated population. Valiant military and police behaved most brutally in the restoration of law'n-order, even against women and children. Thirty-seven arrests have been made and the municipal counsel has promised work. Also at Parma, on the 15th of January, the soldiery were sent against the riotous starvelings. The town was for two days in a state of siege. Thirteen prisoners were made by the heroes, and some relief work was not started, but promised.

Several strikes are reported. That of the compositors of Milano, the ironworkers of Terni, and the navvies of Cremona.

The Socialist propaganda is actively carried on. We greet as a hopeful sign the reappearance of the valiant newspaper, *Il Fascio Operaio*, at Milano, which is now in its seventh year. From Ancona the publishing of a new Socialist organ, *Il Libero Patto*, is announced.

At Ravenna a meeting of Socialist delegates have decided to take part in the administrative elections. A programme will be shortly forthcoming to that end.

On the other hand the police are not idle. At Messina on the evening of the 18th January, two policemen have been observed to place a bomb on the threshold of the "Fascio Operaio," a Club of working men, who were at the time assembled at a meeting. The bomb exploded with great noise, but without doing much damage, before the two rascals could slink away. They were secured by an excited crowd, disarmed, and dragged to the police station. The story would be incredible, were the place of action not Sicily and the time Carnival. H. Sch.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 16, 1889.

10	Sun.	1755. Montesquieu died. 1800. Trial of Napper Tandy and Harvey Morris for high treason. 1843. Richard Carlile died. 1874. Jules Michelet died. 1880. Attempted execution of Alexander II.
11	Mon.	1650. Rene Descartes died. 1867. Fenian raid on Chester. 1867. Great Reform meeting in Trafalgar Square. 1878. Kovalski and others arrested in Odessa after the first armed resistance in the Russian movement; for which Kovalski shot, 4 sentenced to five years in fortress. 1876. First No. of <i>Les droits de l'homme</i> , Paris.
12	Tues.	1571. Nicholas Throckmorton died. 1804. Immanuel Kant died. 1809. Charles Darwin and Abraham Lincoln born. 1844. Daniel and John O'Connell, John Gray, Thomas Steele, Richard Barrett, Rev. Thomas Tierney, Charles Gavan Duffy and T. M. Ray sentenced for conspiracy. 1848. First No. of the <i>United Irishman</i> , Dublin, issued.
13	Wed.	1835. Henry Hunt died. 1867. Fenian rising in Kerry. 1878. Spy Nikonoff executed in Rostov. 1882. Jessie Helfmann died in prison (sentenced to death for taking part in execution of Alexander II., but commuted to mines for life).
14	Thur.	1693. Massacre of Glencoe. 1696. "Assassination plot." 1766. T. R. Malthus born. 1792. <i>Bonnets Rouge</i> began to be in fashion.
15	Fri.	1401. William Sautre, first English martyr, burned. 1564. Galileo born. 1713. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, died. 1747. Jeremy Bentham born. 1839. Hindenlang, De Lorimier, Nicholas, Narbonne, and Daunais, Canadian rebels, hung at Montreal.
16	Sat.	1792. Second part of Paine's 'Rights of Man' published. 1834. Ernst Haeckel born. 1880. L. Hartmann arrested in Paris for taking part in attempt on Czar's train near Moscow, but police prevented by French public from handing him over to Russian Government. 1885. Unemployed demonstration on Thames Embankment, and deputation to Local Government Board.

## OUT OF WORK MEMBERS.

Two painters, one general labourer, and a member who makes carriage cushions and tarpaulins. If any of our readers know of anything that will give employment to them, they will be doing a good turn to deserving members (Hammersmith Branch).

One member who would be glad of odd jobs, another in want of situation as bootmaker (Clerkenwell Branch).

The law which will not allow a pheasant's egg to be stolen or destroyed, permits the child to be robbed of the man—to be cheated of the present strength which should feed his growth, develop his frame, and make him a hale healthy being, capable of labour and the enjoyment of rest. Of this (according to the intention of nature) future self, the factory child is swindled in a fraudulent bargain, and the miserable being is unconsciously, unconsentingly, repugnantly, made spendthrift of manhood in infancy.—*Examiner*.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. O.—The notorious Dr. John Brenan once translated the saying you quote apropos of Gordon—*De mortuis nihil nisi bonum*—"When scoundrels die, all knaves bemoan 'em."

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 6.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO—Knights of Labor	ITALY
Church Reformer	Vorbote	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Elector	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	Cremona—L'Eco del Popolo
London—Freie Presse	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	Barcelona—El Productor
Postal Service Gazette	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Seville—La Solidaridad
Railway Review	San Francisco—Pacific Union	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Revolutionary Review	FRANCE	Madrid—El Socialista
Social Demokrat	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL
To-Day	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
NEW SOUTH WALES	HOLLAND	Wien—Gleichheit
Hamilton—Radical	Hague—Recht voor Allen	HUNGARY
INDIA	BELGIUM	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Ghent—Vooruit	DENMARK
UNITED STATES	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Frelheit	SWITZERLAND	Malmö—Arbetet
Truthseeker	Arbeiterstimme	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Alarm	GERMANY	NORWAY
Workmen's Advocate	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal		WEST INDIES
Liberty		Cuba—El Productor

### NOTES.

THE editor of the *Star* has suddenly discovered that a large contingent of the gentlemen whom he was so loudly recommending a few weeks ago, to the free and independent electors, for the County Council, are "flabby, limp, and commonplace."

Lord Compton is flabby. Just fancy this advanced reformer, this amateur Socialist, who could not be sufficiently cracked up to the electors of Central Finsbury as the *Star's* pet candidate; he's flabby! Here, if the *Star* goes on like this, chucking over its idols in this fashion, it will soon arrive at the abyss of dreadful Anarchism, and the editor will cease to believe in any one but himself.

Not only is Lord Compton flabby, Lord Monkswell limp, and that dear young Radical M.P., and part proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Lawson, "extra commonplace," but what the Yankees would call "the whole show" is characterised by its "indecision, vacillation, and timidity." O ye gods, and these are our candidates!

To any one who had even examined the portraits, or who knew anything at all concerning the record of these men, this would be no news; but it was surprising to see the editor of the *Star* kicking

his protégés downstairs a few days after he had been exalting them to the skies. He has discovered that they are humbugs; there is hope for him. How long will it take him to find out that he, too, is a humbug and a democratic sham?

It might as well be suggested to the County Council that now they have settled such important business as electing their aldermen, that the people of London are most atrociously sweated, starved, and rack-rented, and then perhaps a worshipful council may find some slight leisure to consider even these little matters. Of course, consideration, and not much of that, is all that the people can expect from so high and important a body.

The case of a poor woman whose daughter was brought up before a City Alderman, Mr. Renals, charged with the fearful crime of begging, and who paid 4s. 3d. a-week for the den in which she and her husband and four children were "hoveled and hustled together, each sex like swine," might even raise a passing feeling of commiseration in the breast of middle-class County Councillors. It moved the City Alderman, who said that the rack-rent was "monstrous," and gave her £2 from the poor-box to help her along; but then it is clear that he must be an exception to his class.

Alderman Renals perhaps would find on enquiry that a rent of 4s. 3d. for a single room is not so very exceptional in the London slums, and that the vice, misery, and poverty which such rack-rents, combined with the sweating of rich middle-class firms, engender, is as a rule considered perfectly right and natural by ladies and gentlemen of well-regulated minds. And the people may be sure that a Council which in trifling matters forces even the *Star* to comment upon its indecision, vacillation, and timidity is not the body to alter it.

Nor, alas, is any other body of the usual middle-class kind likely to do so. They have all an invariable knack of behaving in the same manner when questions relating to the poor come up before them. They fear to attack the property of others in the misery of their fellows for fear their own may be thereby endangered; for in their hearts they know they are in the same boat as the biggest scoundrel of a sweater.

What, then, is to be done? Nothing, if the people wait for the middle classes to do it for them. Everything, if the people will but act for themselves. The new County Council is confessed a sham by the author of its being. Would a Plan of Campaign in rack-rented slums of London also prove a sham? If the people could be got to take it up, it would carry terror to the hearts of the boldest of middle classes, and would do more good in a month than voting for representatives like those at present in the County Council will do in a hundred years. That business begins in humbug and ends in humbug, and they are fools who dream that putting a piece of paper in a box can in any way right the wrongs or remedy the griefs of mankind. Courage, dauntless courage, and vigorous action, can alone conquer the forces that range themselves against the masses of the people.

Let those who suffer, consider. It is quite certain that while they suffer in quiet save for an occasional grumble, and pin their faith to some political humbug, as they have done in the past, so long will their misery continue. Let them answer: Have they ever gained anything by their past methods of action or inaction? But let them strike the middle class in their only vulnerable part, their pocket, and even middle-class statesmen may consider that the wrongs of England as well as those of Ireland merit some attention. D. N.

**PATRIOTISM IN NORFOLK.**—We learn from a local organ that the emigration agent has been having "high times" here of late. It appears that a Mr. George Randall, emigration agent and lecturer for the Government of Queensland, has held no fewer than 700 meetings in different parts of this country during the last eighteen months. But nowhere has he been more successful than in Norfolk, having dispatched 400 farm labourers from that county to Queensland during his eighteen months campaign, and, we are told, an immense number have of late accepted and filled up emigration forms which were distributed at the conclusion of his meetings. "Wherever he went he was met by throngs of well-dressed, stalwart, agricultural labourers, magnificent specimens of humanity, the pick of the country for health and strength, wearing the green leaf in their headgear, the badge of the willing emigrant. Mr. Randall says he never met with better specimens of English manhood in all his previous tours in England. Never has he had to reject so few for physical imperfections." We should never forget that "all that glitters is not gold," but especially when the emigration agent is about, and so one would like to hear what some Queensland comrade or friend has to say as to the truth etc. of the following tale, no doubt very "highly coloured" for the unsophisticated farm labourer: "The wages of a single man at farmwork in Queensland are £40 per annum with board and lodging at the expense of his employer." (?) "A married couple, if the wife cared to make herself useful, can earn from £50 to £70 a year, in addition to food and house accommodation." "It is a common thing for labourers to become farmers for themselves, as 160 acres of land can be obtained at the nominal price of 2s. 6d. per acre, the payment for which might extend over five years." One cannot help suspicious feelings arising when such pictures are painted by interested people. Many others quite as promising as this one have turned out to be nothing better than deliberate frauds on the workers. There is one idea which suggests itself to the mind, and that is, the agricultural labourers need not emigrate to Queensland to get land at 2s. 6d. per acre, but in Norfolk itself they could get land on considerably better terms, i.e., for nothing, if they'd but make up their minds to refuse to pay rent for the use of either land or capital to idle thieves. Our Norwich comrades might take the hint and follow up their good work in the past by a little vigorous Anti-emigration and No Rent agitation in the district.—G. C.



## WORKING-MEN, INDEED!

To earn one's livelihood is not necessarily a virtue; it is only a virtue when it is done by free choice. Most working-men would gladly cease to earn their livelihood to-morrow if they could compel anybody else to earn it for them. They are only working-men because they cannot help it; they would become gentlemen fleecers and loafers if they could. Most working-men are heartily ashamed of being working-men, and are ever so much more civil and obliging to their "betters" than to their own class. Observe a group of working-men standing on a pavement; if a gentleman comes along they stand aside and let him get past, but if a working-man comes along they don't notice him, and he has to step off the pavement and get on again. No orthodox British working-man would pass a gentleman lying drunk under a lamp-post without ascertaining if the gentleman had not hurt himself, and at least giving him a lift on his legs; but if the drunk man happened to be a working-man like himself he would pass him by as if he were the emptyings of a street dust-bin.

Working-men as a rule are dunderheads and donkeys so far as their interests as a class are concerned. They don't want to fight for their rights, and they don't know how even supposing they did want. They are afraid to speak, lest their masters hear them; they are afraid to threaten or intimidate lest they break the law. Great heavens! if we Socialists had to lead Irish landlords into the Social Revolution instead of working-men, what a magnificent agitation we would have! How we would make history! How they would intimidate the authorities and defy the law! How they would stick together and fight every inch of the ground! Irish landlords know how to agitate, educate, and organise. They don't turn traitors, and make fools of each other like working-men. They are the best trade unionists in the world; they know their own interests and they make everybody else know. With all their crimes I admire them! I would shake hands with and accept a drink from a tyrant rather than a slave any day. Of course, the Irish landlords will be defeated and utterly ruined—they are in the minority and on the wrong side. Working-men are in the majority and on the right side; they, however, won't run any chance of being defeated for a long time to come unless they look alive. You can't defeat nothing; and the workers as an organised or fighting force are nothing—they don't in fact exist. I hope the Irish landlords (much as I respect them) will be beggared and reduced to the necessity of earning their bread by the sweat of their brows, soon; for they will join, I am sure, the Socialist League to a man, and then we will have an agitation worth speaking about!

Working-men know little, and usually care less, about their own concerns. What they do know they learn from the capitalist press. They won't support labour or Socialist papers. Such papers are not sufficiently interesting or aristocratic for men earning from 15s. to 30s. per week. What the devil do they care about the condition of the Cradley Heath chain-makers, or the match girls, or this strike or that? What interest have they in the condition or doings of common working folk like themselves? No, what they want to know about is whether the Princess Louise of Wales is really going to be married to Lord Fife; whether Mr. Gladstone means to visit the Pope; whether Miss Helen Terry prefers "Robert Elsmere" to "Little Lord Fauntleroy"; or whether Lord Lonsdale intends going to hunt buffaloes on the Rocky Mountains when he comes back from his expedition to the North Pole, or whether he will return home.

If a working-man rises to put a question to a candidate during an election, his fellow working-men greet him with cries of "Does your mother know you are out?" "He's a Tory spy!" "Oh, never mind him, he's wound up; he'll soon run down!" "Awa' hame, man, and wash yer face!" and similar encouraging expressions. If a gentleman stands up to put a question, these same idiots will whisper to each other, "Who is he?" "Has he a big business?" and probably yell out "Order! order! let's hear what the gentleman has to say!"

When an employer of labour grants his men an advance of pay or a reduction of hours, the men carry him shoulder high round the yard and yell and cheer like maniacs; but when the spokesman of a deputation to ask a master for a rise of pay or a reduction of hours is dismissed at the end of the week, his fellow-workmen are afraid to be seen drinking a glass of beer with him. When a master's daughter is getting married, every man in the establishment will come back for several hours every night for a week to decorate the chimney stack and the old ricketty roofs with Union Jacks and royal standards—as well as subscribe a shilling or half-a-crown for a present to the bride; while if one of their own number dies leaving a wife and family in destitution, hardly one will volunteer to get up a subscription-sheet in their behalf, and most of them will grudge the price of a sixpenny ticket.

If a master orders a workman to do a certain thing—and, in order that the workman may not think anybody else is referred to, particularises him as a "damned fool"—the workman proceeds to obey with as much alacrity and cheerfulness as though he had been asked to do it by a pretty girl, and was to receive a kiss on his return; while if a labourer asks said workman to do some trifling service for him, the workman politely tells him to "Go to hell out of that!" This may not be poetry, but it is true!

Working-men don't consider their masters as robbers; they believe their masters entitled to all the profit they can get. They believe masters are as necessary in the world as sunshine and rain, or the law of gravitation, and that industry would collapse without them. When they hear Socialists denouncing masters for their 'tyranny, and saying

masters are not needed, they either grin and walk away, or get angry and threaten to duck the speakers in a horse-pond. They believe masters are intellectually and morally superior creatures to themselves, and they elect them to School Boards, Town Councils, and Parliament.

Of course, all working-men are not so stupid as I have represented above; not by any means. But the great majority decidedly are. I have said these things not because I dislike or despise working-men—I am a working-man myself. I have spoken thus to shame them into braver and manlier behaviour, to rouse the truer and higher instincts which I know they possess. Working-men as fathers, brothers, sons, and friends are right enough. But in relation to their masters and one another in their workshops, and in relation to their own class interests, they are—or, at least, the most of them are—sneaks, flunkeys, cowards, slaves, traitors, and nincompoops! and if they don't know it they ought to! It isn't my fault anyhow if they don't—heaven help them!

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## WORKMEN, ARISE!

WRITTEN BY E. DYKE, A CABMAN, ABOUT 1883.

(Reprinted by Request.)

AIR—"The Blue Alsatian Mountains."

By the side of a bright river which through a meadow ran  
He spent his happy childhood, until the child became a man—

Until the child became a man.

Then tales of distant cities determined him to go  
And view the boasted glories, the fruits of thousands' woe.

Chorus—

This opened his eyes with a sad surprise  
To see the half-starved workers increase the rich man's prize.

Then he formed a resolution, for he heard the workers' wails,  
To increase their joy and knowledge, from their eyes remove the scales—  
From their eyes remove the scales.

But those he laboured hard for and those for whom he fought  
Strive against each other, and not the foes they ought.

Workmen, arise! your labour you must prize;  
You sell it far too cheaply, so your lives are choked with sighs.

His toils and truths were fruitless, so the leisured classes rose  
And flung him into prison, where he wears a convict's clothes—

Where he wears a convict's clothes.

And heedless of his anguish, and of the truths he taught,  
The workers fight each other, and not the foes they ought.

Working men, arise! obey his stifled cries;  
Unite and fight together until each oppressor dies!

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "SOCIALISM V. INDIVIDUALISM IN LEICESTER."

SIRS,—I have only just seen the letter from Mr. Barclay in your issue of Jan. 26th. Before he wrote you such a glowing description under the above heading, he should have taken care to inform himself on the facts. Mrs. Fawcett did not lecture here as an Individualist, and indeed probably thinks Individualism quite as bad as Socialism. Mr. Reed kindly came down as a substitute, the lecturer announced being ill. He only knew he was coming two days before, and his lecture was not one of the series on Individualism arranged for. As a fact four were arranged, of which we have had one, so Mr. Barclay is rather early with his song of triumph, besides which he can hardly be said to be unbiassed in his judgment, and his letter does not read like a cool, impartial criticism.

I don't know why Mr. Clarke's lecture should be singled out of the Fabian series, as though that were the only one that the Individualists admired. I am a pronounced Individualist myself, and I may say that I congratulate the Fabian Society on all the lectures, and think they are most fortunate in having such able lecturers to advance their cause. It has been a great pleasure to us to listen to them, none the less a pleasure I hope because we disagreed with them. We believe them to be earnest men, imbued with a horror for the evils of life, and trying to find a remedy for them. My firm hope and belief is that by hammering away with our various theories, we shall gradually evolve a far higher form of society than we have at present.—Yours truly,

SYDNEY A. GIMSON.

19, Upper Tichborne Street, Leicester, February 1, 1889.

It is not so much this literary piracy which exasperates me as the intolerable Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy of the austere Englishmen, who turn up their eyes in holy horror when any mention is made of what they are fond of calling French vices. They would have the world believe that all the evils of their social system are imported from us, and they seem to consider me the incarnation of all that is worst in France. Such Pharisaical prudery is sickening. Let those who presume to condemn my writings read Ben Jonson, and Smollett, and Byron, and say whether in the whole range of French literature they can find anything more coarse, and indelicate. If you walk along the Rue de Rivoli you will find vile books in abundance. It is a significant fact that they are written in English. But what is the literary food which they offer their well-trained daughters? They deny them the tainted French novel, and substitute moral, oh, highly moral, English and American newspapers. And what do these unsullied buds of womanhood learn in the same moral sheets? They learn that in England, as elsewhere, woman is woman whatever her rank and station, and that man remains man in spite of titles or pretensions. They are served every morning at the breakfast tables with a detailed account of abominations and depravities, and I would respectfully ask if all this sensational news is any the less hideous because it is truth, because it is the work of the police reporter instead of the literary artist?—*M. Zola.*

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The Midland miners, having settled the wage question till the end of June, are using the interval to draft a better scheme of working for the future.

Goods guards and firemen on the Great Western Railway are asking for ten hours and higher wages, and are rather indignant at the way in which they are being treated.

Northumberland colliery proprietors have offered an advance, on the basis of a sliding scale, equivalent to about five per cent. The offer will be laid before the men, who claim 10 per cent.

In Derbyshire, the reactionary candidates for the County Council have so beaten their opponents, that mine-owners and other large employers are plucking up courage to propose reductions.

**MINERS' FEDERATION.**—At a meeting of representatives of the Miners National Union at Leeds, January 30th, Mr. Burt, M.P., presiding, a resolution was adopted declaring a federation of all mining districts imperatively necessary.

Railwaymen are so pleased and flattered by the "polite recognitions" of the A.S.R.S. which railway companies occasionally make, that one is almost tempted to wish they could meet with an old-fashioned rebuff that would give their backbones a needed stiffening.

**LIMERICK—CARTERS' STRIKE.**—A strike occurred amongst the carters in Limerick on Saturday 2nd, against a reduction of 2d. per load. The house of one man who went to work at the reduced rate was broken into by the strikers. Five were arrested, and were remanded for a week.

**ENGINE-KEEPERS' STRIKE.**—The engine men at Newton Colliery, Lanarkshire, came out on strike on Sunday morning, Jan. 27th, for an advance of six per shift—a wage of 4s. per day. The pits have been idle, and the colliers have expressed warm sympathy with the strikers, and refuse to risk their lives in descending the pits with strange engine-men.

**SMALL CHAIN TRADE.**—There is likely to be a serious dispute at Cradley Heath, the operatives making special and best chains having decided not to continue working at prices specified in the "revised" list, the half-inch chain having been reduced 4d. per cwt. They contend that in the face of a rising market it is unreasonable to expect them to submit to a reduction.

**GIRLS IN LONDONDERRY LINEN FACTORIES.**—A representative of the factory girls of Londonderry has applied to the secretary of the London Trades Council for information to enable the girls who are mainly engaged in linen manufacture to band themselves together for trade protection and benefit purposes, on the lines upon which Bryant and May's match-girls are organised. A copy of the rules of the Match-girls' Union and other information has been sent them.

**GLASGOW TRADES' COUNCIL.**—The following motion was carried by a large majority at their meeting on January 30th: "That this Council expresses its warmest sympathy with the pipe-moulders who were convicted at Falkirk a few days ago for merely exercising what we believe to be the right of every worker in the United Kingdom—viz, the right of advising or influencing their fellow-workers not to lend their help to the employers when a dispute existed in connection with their trade."

**CARDIFF TRAMWAY CONDUCTORS.**—The whole of the conductors on the Cardiff tramways struck on Tuesday. A notice had been given them to pay a deposit of £2 each as security for good behaviour. They demurred, and when the manager put fresh men on the cars for the purpose of being instructed, the conductors struck. There is some excitement in the town over the event. As we go to press (Wednesday, 6th) it is reported the police decline to interfere unless actual assaults take place, but they have ordered all the temporary conductors off the cars, on the ground that they are unlicensed. The traffic is almost entirely at a standstill. Gangs of strikers are parading the streets, but they are quiet and orderly.

**CHAINMAKERS' WAGES.**—The Wages Board in the South Staffordshire small chain trade have adopted a revised list of prices which conceded an advance of 10 per cent. in workmen's wages, to be paid on and after Monday, Feb. 4th. Mr. Hingly, M.P., who is a large employer, has advised the operatives to refuse work at factories where the masters decline to grant the advance, on the ground that there is no necessity for the people to work at prices at which they are unable to earn a living.—At a meeting on Jan. 30th of employers in the block chain trade in the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts, held at Cradley Heath, it was decided to concede advances in prices from 12 to 25 per cent., the average being 18 per cent. The decision will avert a threatened strike.

**LURGAN HEMSTITCHING AND VEINING TRADE.**—The public meeting held on Wednesday by the 500 or 600 female operatives, on strike with the express purpose of preparing the way for a settlement, seems to have only widened the breach between employers and employed. On Thursday there was a meeting of delegates from nearly all factories in town; as result, circulars were sent to the different firms requesting them to appoint an arbitrator, who should meet the arbitrator on behalf of the workers—Mr. W. Livingston, T. C.—for the purpose of considering terms of settlement. Only one small firm sent any reply whatever to the circular, and it is stated that many employers have distinctly declared that they will not consent to any arbitration in which Mr. Livingston, T. C., may be engaged. There are, in all, thirteen factories in Lurgan, of which six are now on strike.

**ENGINEERS' CONFERENCE IN NEWCASTLE.**—A conference of employers in the North-East Coast engineering trade and representatives of the workmen's Grand Council was held on 31st, at County Hotel, Newcastle. The meeting was convened for discussing a demand from the men for an advance of 2s. per week. The circular giving notice of demand was dated January 9th, and the notice expired on February 4th. The number of men affected is between 14,000 and 15,000, including non-unionists, and comprising fitters, turners, pattern-makers, smiths, brass finishers, coppersmiths, planers, and slotters, in the Tyne, Wear, Tees, and Hartlepoons. The meeting lasted between three and four hours. The employers offered to grant an advance of 1s. per week, and another advance of 1s. to take effect in July. The representatives of the men intimated that they had no power to make any such engagement. They would, however, lay the proposition before the men at the various lodges. It is stated that the wages of the workmen generally are about 32s. per week as against 37s. in 1883, and the advance asked for would make their wages to run at 34s. per week.

**THE BROKEN SIXPENCE.**—In reply to the colliers' demand for a sixpence on their day's wages, some of the East Lothian coal-masters have posted up notices conceding 3d. per day. At a meeting of the colliers in the Bathgate district on Jan. 31st, the chairman said they were led to believe through the press that at a meeting of the masters of Airdrie, Bathgate, and Slamanan, it was agreed that they should get an advance of 10 per cent., but when it came it was only 5 per cent. "They halved the sixpence in two." A motion was unanimously agreed to that no work should be done until the 10 per cent. be granted.—At a delegates meeting of Lanarkshire miners on Jan. 31st, it was the unanimous opinion that all miners in the county should press for an advance to what would equalise concessions to 1s. per day, as given in several districts. The colliers at Fouldhouse have been conceded 5 per cent., with the promise of another 5 per cent. when the Benhar and Bathgate districts get it. Coal was advanced at Preston-grange Collieries on Jan. 30th 1s. per ton, which makes the product of one day's work of a collier about 4s. more valuable to the master, and the latter has, consequently, philanthropically conceded 6d. a-day advance to the former. These niggardly concessions are an earnest of what the men, if they dared, might do.

**SEAMEN'S STRIKE.**—The seamen and firemen of the entire fleet of Channel and coasting steamers have struck for an increase. 1,700 men came out in Glasgow and not more than fifty of these are non-union men; by now the number out is nearer 3,000, and the strike is extending every day. The Allan Line had a friendly interview with their men, which ended in a satisfactory arrangement, they having frankly conceded the men's demands—i.e., for seamen and firemen on westward route, 90s. a month, and for southward route £4 for seamen and £4 5s. for firemen a month. The other lines have managed to get a few boats to sail, manned by a scratch crew of "scabs," made up of officers from their other ships which are detained by the strike, some "yachtsmen," clerks, stewards, and one or two mean despicable colliers—probably Orangemen—who are always ready to act as traitors to their class. The captains, mates, pursers, clerks, and stewards will soon tire of doing firemen's work, and the lesson they will get at it will, perhaps, moderate their ideas of the relative worth of the assistance they receive from their sweating fellow workers in earning a livelihood. The strike had increased the numbers on the local roll of the union on Jan. 31st to over three thousand men. The men's demand is for 30s. per week, and it was reported on Thursday that Mr. Burns had offered 30s. in one boat, but Mr. Wilson, the secretary of the union, impressed upon the men that their watchword should be: No vessel should leave belonging to Mr. Burns till the rise was conceded to the whole of them. Although the men pay their share of the police-rates, the police are all on duty fighting and bullying for the masters alone. The lessons of this strike are convincing the men how necessary it is for all classes of workers to be united against their common foe. The workers and employers are two distinct nations, and if when two nations are at war the horsemen, foot-soldiers, and navy of the one were to act independently of each other, disregarding each other's difficulties of position, while all the forces in the opposite camp were united, the result can easily be guessed. The Messrs. Burns have posters advertising for seamen and firemen at 27s. per week, and the union has out counter-posters telling Mr. Burns to keep his 27s. till he is able to pay 30s. The owners are using every effort to break up the union of the men, and are threatening not to take any old hands back when a settlement does come. It has been said that in stopping work without warning, the men made themselves liable to prosecution by the masters. But it seems that in acting as they have done the men have kept within their right, the engagement being terminable on either side without notice. There is no uniform practice in the payment of wages, some firms paying weekly and others fortnightly. The strike is rapidly extending as vessels arrive in port. About 150 quay-labourers have struck to assist the seamen, and a mass meeting was held on Sunday with that object, several members of the Trades Council taking part. On Monday, another mass meeting took place in the Typographical Hall, which included seamen and firemen, to promote an association among the quay labourers, and to mark the public sense of their splendid behaviour in standing firmly alongside their fellow-workers in the struggle against wrong. The boiler scalers employed in the shore gang of the Allan Line, also struck on Monday for an increase. They number about a hundred, and are paid at the rate of 5d. per hour; they demand an advance of 1d. per hour. Many boardmen are parading the streets in the vicinity of the harbour carrying boards, warning passengers against risking their lives in boats "sent to sea under-manned with incompetent crews." "DON'T GO WITH BOATS THAT CARRY SCAB CREWS." So long as the workers confine their attention to the wage-system, so long will they always be placed at a disadvantage. Profits off their labour under the present system must be made for the masters by hook or crook. At present they can only say: "The better things we cannot see, because they are not yet in sight." The other ports at present affected are Greenock, Ardrossan, Belfast, Dundee, Liverpool, and Londonderry. At Liverpool, the Cork Steamship Co. has conceded 4s. 6d. a-week, but the other companies are holding out.

### IN THE UNITED STATES.

**ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN** of New York is displeased with the members of the Anti-Poverty Society. This society is composed of the followers of the ex-priest Dr. McGlynn. "His grace" has issued a circular which was read last Sunday from all the pulpits belonging to his diocese, in which he declares attendance at meetings of the Anti-Poverty Society a "reserved case"—that is, he practically puts everybody attending a meeting of this society under the ban. He gives for so doing the following explanation:

"In the first place, the successor of St. Peter, addressing and teaching the Universal Church, has affirmed that 'the right of property is sanctioned by the law of nature.' The founder of the Anti-Poverty Society proclaims the opposite. The Holy Father has branded the doctrines of this unhappy leader as 'false and pernicious.' He has stated that 'he will never retract them.' The Holy Father, through his organ, the supreme tribunal of the Holy Office, of which he himself is the President, has declared attendance at these reunions 'an open and public sin.'"

Corrigan appended to the circular McGlynn's declaration of faith. The words which are objectionable to the boss of the Catholic Church in this declaration are:

"I have taught, and I shall continue to teach, in speeches and writings, as long as I live, that land is rightfully the property of the people in common, and that private ownership of land is against natural justice, no matter by what civil or

ecclesiastical laws it may be sanctioned, and I would bring about instantly, if I could, such change of laws all the world over as would confiscate private property in land, without one penny of compensation to the misallotted owners."

It seems that the Catholic authorities are still unable to grasp the questions of the day, but this lack of intelligence after all is from our point of view their best quality.

Bonfield, Schaack, and Co. are cornered closer and closer. The Chicago *Times* during the past week has been accusing the Chicago police force of being implicated in frauds upon private individuals and city. It asserts that requisition allowances were illegally collected and unaccounted for by Bonfield's department; that wholesale opportunities for the perpetration of fraud were taken advantage of by the "force"; and that private policemen while supposed to be on duty have been engaged to build, repair, and decorate houses belonging to Bonfield and Schaack. It also asserts that public moneys have been diverted into "improper" channels—that is, into policemen's pockets. The stolen property found in the possession of Lewenstein was fully identified by the owners; and altogether the outlook is not very brilliant for the blue-coat loafers. The *Times* puts a long series of questions, which accuse Bonfield of various disgraceful proceedings; and Captain Schaack is also subjected to an interrogatory. The only answer the *Times* has received up to date was that a capias was issued on the 18th inst. for the arrest of the proprietor of the *Times* on a charge of criminal libel preferred by Captain Schaack. The court fixed the bail at 4,000 dollars.

The *Times* in its duel is ably seconded by the Chicago *Daily Mail*. It may be interesting to recall to the memories of the readers of the *Commonweal* that it was the Chicago *Mail* which wrote on the 1st of May 1886 in an editorial: "These two fellows, Parsons and Spies, have been at work fomenting disorder for the last ten years. . . . Mark them to-day; keep them in view; hold them personally responsible for any trouble that occurs; make an example of them if trouble does occur." And to-day, after about three years, the *Mail* openly states that the Haymarket massacre was caused through Bonfield's bloodthirstiness. And yet he did at that time nothing but what the *Times*, the *Mail*, and suchlike bid him to do.

Talk about bourgeois gratitude! Pshaw! Such a thing never existed. Gary to-day is a mental and physical wreck, the laughing-stock of the bench in Chicago for his childish fears. Over half of the policemen who made the attack on the peaceable working-men's meeting in Chicago on the 4th of May 1886 have since then been dismissed from the "force" for perpetual drunkenness, insubordination, etc. Bonfield, Schaack, and "Jake" Loewenstein are accused of the vilest crimes by the high priests of bourgeoisdom, the editors of the capitalistic sheets. E. Furthmann, the assistant-prosecuting attorney, has been obliged to leave the city service and he is to-day eking out a miserable livelihood by doing Bonfield's legal dirty work. Half of the jury who returned a verdict of guilty against the Anarchists have been permitted to fail in business; and last but not least, Governor Dick Oglesby, the man who refused to "pardon" our five, is accused of having misappropriated public moneys.

Mr Shumway, a senator in Springfield, Ill., legislature, introduced a few days ago the following resolution:

"Whereas, the auditor's biennial report issued in the year 1886 (in that year Oglesby was already governor of Illinois) shows that the sum of 18,705 dollars over and above the salary allowed by law was expended at the executive mansion for various items including dry goods, toilet soaps, combs, brushes, cards, decorations, chamois-skins, cooking utensils, mirrors, hammocks, washing, table-ware, and many other articles not necessary for the repair of the executive mansion; he it resolved by the senate, the house concurring herein, that a special joint-committee be appointed whose duty it shall be to examine the auditor's report issued in the year 1886 and ascertain whether the said expenditures in said report are all warranted by law."

Warily, as Heraklitus of Ephesus had it, all things flow. There is only Grinnell left now; but as comrade Holmes of Chicago says, every dog has his day, and surely Nemesis will reach him too.

Newark, N.J., January 23, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

"I detest leading men. I've seen enough of these gentry in my time. They are like goats in a young plantation: they do harm everywhere. They stand in the path of a free man, wherever he turns, and I should be glad if we could exterminate them like other noxious animals. The fact is that the strongest man upon earth is he who stands most alone."—*Henrik Ibsen*.

**RUSH-LIGHTS.**—An extravagant eccentricity of language, which may mean anything or nothing, is the sure characteristic of a certain kind of popularity which distinguishes the sensationists in politics, journalism, and religion. The first have been called "Tory Democrats," the second "New Journalists," and the third "Ranters." It is characteristic of all three that they are neither practical or permanent factors in their respective departments as public teachers and leaders. The "Tory Democrat" is now an "extinct volcano," the "New Journalist" is fast approaching the same,—although occasionally there still arises a flicker of alarm in that quarter which is generally extinguished like a farthing dip, leaving no trace behind but a smut and a smell,—but the "Ranter" is presently roaring his "gags" from the holy of holies. The righteous people of the Free McCrie-Roxburgh "Circus" in Edinburgh are beginning to be acknowledged in Scotland as the best rearers of "Ranters." They it was who gave John McNeill to London—a man who can even produce "suppressed laughter" at the sacred Sunday services in Spurgeon's Tabernacle. It is reported in the press that they are about to call the Rev. John Robertson, of Stonehaven Free Church, as Mr. McNeill's successor. The former is not behind the latter with pulpit "gags." In speaking at Stonehaven, on January 30th, he perpetrated the following, which is good for the paid officer of a rigid Calvinist organisation:—"The communicants on the Church rolls were an untrained mob. If polling-booths were put at each church door, and the record collected, they would vote for a distillery on the golden streets and lager-beer saloons on the banks of the river of life (laughter)." . . . "They were to take the citadel of the devil with a rush." Now that is surely an honest confession. On its present lines, the Church is more likely to take and possess the citadel of the devil than the citadel of god. This statement also suggests that the sensationist sermonisers of to-day need some other name than "ranters" to designate them. The preachers of the old doctrines a hundred years ago were called "Old Lights," and those of the new doctrines "New Lights"; but our storming preachers of to-day are sound in doctrine (they have more sound than sense), and they could all fittingly be classified as "Rushlights." This name would also do for the new journalists and politicians.—G. McL.

## IN THE STOREHOUSE OF NATURE.

(REPRINTED FROM "KING LABOUR'S SONG-BOOK," 1861.)

In the storehouse of Nature there's wealth for each comer,  
I care not how many or few they may be;  
When the bare limbs of Winter appeal to the Summer,  
She sends them new vestures befitting and free.  
There's no miserly thought to chide her for giving,  
No partisan prompting to stamp her with blame;  
But directing her favours to those who are living,  
She trusts in man's justice to keep him from shame.

All the birds in the air, all the fish in the river,  
The wealth that lies buried in land and in sea,  
Are the bountiful gifts of a bountiful giver,  
Who scorns the injustice that robs you and me.  
There is not in this wide world a nation so crowded,  
That one human being need perish from dearth;  
Look around! in the sunshine, when landscapes are clouded,  
And tell me if Sorrow be king of the earth?  
All we get we return, there's no waste in creation,  
No miser e'er carried his store to the grave;  
When Labour and Hope guide the strength of a nation,  
Kind heaven will rain plenty to succour and save.

JOHN BEDFORD LENO.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—At last Council meeting, in answer to invitation from Norwich Branch, it was agreed to send F. Kitz to take part in Mowbray's Farewell Demonstration in Norwich on Feb. 10th.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, March 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collected at Regent's Park, 1s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; J. Presburg, 6d.; H. Davis, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; Rose, 2s.; Seglie, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Latham, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Deane, 6d.; Sparling, 6d.; M. Morris, 6d.; Samuels, 1s.; Mainwaring, 2s.; J. Presburg, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Solomons, 6d.; Friedenholz, 1s.; Matlouski, 4d.; Diemsheitz, 3d.; and V. Dave, 2s. 6d.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON MEMBERS' MEETING,** Feb. 4th.—The principal subject for consideration was the *Commonweal*. Several valuable suggestions were made by different members present for reducing the cost, so that the paper may be continued in its present form. It was decided that all suggestions be considered and reported on by the Ways and Means Committee.

**LONDON OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA.**—Good meetings were held last Sunday at Hammersmith, Fulham, and Regent's Park; Hyde Park meeting stopped by weather. Short meeting held at Leman Street. A slight improvement in the sale of *Weal* at all stations.

**CLERKENWELL.**—No lecture delivered last Sunday, as members attended Mowbray's benefit at Berner Street.—S. P.

**EAST LONDON.**—There being a general desire among East End members of S.L. for better organisation with a view to more effective propaganda work in this district, a meeting was held on Sunday afternoon last, and it was agreed to unite the several small branches in the district, and to establish one strong branch in their place. H. Davis was elected secretary *pro tem*, W. Diggins treasurer, and G. Cores librarian *pro tem*. We hope shortly to commence some propaganda here. Members and friends are requested to observe notice in another column.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Fair meeting at Latimer Road, Sunday morning; speakers, Tarleton, Mordhurst, Bullock, A. J. Smith; choir sang; *Commonweal* sold fairly. Rain prevented Weltje Road meeting in evening. At Kelmescott House George Bernard Shaw (Fabian) lectured in something like his old style on "National Wealth"; several questions and brisk discussion. £1 donation from T. E. W. has been handed over by vote to funds of Fulham branch.—G. M.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoors meeting on 28th January. Hyndman's article, "Revolution or Reform" was read and discussed. No open-air meeting owing to intensely cold and stormy weather.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday, at 2.30, Glasier and Joe Burgoyne addressed a large audience on Jail Square. At five o'clock the same speakers addressed a meeting at Paisley Road, where 2s. 8½d. was collected for Seamen's strike. In the Maxwell Parish Church, at seven o'clock, our comrade Rev. John Glasie, Edinburgh, gave a vigorous and pronounced sermon in favour of Socialism to a crowded congregation.

**ISWICH.**—A good meeting held here on February 3rd; W. Moore, of Norwich, and C. Reynolds spoke. All *Weals* sold out. Mowbray will speak at Yarmouth next Sunday, at 11 a.m. The branch has secured a temporary room at 48 Row, next Co-operative Stores, and will hold their first meeting to-morrow (Monday night) where Reynolds will lay the principles of Socialism before the members.—G. R.

**NORWICH.**—Friday last large meeting of members held, important business transacted. The members have resolved to unite and make future propaganda a success. The following officers were appointed: A. T. Sutton re-elected secretary, A. Moore assistant-secretary, G. Poyntz treasurer, W. Moore librarian. Sunday afternoon usual open-air meeting held in Market Place only for a short time, as we gave way to some friends taking our stand to hold meeting protesting against imprisonment of O'Brien, at which Mowbray also spoke. In evening Adams lectured in Gordon Hall to good audience on "Progress and Poverty"; meeting opened by singing "No Master"; chair taken by Darley: very interesting lecture, supported by the chairman; Poyntz and Mowbray concluding with a general discussion. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and collections during the day.



## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Lecture on Sunday February 10, at 8.30. W. Blundell "A Socialist Line of Demarcation." Sun. 17, Brookes, "The French Revolution of '89." Sun. 24, Mrs. Schack, "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement." Sun. March 3, H. Davis, "Objections to Socialism Answered."

**East London.**—26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. Next meeting will be held Sunday February 10, at 4.30 p.m. Secretaries of dissolved branches (London Fields, Bethnal Green, and Hackney) please attend. Members and friends desiring to join this branch should at once send their names to the secretary, H. Davis 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday February 10, at 8 p.m., R. Catterson Smith, "A Sketch of the French Revolution of 1789" (Carlyle).

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 10, at 8 p.m., E. Belfort Bax, "The Marxian Theory of Value." Wednesday 13, at 8 p.m., Mrs. Annie Besant (Fabian), "Physical Force."

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**Mitcham.**—Meets every Sunday, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Friday February 8, Debate between G. Cores and White (S.D.F.).

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street. All persons desirous of joining are requested to communicate with A. Caulon at above address.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. William Morris will lecture on "Equality" on Wednesday 13th, at 8 p.m. Place of meeting will be announced at Sunday joint-meetings of S.D.F. and S.L.

**Galaithels** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.—SPECIAL NOTICE.—William Morris will lecture on "The Society of the Future" in the Albion Hall, on Sunday 10th February, at 7 o'clock. Admission: body of hall, collection at door; gallery, 6d. Gathering of members in rooms on Sunday at 1.30 to meet Wm. Morris.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 3 p.m., a great farewell demonstration will be held in the Market Place to Mowbray, who is leaving for London; members of the branch will take part, also Frank Kitz (London). At 8 p.m., in the Gordon Hall, Mowbray will give positively his last address. Monday, at 8 p.m., in the Gordon Hall, addresses will be delivered to the members only; all comrades should attend. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 until 10.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesday, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—All desiring to join branch in course of formation here should communicate with C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, who is acting as Secretary *pro tem*.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

## SUNDAY 10.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park...Parker  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park...McCormick  
3.30...Victoria Park...Hicks  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...The Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...Nicoll  
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith

## Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

## EAST END.

## SUNDAY 10.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Mrs. Schaaack.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

**NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB**, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday February 10, at 8.30, Rev. J. Cartmel-Robinson, "The Puritan Rebellion."

**INTERNATIONAL W. M.'S CLUB**, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.—A GRAND MASQUERADE will take place on Saturday February 16, in aid of the revolutionary propaganda. Tickets 6d. each.

**MONARCH COFFEE HOUSE**, Bethnal Green Road.—"Large Families the Sole and Only Cause of Poverty." Dr. C. Drysdale will lecture on the above on Sunday February 10.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION**—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday Feb. 8 at 7.30 p.m., to enroll members and receive subscriptions.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The seventh and concluding lecture will be delivered on Sunday March 3rd by Hubert Bland—subject, "The Outlook."

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

**DRUM AND FIFE BAND.**—Next meeting will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, Sunday February 10, at 7 p.m. Contributions in aid of the funds are urgently needed, and should be forwarded to E. Turner, treasurer, care of F. Kitz, 13 Farringdon Rd. Any comrade capable of taking the post of instructor to the Band is requested to communicate with G. Cores, Secretary *pro tem*, Farringdon Road.

**IPSWICH LABOUR LEAGUE.**—Pioneer Club, Theatre Yard, Tacket Street.—Sunday February 3, a debate took place between Thomas and Spinks on "Is a Representative Government Necessary?" Its uselessness and evils were well put. Questions put and fairly answered negatively. Next Sunday there will be a debate between Spinks and Read on "Are Parliamentary Governments Failures?"

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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EDITED BY BENOIT MALON.

8, Rue des Martyrs, Paris.

## SUMMARY OF THE JANUARY NUMBER.

"The Confluents of Socialism," B. Malon; "The Right to Strike, and its Consequences," P. Bailey; "Violence," G. Tridon; "Essay on Scientific Socialism," P. Argyriades; "Alcoholism," E. Fourniere; "Alarm Cry," A. Verber; "Socialist poetry," E. Herbel; "Mme. de Barrau," Emile de Morsier; "Social Movement," A. Verber; Correspondence; Books.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 162.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE great demonstration against coercion in Ireland which took place on Sunday afternoon was rather spoiled by the very heavy snowfall which had taken place and which was still going on throughout the whole of the proceedings. Of course, as it was the weather, that was to blame, one could only "damn the nature of things" and endure the ill-hap with what philosophy one might. The Unionists have been chuckling over their foes' discomfort, and the Home Rulers have answered them with justifiable pride in the numbers and spirit of those who turned out; and the Socialists, who joined with all their hearts in the protest, and, with the advanced Radicals, formed the bulk of the meeting, are not quite heartbroken at the loss of a mere parade.

For these Home Rule demonstrations which lead to nothing but more demonstrations are getting rather played out. A real "demonstration" means something, and those who really "demonstrate" are there to show that they mean it. But these happy-hunting-grounds of the politician, we now know under the much-abused name, mean nothing but the keeping Radicals quiet and giving Socialists a chance of working off their steam, while the Whigs quietly play their part of the parliamentary game for all it is worth. There are men, even among Liberals, who are tolerably earnest; but the bulk of them—!

Putting Gladstone to one side, for he can with some show of reason plead age and infirmity, what ails Harcourt or John Morley that they should not go to Ireland and there demonstrate? They could at one and the same time show their hatred for the plank-bed argument and test for themselves its efficacy in converting a political opponent. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, even, might for once pluck up his courage to the point of incurring a slight personal risk. That would win him some of the respect he lacks now, and advertise the *Star* as well. Especially if he took his proprietors along with him.

We have given the same advice before: it was not taken. It will not be now. The fact of the matter being, that while the Tories are in earnest, the Whigs are not. For a long while the game of party politics was played in "gentlemanly" style. The opposing forces marched and counter-marched with much bravery and banners. Nobody meant anything, outside an inconvenient small minority who could be kept within bounds. But the people are waking even in England, and the Tories begin to see that the game is growing dangerous for them; the people have an ugly habit of getting serious, and then they refuse to be frightened at pasteboard bogies.

So the Tories must needs recur to the old-fashioned friends and allies of law'n-order, the plank-bed and the prison-cell. They must leave off playing at government and begin to govern. The Whigs are half in sympathy with them, knowing that they would have to do the same were they in the same place; as they have done, and will do again. But they must go on with the game; and as they are too cowardly to make it earnest, they play monkey to the Radical and Home-Rule cat, ever ready to claim advantages and repudiate responsibility. At the same time they make the most of their time while the temporary alliance lasts, to demoralise the party of progress as much as they can and retard its advance.

If the wheel takes another turn, and a strong Whig ministry comes into power, we shall speedily see what a giant fraud is the "Great Liberal Party," and what uncanny creations are the fruit of it. Meanwhile we must not be led away too far by the glory of great names and the bluster of the *Star*. Our aim is a single one, and reached by one road. So far as any one will walk with us, we are willing to allow him to keep our company; but that should not mean slackening our pace to suit his. The passing agitations of the time are helpful to us, or not, as we make use of them; and in doing so we must never lose sight of the inevitable revolt against the commercial system for which we prepare, and which is coming with ever-increasing speed. S.

It is extraordinary how little the average middle-class newspaper requires to build up a charge of incitement to "crime" on the part of an Irish Home Ruler or an English Socialist. Here is the *Echo* trying to prove that Mr. O'Brien deserves his four months because he incited the people to kill Inspector Martin. Here are the sentences of Mr. O'Brien's speech which the *Echo* relies upon to prove this most extraordinary assertion.

It appears that Mr. O'Brien in his speech at Ballyral, after recommending Irishmen to follow the example of the Primrose League, continued as follows: "Yes, you must do this, *there is no alternative but the bludgeon.*" The *Echo* then points out that on Sunday week an Irish mob acted on Mr. O'Brien's advice, and bludgeoned Inspector Martin to death.

I am at a loss, however, to see what connection there can possibly be between the two events. There is not the slightest attempt on the part of Mr. O'Brien to recommend the use of the bludgeon, but only the peaceful methods of the Primrose League, pointing out at the same time that if the boycott were not used extreme measures would become necessary; but how this can be tortured into a kind of general injunction to settle the hash of police inspectors on every available opportunity, puzzles the wit of man to discover.

The Unionist press does not fail to do its utmost to work up most agonising and realistic accounts of the condition of the said inspector's smashed skull. The same thing was done in Chicago with regard to the wounds of policemen injured by the explosion of the bomb. If these people would only use the utmost resources of realism in describing the ghastly injuries inflicted by English Gatling guns and grape-shot upon the bodies of the unfortunate savages, it might perhaps have given the general public a higher opinion of their humanity.

It is all very well to go into hysterics over the killing of a police inspector, but how is it that these same journals which are so eloquent upon this topic could not find a graphic paragrapher to pile up the agony over the fearful condition of the heads of the poor workmen bludgeoned to death by police last year in Trafalgar Square? If the murder of four workmen is such a small matter, surely we may conclude that the killing of a policeman is also of no very great consequence.

For my part, the trimming cowardice of the Liberal leaders, who are so very anxious to protest their detestation of this act of resistance against the law, is about as mean as it can be. After all, what did the people do but defend the person of a man they loved and admired against the legal outrages of the prison cell; and if the emissary of legal brutality came to grief, what reason is there for these Pecksniffian tears over his fate?

The *Star* seems suddenly to have reawakened to the extraordinary merits of its chosen candidates. The men who last week were "timid, vacillating, and commonplace," are our democratic heroes now they have been bullied into accepting the *Star* list; they are "stalwarts," once again, say till their next fit of vacillation and timidity; so the world wags. If any one will take the trouble to collect the varied utterances of the *Star* during the ensuing year concerning its favourite councillors, it would doubtless form an interesting collection.

Mr. Firth had betrayed the people the other day, now "We have won and splendidly won, thanks largely to Mr. Firth's energy and good management," and the people of London may be happy in the knowledge that "We now have on the Council a majority large enough to make Our programme a happy reality for the people." O let us be joyful! The capitals in the quoted sentence are mine.

The wicked Tory is warned that if he dares to obstruct, something dreadful will happen to him. "Let the monopolists obstruct if they dare!" After this Titanic sentence I naturally expected to hear

that they had got a new patent guillotine up in the *Star* office, that with the aid of the steam engine would cut off heads with the same rapidity as the press throws off copies of the paper; but I am greatly relieved to hear that the *Star* will only shatter the Tories into everlasting nothingness by a "protest" if they should be too daring.

Mr. John Morley prefers to lose his seat rather than accept that very moderate item of the Social Democratic Programme, an eight hour bill. He has, of course, plenty of objections from the practical point of view, though the only one which is really serious is the objection that it would do nothing to diminish sweating, as the worst forms of sweating occur when work is taken home by the slaves of that system.

Your objections are all very well, Mr. Morley; but what are we to gather from them? Is it that you think with us that nothing but a Social Revolution can really raise the condition of the workers, or have you some better plan for making misery more bearable than that of the Social Democrats? Or do you think that this is the best of all possible worlds managed in the best possible manner? We would like to know.

It has come at last to this. He who is not with us is against us, just as much if he is a superfine Liberal philosopher, whose works abound with passages of pretended sympathy for the people, or one of those who join in the "brutal feasts of the rich," heedless of the handwriting of doom upon the palace walls. The day has gone by for words, it is deeds that are needed now; and it is by deeds that we shall know our friends from our foes. That is the message of the people to Liberal and Tory alike.

D. N.

## DISGRACEFUL FACTORY RULES.

MANY of our readers are ignorant of the inside of factory life; perhaps believing some of them that what they hear about it is exaggerated. In order, then, to give them an idea of its truth we offer the following little piece of realism, the "Rules and Regulations to be observed by the Work-People employed by Clarke, Nickolls and Coombs (Limited), Hackney Wick Confectionery Works, London, E.," which are given letter for letter from the printed copy issued by the firm. Inside the cover is printed in red the following:—

These Rules and Regulations will come in force on January 1st, 1889, and every employee of the Company, and all succeeding employees in their first engagements, will receive a copy free. In the event of any person leaving and presenting themselves for re-engagement, they must produce this copy, or if they are unable to do so, must procure a new copy, for which a charge of one penny will be made.

**LODGE ACCOMMODATION.**—A charge of one penny per week for each person is made for the use of the lodge. This penny will be deducted from wages. Those who stay in the lodge for meals will be required to pay an extra penny each per week. The persons in charge of the lodge will collect this extra penny.

**FINES.**—Any person on whom a fine may at any time be inflicted has a perfect right to refuse to pay the same by accepting the alternative of immediate dismissal. A fine once paid cannot be recovered.

Then begin the

## RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. Work to commence at 8 a.m. punctually, and to terminate at 7 p.m., except on Saturdays, when the Works will close at 2.30.

2. Fifty-six hours of actual work to be reckoned a week.

3. One hour allowed for dinner, 1 p.m. to 2 p.m., except on Saturdays when half-an-hour is allowed, 1 to 1.30 p.m.

4. Any one coming late will lose half-an-hour's pay. If twice late in one week to lose half-an-hour for the first and one hour for the second time, and if more than twice late to lose one hour for each time, including the first. No one allowed to come to work after 8.30 in the morning, nor later than 2 o'clock in the afternoon, except by permission of the Manager or of the General Foreman.

*Note.*—This rule applies to piece workers as well as day workers.

5. Every person on entering the Works both morning and afternoon must take their brass tickets from the board and deposit the same in the time box, any one omitting to do so will be marked absent and paid accordingly, but no one allowed to place in the time box any ticket other than their own, and any one so doing will be liable to immediate dismissal.

6. The gatekeeper will every morning and afternoon, make out a list of those numbers which he has marked as being either absent or late. This list will be hung up where it can easily be read, and every person is requested to examine it twice a day, and if they find that they have been marked late or absent by mistake must immediately report the same to the gatekeeper who, if satisfied that a mistake has been made, will alter his books accordingly.

7. No person is entitled to notice before dismissal, nor is any re-

quired before leaving, although wages will only be paid once a week.

8. Any person absent for a whole day without sending word to the General Foreman as to the cause of absence, will be considered as having left and be treated accordingly.

9. The time for each week to be made up to 7 p.m. on Thursday; overtime for that day to be carried forward to next week. Piece work also to be made up to Thursday night. Wages to be paid on Friday.

10. No one allowed to leave the premises during working hours without permission of the Manager or of the General Foreman, and no one allowed to leave at any time except by the proper entrance at the gatekeeper's lodge.

11. No child, young person, or woman, allowed on any part of the premises except the lodge during meal-times, and no man allowed on the premises except such as may be specially required.

12. No person allowed to enter any room except where he or she works or has business.

13. To prevent accident or damage to machinery, everyone is strictly forbidden to go near any machinery except employed thereat. Damage done to machinery, implements, materials, goods, or property, to be paid for by those causing such. And any person being cognizant of any infringement of this rule and not immediately reporting the same to the Foreman of their Department, or to the General Foreman, Manager or Directors, will be treated as an accomplice of the offender.

14. For the support of the Medical Club, one penny per week will be deducted from the wages of every person employed in the works, in return for which they will be entitled (with certain exceptions) to receive Medicine and Medical Attendance in the event of illness while in the Firm's employ.

*Note.*—As a matter of convenience 6d. will be deducted every 6 weeks instead of 1d. weekly from those whose earnings amount to or exceed 10s. per week.

15. No tea or coffee making or drinking allowed on any part of the premises except the lodge.

16. No intoxicating liquors to be brought on any part of the premises including the lodge, and no smoking allowed.

17. Reading of books or newspapers in the works is not allowed.

18. No swearing or obscene language allowed, and quarrelling and striking strictly prohibited. And any annoyance caused to fellow workpeople will be treated as a misdemeanour.

*Note.*—This rule applies to all not only while at work, but also when coming to or going from the Works.

19. No one allowed to use sugar sacks as aprons, or aprons made of sugar sacks, whether belonging to the firm or otherwise.

20. Every one must be decently dressed and cleanly in appearance.

21. No person allowed to light the gas but a Foreman, Forewoman, or his or her Deputy, who must use the lamp or taper specially provided for that purpose, and on no account must lighted paper or matches be used.

22. Loan Societies or Clubs of any sort are not allowed within the precincts of the Factory. Nor is it allowable to raise a subscription for any purpose whatsoever without the consent of the Directors.

23. Goods or materials are not allowed to be eaten or taken away. Any one offending against this rule will be subject to immediate dismissal and to the forfeiture of what wages may be due, and also to be rigorously dealt with according to law.

24. The bell rings for half a minute before one o'clock, and again for half a minute before seven o'clock, and no one allowed to discontinue actual work until the bell begins to ring, nor to leave the room in which they are employed until it has ceased to ring.

25. Every one must consent to be searched before leaving the premises.

26. Punishment in the shape of fines or dismissal will be inflicted at the discretion of the Directors for any breach of the above Rules and Regulations, but wilful damage, theft, etc., are also liable to be dealt with according to law.

27. No one will be allowed to come to work while suffering from any infectious disorder, nor while any infectious disease is present in their homes. Any breach of this rule will be punished by instant dismissal, and the offender will not at any future time be taken on again.

Here follows a "Wages Calculator showing the rate [from 3s.] . . . up to 40s. per week," and three pages of "General Information," as to "engaging new hands", Factory Act, Library "of several hundred volumes of standard works, open to all employees who have been 12 months in the Company's service", Annual Collection for Hospitals, Holidays, and Fire Practice. The holidays are "Good Friday, Easter Monday, Whit Monday, First Monday in August, Christmas Day, and Boxing Day." "In general the day following each of these days is also observed as a holiday." There is no intimation whether any of the holidays are paid for or no: they are not. The firm which enforces the above rules is one of the best and most respectable of its kind in London. What, then, must the position of the workers be in a lower-class factory?

S.

**IPSWICH UNEMPLOYED.**—Thomas and Creed held first meetings of unemployed here on Monday, 10th, first addressing them at the Commissioners' Yard, where about 200 of them had assembled. Thomas afterwards visited the Labour Bureau, where he had a very stormy interview with the gentleman in charge, who stated that there were not 50 men out of work. We afterwards addressed about 400 on the Cornhill, who listened with great attention, and who seemed to take in the new ideas, so that further meetings are arranged for.



## THE KIRK'S ALARM.

"The fact was, the churches in Glasgow, Edinburgh, or any other great city, had become far too much a mere Sunday meeting-place for the highly respectable and well-to-do. Those for whom the church chiefly existed were conspicuous by their absence. When people went to church in this country, it was not so much to engage in an act of common worship at the footstool of God as to meet together in social respectability to listen to a sermon—at least to sit at a sermon, whether they listened to it or no."—Rev. Professor Story (*Established Church*).

"One of the greatest difficulties which the Church had to contend with was the indifference of multitudes who were within its shadow. How it had arisen it would perhaps be difficult to say. But, however, it had arisen; it was a great appalling fact with which the Church had to reckon."—Rev. Wm. Watson, *Dumfries* (*U. P. Church*).

"There's a heretic blast  
Has been blawn in the wast,  
That what is not sense must be nonsense."

EVER since the days of Burns, when the unco' guid were alarmed with the heretic blasts of the New Light clergymen, by their "preaching that three's ane and twa," the Scotch kirk has winked at the preaching of all such "damnable doctrines," which seek to join faith and sense. But the kirk of to-day is moved with an "alarm" that affects it in a more vital part than the orthodoxy of its preachers. Its pocket is affected; for by its own confession it has lost any influence it ever had over the artisan population, and for them alone is its gospel preached. Those interested parties who have hitherto been the stoops of the kirk have discovered that the kirk is not effectual in doing that for which they have been supporting it, and it is admitted by the clergymen and presbyteries of Scotland that the numbers who have ceased to attend "divine worship" in the churches "are very large and alarmingly on the increase." It is also admitted that not more than ten per cent. of artisans attend church, and a census taken by one of the sects showed only 4 per cent. of an artisan population doing so in the southern district of Glasgow. In pointing out these facts at the last Established Presbytery meeting in Glasgow, ex-Baillie Gray said "there was a great Africa in our midst." The report submitted to the Established Church Assembly showed that in 407 parishes 102,367 are not connected with any church, in 505 congregations the membership has alarmingly decreased, in 163 the membership has remained stationary, and over the whole country the membership has declined in proportion to the increase in population.

The puerile suggestions to remedy this which have been put forward by the various presbyteries, and the inventions and innovations of individual parsons, give evidence of how dark they all are respecting the real cause of the decay in churchism, or, if they be cognisant of it, all their innovations, debates, and commissions testify of the many incongruous shufflings they are prepared to adopt before they apply themselves to the *one thing* they lack. A close observation of those who attend church in Scotland will reveal the fact that not more than 20 per cent. are men, the balance being made up by women, girls, and boys who have not yet command over their own choice. Of the men it will be found they are mostly shopkeepers or others who place a money value on church attendance. The different tradespeople are, in all districts, in evidence at the church in the same proportionate preponderance—drapers are always before grocers and so on—the bigger profits each trade yields being the measure of "religion" found amongst its dependents. The state of affairs respecting church attendance is more alarming in the cities to those who hold undue privileges in the present false society, than it is in the country districts. The *odium theologum* has lost its powers in our cities. The people are more unrelated in cities than in the country districts, and they have consequently freed themselves earlier from the theological ban. It has now no power in the cities to prevent the workers from meeting on the day most suitable to them, to discuss matters pertaining to their daily life and work.

The parson's monopoly of Sunday is doomed. The country districts follow the cities in social customs, and already it is becoming fashionable in country districts to be somewhat unconventional. Signs are not wanting that the workers of both city and country will soon use the time they already refuse to the church, in discussing and deliberating affairs of vital importance to them here and now. It is not so long since social, labour, or political meetings would have been impossible in Glasgow on a Sunday, and now they are of a weekly occurrence; and in country districts—where the Sunday usually was devoted to the church alone, unless when the "unco' guid" were closeted in their homes with the blinds drawn and the toddy-kettle on the fire—it is common now to see mass meetings of miners deliberating on affairs which press upon them more closely than the plain pulpit platitudes to be heard in the churches. The gentry who give money to the church so that its gospel may be preached at the poor, have certainly ample cause for alarm at the failure of the church in its policy of mental coercion. Workpeople have ceased to believe that it is the will of a good God that they should be content in the position they now find themselves. They decline to load God with such a responsibility, which, they see clearly enough, belongs entirely to the church itself with its "damnable doctrine" of perpetual poverty. The truth is beginning to dawn upon Scotch artisans that it is not in consequence of anything outside of the province of our moral teachers which causes the poor to be always with us. They now see there is enough and to spare, produced by the workers and the resources of nature to provide for the needs of all, if our moral teachers had performed their part of the social contract as efficiently as the workers, scientists, inventors, sun and earth have done theirs. Our moralists

are the only defaulters. This is now recognised by the dullest day labourer who knows of the increased stores of wealth that cannot find a means, under the present arrangement, to reach the ends for which they exist. When our moralists see the way to abolish the thieving checks which at present stem the free flow of the industrial channel, and preach and act accordingly, I have no doubt "the common people" will flock to them in as large multitudes and hear them as gladly as their prototypes did of old when a present living gospel was preached to them.

The failure of the church to reach the workers, is found in the fact that the "gospel" it now preaches is not a gospel for them. They have taken away the gospel, which the common people of old heard gladly, out of the church and hid it so that the artisans of to-day do not know where to find it. They have "made the house of prayer a den of thieves." Its triune god is manifested through pride, laziness, and hypocrisy, and in its temples the "money-changers" do congregate. The church of to-day instead of being a house of prayer, is converted by the "money-changers" into an instrument for acquiring wealth, position, and power—things which drove the real Christ to his greatest outbursts of anger. Is it any wonder that educated artisans should cease to attend such a place, or that its priests should be forced to entice them with smoking sermons, or theatrical mounted pulpit performances, or pulpit gags of the Beecher type, such as "The Tilton scandal has knocked my 'Life of Christ' into a cocked hat"?

There is hope in the present alarm of the church for Socialists. The Established Church Presbytery of Glasgow has, by its late debates, confessed that it is not now the church of the poor. At a late meeting the "shepherds" proclaimed their ignorance of the poor in their own "fields of labour," and appointed a commission to enquire and report. This commission has only to enquire into the housing of the poor, for if it would extend its enquiries to what makes them poor, members of the Presbytery would be scandalised thereby. They apparently forget a mouse can die as readily of starvation in a gilded trap as in any other. In the vast 96 per cent. of the artisan population which the church fails to touch, there is a something which only requires the light of Socialist truths to enliven it into action. The deeds done to, and by, these artisans, are the simple ingredients of that something—

"Our deeds do follow us from afar,  
And what we have been makes us what we are."

Our duty as Socialists, therefore, lies openly before us, viz., to reach that something with the only additional ingredient that can make it a living force for reform. By bringing the light of Socialism on the deeds they are forced to perform for the present false society, and what they get in return for doing them, and by holding up the hope of the new society of justice, plenty, and happiness, in the way we can most efficiently reach them, we will enliven the 96 per cent. as rapidly and efficiently as a lighted match would enliven a powder magazine.

GEORGE M'LEAN.

## DISCRETION OR ——— ?

ON the evening of Friday, 1st February, Professor Geddes, of Edinburgh, delivered a lecture on "Theories of Social Progress" to the Aberdeen Junior Liberal Association. While "going for" the orthodox political economist on the one hand and the Socialist on the other, and partly misrepresenting the position of both, he said that the formation of commercial syndicates and the socialization of labour simply paved the way for the community to take over production and distribution. He pointed to the difference between the condition of the newsboy and that of the telegraph boy as an indication of how much better it would be to live in the future as a servant of the Co-operative Commune than to live in the present as the wage-slave of a capitalist.

From what we had heard of Professor Geddes, we were led to expect that he would hit out at trades-unionists, co-operators, and Socialists alike, and that, as an admirer of Ruskin and as something of a Positivist, he would advocate the moralisation of trade. We were at once surprised and bewildered to find him advocating Socialism very explicitly. Comrade the Rev. Alex. Webster and myself had gone to the meeting with the intention of opposing him; but we were so taken aback by the upshot of the lecture, that we hesitated to tackle him for his misrepresentation of the Socialist position, thinking we must surely have misapprehended him. We or at least I, did not realise how far the lecturer had erred until after the meeting, which the chairman seemed anxious to bring to a sudden close. Geddes admitted frankly to myself when the meeting had broken up that he was a Socialist.

This may be a good way of stealing a march on the enemy; and I do not care to accuse a man like Geddes of want of courage and honesty. But it does not seem quite fair to pretend hostility to the Socialists and then to adopt their ideas; to set political economy on the one hand and a misrepresentation of Socialism on the other, and then to set forth Socialism as advocated by us as the golden mean. As to the avoidance by Mr. Geddes of the name Socialist, I do not see that this policy can be justified on the plea that there is a prejudice against Socialism. Socialism is a good name for an excellent set of principles (to put it mildly); and what we ought to do is unreservedly to adopt the name, and by advocating the principles, root out or live down the prejudices against it.

JAMES LEATHAM.

STRIKE OF SEAMEN.—There is no change in the situation with respect to the strike of seamen at Liverpool. The Union continues firm, while owners profess confidence in their ability to tide over the difficulties caused by the strike. Meanwhile men are being attracted from the outports. It was thought that some "knobsticks," as outsiders are termed, would be turned back when applying for service on the *Servia* on Saturday, being unable to produce their discharges. However, everyone presented was duly passed by the inspector and went on board the unionists displaying great irritation.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN REED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.*

*Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. A.—'Poland; an Historical Sketch,' translated by E. S. Buchheim from the German of Count Helmuth Carl Bernard von Moltke, was published in 1885 by Chapman and Hall. You will find the following useful and trustworthy: 'Poland; her Glory, her Sufferings, her Overthrow,' by Prof. K. Wolski; published by Kerby, London 1883, 8vo.

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 13.

ENGLAND	Workmen's Advocate	BELGIUM
Die Autonomie	Twentieth Century	Ghent—Vooruit
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker
Labour Elector	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Liege—L'Avenir
London—Freie Presse	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	ITALY
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Turin—Il Muratore
Postal Service Gazette	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	SPAIN
Personal Rights Journal	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Seville—La Solidaridad
Railway Review	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Sozial Demokrat	FRANCE	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Worker's Friend	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	PORTUGAL
INDIA	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revolte	GERMANY
Madras—People's Friend	Le Coup de Feu	Berlin—Volks Tribune
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	AUSTRIA
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Wien—Gleichheit
Freiheit	SWITZERLAND	WEST INDIES
Volkzeitung	Arbeiterstimme	Cuba—El Productor
Jewish Volkszeitung		

### THE MANCHESTER MARTYRS.

(Concluded from p. 42.)

LITTLE more remains to be told. How false was the verdict and the evidence of witnesses in one case, was shown by the testimony of some thirty or forty English reporters connected with the London and provincial press, who declared that, despite the evidence of witnesses and the verdict of the jury, "they believed, on the strength of their long experience in cases of criminal procedure, that Thomas Maguire, private in the Royal Marines, was innocent of the crime of which he had been convicted and that his conviction has resulted from mistaken identity." This knocked a tremendous hole in the conviction; for in spite of the opinion of judge, jury, and witnesses, these reporters declared their belief in the innocence of a man whom these good people had condemned to death. This placed the Government in an awkward pickle: if they acted on the testimony of these newspaper reporters and liberated Maguire, they would discredit their own court of justice, for if it could condemn one to death who was innocent, might not the others it had condemned be also innocent? But his innocence was so evident that the Government feared to be logical, and Maguire on 21st of November received a "free pardon" for what he had not done. Maguire was at once liberated; Allen, Larkin, Shore, and O'Brien were still detained in custody. Many were the efforts made to obtain a reprieve for them. John Bright, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and many other Englishmen, were among the petitioners. We are pleased

to say that the London workmen also did their best to save these gallant lives. Protests were passed against the execution of the condemned Irishmen at many large public meetings in London. But the capitalistic press shrieked for blood, and howled at and cried down these demonstrations of humanity. Lord Derby, who was then at the head of the Government, refused to listen to any appeal. He declared that it was not a political offence, but a murder, commonplace save for its peculiar atrocity. He even went out of his way to say that the act for which these men had to die was "a cowardly and detestable deed." It may be doubted whether his lordship would ever under any circumstances find sufficient courage to imitate it. A deputation of the London artisans attempted to approach her majesty with a petition, but the petitioners were driven from the palace gates and were mobbed and hooted by the royal flunkies and tradesmen.

At the very last moment another man had his sentence commuted—Shore, the Irish-American. Why he was respited is a mystery; for if taking part in the rescue of Kelly and Deasy was a crime deserving of the penalty of death, Shore clearly ought to have been hung with the others, for in the dock he proudly declared before a crowded court that he was a full participator in the rescue. Some explanation may be found for this unexpected clemency when it is mentioned that Shore happened to be an American citizen, and the brave English middle class, always courageous before the weak, and cowardly before the strong, feared to incur the enmity of the powerful American Government. This last reprieve raised the hopes of the friends of the condemned men, but alas! these hopes were soon to be disappointed.

Even before the respite of Shore the Government were pushing on the preparations for the execution. Troops were poured by rail into Manchester and every other city where an Irish element existed. The inevitable "specials" were sworn in in abundance, and their ranks were greatly strengthened by all the roughs in Manchester by the announcement that beer and refreshments should be free as air to every gallant "special" who rallied around his beloved queen and country on this momentous occasion. All the streets in the neighbourhood of the prison were closed to ordinary traffic, filled with police and "specials," and were crossed at close intervals by strong wooden barriers. Troops and artillery garrisoned the jail, and large platforms were erected on each side of the scaffold on which the troops crouched down "with the muzzles of their rifles resting upon the wall." The whole terrific preparations were capped by a proclamation from the mayors of Manchester and Salford, advising all law-abiding and peaceful citizens to keep away from the place of execution. Of course, as our readers know, in those days executions were public. The account of these mighty preparations may give them also some idea into what a pitiful state of funk the bold money-grubbing Briton had been thrown by the attack on the prison-van at Manchester.

In the midst of this excitement and terror, the condemned men were quietly passing the last hours of their lives. On the day before their execution, Friday the 22nd of November, the doomed men bade farewell to the few relatives who were allowed to see them. The parting of Larkin with his family was agonising. Poor Allen, although not quite twenty years of age, was engaged to a young girl who loved him most devotedly. She was refused by the tyrants who were murdering her lover the last poor consolation of bidding him farewell. On Friday evening they were locked up for the night at the usual hour—about half-past six o'clock. Here their thoughts were disturbed by the brutal merriment of a mob which was gathering outside the prison gates to gloat upon the legal murder of the morrow.

The scene outside the jail on the terrible Saturday morning is thus described by Mr. Sullivan: "Between them [the mob] and the massive prison walls rose piles of heavy barricading, and the intervening space was black with a dense body of men, all of whom faced the gloomy building beyond, and each of whom carried a special constable's baton in his hand. The long railway bridge running close by was occupied by a detachment of infantry, and from the parapet of the frowning walls the muzzle of cannon trained on the space below might be dimly discerned in the darkness. But the crowd paid little attention to these extraordinary appearances; their eyes were riveted on the black projection which jutted from the prison wall, and which, shrouded in dark drapery, loomed with ghastly significance through the haze. Rising above the scaffold, which replaced a portion of the prison wall, the outlines of a gibbet were descried; and from the cross-beam hung three ropes, terminating in nooses, just perceptible above the upper edge of the curtain which extended thence to the ground. The grim excrescence seemed to possess a horrible fascination for the multitude. Those in position to see it best stirred not from their post, but faced the fatal cross-tree, the motionless ropes, the empty platform, with an untiring, an insatiable gaze, that seemed pregnant with some terrible meaning; while the mob behind them raved, struggled, pushed, and fought; and the haggard hundreds of gaunt, diseased, stricken wretches, that vainly contested with the strange types of ruffianism for a place, loaded the air with their blasphemies and imprecations."

The fatal hour strikes. A line of warders is formed in the gaol court. The sentries on duty cease their march; magistrates and reporters stand aside, and a dead silence prevails for a few moments. At three minutes past eight o'clock the solemn voice of a minister repeating the litany of the Roman Catholic Church is heard, and the head of the procession becomes visible through the fog. The three men march to the scaffold accompanied by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, Canon Cantwell. The fatal noose was first placed over Allen's head. O'Brien is placed by him: the two heroes bend over, and, capped and pinioned as they are, affectionately kiss each other. Larkin is now

brought out and led directly to his place. The sight of his two brother martyrs capped and pinioned, with the fatal cord around their necks, seemed to unman the poor fellow utterly. O'Brien, firm and unshrinking to the last, turned to him and murmured a few words of encouragement. Calcraft disappears; the three men stand a moment before the multitude; then the bolts are pulled back, the trap falls, and three corpses swing below the scaffold.

The law has triumphed! The gentlemen of England have avenged themselves upon the rebels who despised their "law-'n'-order." But to-day in Ireland the verses that tell of their gallant death have become a song of triumph and victory, and it is the memory of the Fenians of Manchester that upholds the Irish peasant against the utmost force of his oppressors.

Now a few words in conclusion. The whole Nationalist party in Ireland, moderates and Fenians, look upon Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien as martyrs who were cruelly and basely murdered by the English Government. Every year the Irish people commemorate the murder of these brave young men. Yet a certain Irish Nationalist accuses the revolutionary Socialists in England of "unmanly whining" when we remember the murder of our comrades in Chicago, and tells us for comfort that they were justly executed. We reply that they had done nothing which the brave Irishmen at Manchester had not already done. O but the Chicago Anarchists believed in physical force! So did the Fenians at Manchester: not only did they believe in it, but they acted up to their belief. The Anarchists were present [?] when a bomb was thrown that killed a policeman. Allen and his companions were likewise present when a shot was fired that killed a policeman. Both bands of heroes were condemned to death by a lying press, a packed jury, and a butcherly judge. Why does not the law-'n'-order loving editor of the *Star* say that the Manchester Fenians were justly hung for these very excellent reasons? Be logical, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and say at once that if one body of revolutionists deserved death, then so did the other. But we revolutionists declare that both bands of heroes will be remembered by future generations when certain popular editors and their papers have sunk into the—well-merited obscurity—that awaits the shams who during their brief lifetime impose upon the credulous and unthinking. Let respectable editors rejoice in their "largest circulation" and monetary prosperity. A day will come when people will remember what they now forget, and will forget what they now remember; and in those days the names of the Chicago and Manchester martyrs will be on the lips of thousands who will know nothing of the people who now insult the dead. May we learn to imitate these heroes, and if our turn comes, to die as proudly and defiantly. We cannot have higher or nobler examples of courage and fortitude. May we be worthy of them.

D. J. NICOLL.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

ARE we nearing another 1873—a year which was specially remarkable for its industrial, commercial, and financial panic—is a question which even capitalistic papers are beginning to ask themselves. They feel that it is no longer safe to pursue an ostrich policy, and they are beginning, as one paper puts it, "to advise business-men everywhere to prudently take in sail and go slow for a while. There are squalls ahead." And well may they sound the bugle-call of alarm! The country has, if competent authorities can be relied upon, hardly ever been more dangerously near a most momentous crisis than just at present. All the long-indulged-in talk about abnormal prosperity, booms everywhere and for everybody, Yankee enterprise, well fed and clad workers, and sound investments, did not and could not explain away the facts staring everybody in the face. First of all, the coal-trade is in a very miserable state. The winter has up to now (the end of January) been mild indeed, unusually mild, and as a consequence the demand for coal has not been half so strong as in years gone by. It is said by people well able to judge that there is at present as much anthracite coal ready for consumption as the country needs for the next twelve months. A great many mines have shut down, and more than 20,000 workmen in that branch of industry are without employment. Of the men still at work most are working half or three-quarter time. The iron and steel works are not much more prosperous. Competition has been very strong among them: there are a good many more works of this kind than are necessary for the satisfaction of the demand of this article. Railway building is just now not very much in favour with the monied class, and this also adds to the discomfort of the iron and steel works. How many workers in this industry are forced to be idle it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain, but their number cannot be small. The woollen industry, which of late has been very sickly, has had little or indeed no chance to improve during the last twelve months, and even a high, almost prohibitory, import tax did not nor could mend matters very much. The workmen in this trade are reported to have little if any work to do. The railroads, owing to the very short crops, have been doing a comparatively small business, and the low prices paid by the grain speculators for wheat have still more, if such were possible, pauperised the farmers of the western States. The farmers of old States are migrating to new homesteads in the territories, trusting to be able to find more favourable conditions. The Indian territory has not as yet been opened up for settlement to the whites, but the settlers are already pouring in by the thousands, and the soldiers find it impossible to keep them out. There is hardly a single industry or trade which may claim to be in a flourishing condition. And last but not least, the sudden change of system from a highly competitive mode of production and distribution to the concentration and consolidation of capital, has unsettled everything. The workers, thrown upon the pavement through the shutting down of some establishment or other by the order of a trust, find it exceedingly difficult to obtain employment elsewhere, and capital itself has hardly had time to get used to the new order of things. Nearly every day we hear of the formation of some trust or other, and of the simultaneous closing down of numerous factories and works. The capitalists suffer little through this revolution in matters economic; they take care they are not "left," and as usual the workers

alone have to bear all the burden. All over the country strikes, lock-outs, shut-downs, reduction of wages, and miserable failures of the boycott are reported. The Monongahela, Pa., miners resolved a few days ago to stand out against a reduction in wages of about 15 per. cent.; in the Connellsville, Pa., region, fourteen thousand coke-workers, in mid-winter, are considering the advisability of striking to prevent being still further reduced below the "standard of miserable existence" rate; in Brooklyn, N. Y., 800 carmen are on strike, a dispute between capital and labour which has already caused the loss of a life, of a "scab"; in New York city 2,000 carpet-workers, 2,300 Cuba cigarmakers, 2,000 feather-curlers, have been compelled to strike; and so on, *ad infinitum*, throughout the length and breadth of the entire country. Well may the capitalists and their hirelings, the press-slaves, look gloomy. However, they need fear nothing. They can well afford a panic, a stagnation of trade, a temporary cessation of the modern cesspool called commerce. Their means permit them to do so; and if perhaps the workers become rebellious, a thing which is much to be doubted, then the capitalists have only to command the police, the militia, or the Pinkertons and suchlike to shoot a few of the "lazy," the "unwashed," the "unkempt," and the order will be obeyed without murmur. And what are the workers doing? As they are wont—sleeping, trusting to-morrow will take care of itself.

Till it is too late, till they are thrown by thousands into the streets to starve, or at best to beg and to steal. When the waves of misery are getting more powerful in their turn, and more destitution has knocked out of them the last remnants of energy, perhaps then, and only then, they may think of preparing themselves to take some action. Then, when it is too late, when they have lost the golden opportunity to take hold of all the things they have created, and to work them for the good of the community at large and not for the benefit of a class, then perhaps they may induce and persuade themselves to believe that after all the Socialist Cassandra was right. Instead of considering all this today, of preparing for the inevitable fight, they talk, talk, talk, ignoring the harsh march of stern economic evolution—of introducing the eight hour's labour day. Think of it, ye evil powers that be in hell and elsewhere, and smile, for *your work* will be done. And when it is too late, despair, a spirit of hate, of revenge, will take possession of the workers. Vandal-like they will go and smash, smash whatever is to be smashed. For reason has left them. But when the smashing is done, what next? The intelligence will be missing to do the building-up, and once again the slave will sneak back to his workshop, glad once more to feel the master's whip. And such will be the end of the panic of 1889—

The Chicago *Times* is continuing the battle against the corrupt Chicago police gang. Many of your readers will be puzzled at this. They will ask themselves undoubtedly: How does it come to happen that a capitalistic paper, above all a newspaper, undertakes a crusade against the corruption of officials? It has yet to be recorded that a capitalistic paper, especially in America, ever did anything in the interest of public morality, or for the sake of protecting persecuted innocence and standing up for the right. Neither is this the case with the Chicago *Times*. Ostensibly, and if we were to believe its self-laudation, this paper is the most moral and the best public spirited in existence. However, there is an "inner history" for its present conduct. Way back in the year 1886, Carter Harrison was mayor of the good city of Chicago; no man could be more popular, more liked for his liberalism, real demagogism, than Carter. And such is the case with him to-day. Under his administration happened the Haymarket affair, and respectability charged him through his liberalism with having been one of the "constructive" causes of this encounter between police and people. "Clear the rascal out!" became the watchword of the rich and the well-to-do of the Citizen's Association. And cleared out he was, and John Roche the present mayor came in on the "Saviour of Society" ticket. Since then Carter has travelled round the world; he is back now in Chicago, desirous to take anew in his hands the political whip: In a few weeks the election for mayor will come off. Carter wants himself or one of his henchmen to be returned with a sweeping majority. The rottenness of the "Saviour of Society" administration—Roche, Bonfield, Schaack—has only to be shown up to effect this. Hence the attacks of the *Times*. So in the present onslaught of the editor of the *Times*, who is gifted with a keen sense for detecting a good thing on the police, the "fine Italian hand" of Carter Harrison may be discerned guiding the fight strategically.

The Central Labour Union of New York has endorsed the plan of the American Federation of the Trade and Labour Unions calling for demonstrations in favour of the eight hours' day. Mass meetings will be held in New York City on July 4th and September 2nd, 1889, and February 22nd, 1890.

Newark, N.J., January 29, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOUR.—At Newcastle, on Saturday, the United Tyne District Labourers' Association was formed. The object of the association is to advance the interests of the unskilled labourers of all classes, and if possible to improve their position. On the Tyne and Wear there are 25,000 unskilled labourers employed in the shipyards alone.

EDUCATION AND STARVATION.—At Dalston Police-court on Friday week, February 8th, before Mr. Bros, between seventy and eighty summonses were heard, taken out by the School Board for London against persons who had not sent their children to school. Most of the people were miserably poor, and some had had to journey in the cold and wet from the extreme east of Bethnal Green. One woman, who looked defiantly round the court, said to Mr. Stone, School Board prosecutor, "I think I'll speak to this gentleman (indicating the magistrate). I can't speak to the School Board gentlemen." Mr. Bros: You must behave yourself. Defendant: Yes, sir; but he has summoned me for the big gal as minds the baby, and she is a deal o' good to me when I goes to work. Mr. Bros: How old is this girl? Defendant: Twelve next birthday as ever is when it comes. The officer: The child is only just eleven. Defendant: I don't tell lies. I was never brought up to it. Mr. Bros: Have you a husband? Defendant: Yes, and he and I, if we works hard in the busy season, can't earn more than 25s. a week, and out of that we 'as to keep ourselves and five children and pay 7s. 6d. rent. Mr. Bros: I think you ought to stop at home and mind the children. Defendant: And then I should have to let 'em starve. We always 'as to pay the rent of the house, 12s., whether the lodger pays or not; and 'as we works for the landlord he always stops it. Why, last time I had to take the boots off the young uns' feet to pay what you fined me. Mr. Bros: I'll give you another chance, and adjourn the case for a month. On leaving the court the woman glared at the School Board officer, saying, "If I had my way I would choke you."



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## ITALY.

At last the Italian unemployed have imitated their brethren on this side of the Channel by revolting against the shameful system which forbids the makers of wealth to earn, even while working, their bare livelihood. The bread riot that took place in Rome on Friday week, is identical with that which London witnessed on February 8th, 1886. The hungry unemployed, tired of waiting for work from their rulers, with one accord rose up, marching through the eternal city, smashed shop-windows, stopped tram-cars, carriages, and defied and resisted the so-called representatives of law'n'-order, shouting loudly ever and anon "Long life to the Social Revolution!" When some of the well-to-do classes dropped from their balconies a handful of coppers, the "mob" furiously resented the well-meaning conduct with indignation, crying, "Down with the bourgeoisie! We want work and not charity!" In Gregoriana Street, where the Premier has a private house, the excited crowd shouted, "Down with Crispi! Down with the Government! Death to those that will not give us work! Down with the capital! Up with the barricades!" At Montecitorio they stoned the House of Commons building, and they gave vent to their passion, "Up with the Social Revolution! Down with the Camarra! Down with speculators! Hither and thither, or work or barricades! Viva the '89!" The leader of this great riot is merely a blacksmith, almost unknown, who had the good sense to remind his fellow-workers on the previous day that at the meeting held in Rome, September 30th, 1888, in Piazza, Dantez voted a resolution promising that on the very day that hunger should knock at the door of their slums, they would go and take the bread where there is also the luxuries (Great cheers, and Bravo Guocchetti! Long live Guocchetti!) We ought to take the necessities of life where we can find them! The day afterwards, when the deputation came back from the Under-Secretary of State, telling them to wait two days, our comrade Guocchetti sung out upon a chair, Enough of waiting! we are hungry! and the people shouted, Long life to the social revolution! Ninety-seven were arrested, including Guocchetti. Many of the rioters were brought to the hospital with their limbs broken. But nevertheless the riot was not a total failure, as we read in the capitalist dailies that they have looted many shops and wounded seventeen policemen (*questurini*) and soldiers.

P. V.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

'A Biographical Dictionary of Freethinkers of all Ages and Nations.' By J. M. Wheeler. London: Progressive Publishing Company, 1889.

It has been truly asserted by John Stuart Mill that "the world would be astonished if it knew how great a proportion of its brightest ornaments, of those most distinguished even in popular estimation for wisdom and virtue, are complete sceptics in religion", and Mr. Wheeler intends to show us, in a handy little Dictionary, "how many of the world's worthiest men and women have been freethinkers."

This design, and its complete realisation, fully deserves to be encouraged not only by those who in matters of religion are freethinkers, but even by all those who in the various fields of human activity are working for the future against the past, for enlightenment and progress against darkness and reaction. Socialists in particular should avail themselves of the opportunity of securing the valuable references gathered by the author. Socialism is not only an economic theory pure and simple, as we are often told; as a true science of society, it embraces all the various manifestations of the social body, in matters of economics, politics, and religion alike. Thus in our opinion Mr. Wheeler has not only made a contribution to the cause of freethought and towards the history of "the good old cause," as he terms it, but he has rendered good service also to the cause of the emancipation of mankind at large. His book therefore deserves to meet with a full share of favour from all parts.

The biographies—or rather biographical notes, for it was impossible considering the small size of the book, to give a full view of any of the lives dealt with—are generally sufficient and in most cases accurate enough to be used in first instance, as preliminary references for further research in special works. We have carefully looked through the first series (Abelardus to Bauer), the only one yet published, and from this instalment we may expect to have soon at our disposal a fairly good contribution to especial bio-bibliography. But why does Andrieux deserve a place in Mr. Wheeler's nomenclature? Because he is a freethinker? He is not; he is only a renegade. He was at the Anti-Concil at Naples in 1869. Yes, but there he did reactionary work, vehemently opposing the introduction of materialistic views in school teaching. In 1880 he executed the decree against the religious congregations of Paris. Yes, but he was compelled so to do, and did it most reluctantly. I am sorry to find that contemptible name among such a number of well-deserving writers and thinkers. Why has J.-J. Altmeyer, late professor at the University of Brussels, been omitted? He has propagated the "good old cause" in Belgium for nearly forty years, at the cost of many a sacrifice. And Count d'Alton-Shee, the French Socialist, who was "neither Catholic nor Christian," as he put it, and at whose secular funeral Gambetta made one of his best speeches—why does he not appear, as he deserves to? M. Victor Arnould is said to have written a 'History of the Church, and a little work on the 'Philosophy of Liberalism.' That is certainly not enough. His 'History' is but an introduction to his 'Tableau de l'histoire sociale de l'Eglise' that appeared in the *Revue de Philosophie Positive* of Littré and Weyrouboff and that is continued now in the *Société Nouvelle*. Moreover, M. Arnould has been from 1868 to 1873 chief editor of *La Liberté*, wherein many a battle for freethought has been fought. Besides 'La filosofia e la ricerca positiva,' Mr. Wheeler might have told us that Angiulli has written 'Questioni di filosofia contemporanea' and 'La pedagogia, lo stato, e la famiglia,' which are, from a philosophical point of view, two capital works. He ought also to have mentioned 'Les Harangues de l'Exil' of Bancel, which contain splendid pages, from a freethinker's point of view, about Voltaire, Rousseau, Montaigne, Pascal, Bossuet, and others. Mr. Wheeler knows Plato's reflection that "though it be the merit of a good huntsman to find game in a wide wood, it is no discredit if he does not find it all," and he has anyhow found enough to make a good and useful work, that was much needed, and for the completion of which we are anxiously waiting.

VICTOR DAVE.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 23, 1889.

17	Sun.	1600. Giordano Bruno burnt at Rome. 1794. Trial of Charles Sinclair for sedition. 1856. Heinrich Heine died. 1866. <i>Habeas Corpus</i> suspended in Ireland, about 250 suspects immediately arrested. 1880. Explosion of about 100 lbs. dynamite at Winter Palace, St. Petersburg; attempted by Kholturine, a cabinet-maker, an agent of the Executive Committee. 1880. A spy, Larkoff, killed in St. Petersburg by order of the Executive Committee. 1885. Revolt of political prisoners at Irkutsk; 9 soldiers and 30 exiles killed and wounded.
18	Mon.	1793. Trial of J. T. Callender, W. Berry, and J. Robertson for seditious libel. 1857. Unemployed meetings in Smithfield. 1879. Joseph Raynor Stephens died.
19	Tues.	1473. Copernicus born. 1619. Vanini burnt for heresy. 1820. Cato Street Conspiracy formed. 1858. "Conspiracy to Murder" Bill thrown out by House of Commons. 1861. Russian serfs freed. 1878. Myschkin hung.
20	Wed.	1694. Voltaire born. 1831. Poles defeat Russians at Grohow. 1855. Joseph Hume died. 1887. Congress of Belgian Co-operative Societies at Ghent.
21	Thur.	1667. Baruch Spinoza died. 1799. Trial of Rev. G. Wakefield for writing and John Cutbell for publishing a seditious libel. 1803. Colonel Despard and six others hanged for high treason. 1819. Carl Daniel Adolf Douai born. 1879. Prince Demetrius Kropotkin, Governor of Kharkoff, killed by revolutionists for cruel treatment of political prisoners. 1882. Trial of 20 for conspiracy to revolt: Soukhanoff (a naval officer) shot; 18 others to mines, many for life. 1886. Socialist demonstration in Hyde Park; 75,000 present. 1887. Great unemployed demonstration in Dublin.
22	Fri.	1787. First Convocation of Notables (France) began to sit. 1796. Trial of Thomas Kennedy for high treason; of Andrew Glennan and 12 others for conspiracy. 1811. Trial of John and Leigh Hunt for seditious libel. 1831. Miners' riots in Cornwall; at Helston to prevent shipment of corn, and at Blazey in defence of their "combination." 1855. Bread riots in London. 1864. Riot between Fenians and their opponents at the Rotunda, Dublin. 1875. Charles Lyell died.
23	Sat.	1716. Earls Derwentwater and Kenmare beheaded for rebellion. 1823. Trial of "Bottle Conspirators," Dublin, for alleged attempt on the Lord Lieutenant. 1842. Edward von Hartmann born. 1848. French Revolution begins. 1870. Anson Burlingame died. 1882. Marie Ferré died. 1885. Fenian Congress at Paris.

*François Haeck*.—Born at Zoersel, in the province of Antwerp, 1818; died at Brussels, February 3, 1889. His parents being very poor, young Haeck was compelled to leave school at an early age and become apprentice to a printer at Brussels. But he was desirous of learning, and attended as much as he could the evening classes in the capital. Particularly fond of mathematics and natural science, he soon attracted the attention of his teachers, and got on so wonderfully well that after a few years he was able to leave the printer's shop and to be himself a professor of mathematics. He soon afterwards published a book on infinitesimal calculation which is considered by specialists as a work of high value and merit. The study of advanced mathematics led him to the study of astronomy, physics, chemistry, and besides he became acquainted with matters financial, commercial, and industrial—so much so that he took to the study of political and social economy. He then became an adept of the Fourierist social doctrines, and to his last hour remained faithful to the economical conceptions of his youth. The Fourierist pure and simple, of course, was by and by transformed into a Socialist "guarantist," as the French word has it—i.e., that he was more and more favourable to such institutions as are able to guarantee, either by private initiative or by the power of association or by legislative interference, a better situation for the working-classes generally. Led forward by these principles, he became successively a member of the *Union démocratique*, of the Socialist party of the province Brabant, of the Reform League, and lately of the Socialist Workingmen's party. "The programme of that party," so he said once to his friend De Paepe, "is entirely in my own *desiderata*, and therefore I am amidst you; but my views are far ahead of yours, and I am always, as good old Fourier, for integral association, attractive labour, and free and complete development of all human faculties." He was also among the originators of the Belgian freethinkers' movement. In the last years of his life he devoted all his energy and all his financial means towards the solution of the dreadful question of alcoholism, and he has found that solution, not in teetotalism or any other bogus and philanthropic remedy, but in the scientific purification of strong liquors and in the absolute prevention of delivering any other drinks than those which have undergone that chemical purification. Comrade De Paepe, as a scientist, asserts that Haeck's invention would have sufficed to enrich him, and yet he only worked and overworked himself to fall step by step into the most unbearable misery. So often it is the fate of great and generous men. Anyhow, the time is wellnigh approaching when Haeck's service to the cause of humanity will be recognised. De Paepe says that he will be ranged among the greatest benefactors of mankind, for he will have discovered the only remedy to that appalling evil of alcoholism, more dreadful even than the *peste* of the middle ages. At any rate, the proletariat will surely have a kind remembrance for the humble and learned man who loved them and worked for them all his life through.—V. D.

**NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—The miners of Northumberland are demanding an advance of 10 per cent. in wages, 15 per cent. being asked by some lodges. A few months ago the men received an advance of 5 per cent. The employers have now proposed a sliding scale; but there is a strong disposition on the part of the men to reject it. The ballot papers examined in Newcastle on Saturday showed the voice of the county to be in favour of simply demanding a 10 per cent. advance.

**LANCASHIRE COTTON TRADE.**—A crisis has occurred in the trade. The Employers' Association having been informed by the North-east Lancashire card and blowing room operatives that they repudiate the Blackburn standard list of prices, serious complications are expected. In some sheds notices have already been given in. At Brierfield one shed, with 200 looms, is already stopped; another, with 300 looms, is working out; and another is partially stopped. The agitation to prohibit steaming in sheds is progressing, and the total signatures will not fall far short of 250,000. A meeting of Lancashire Members will consider the question early next Session.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, March 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Clerkenwell, to December. 1889:—Leicester, to January. Mitcham and North London, to February.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Commune Celebration.**—At this year's celebration, the choir will sing the "Marseillaise," "When the People have their own again," and "All for the Cause." All willing to take part are invited to practise along with the Hammersmith choir, which meets every Thursday at 7.30 prompt.

**Children's Party.**—A Children's Party will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on March 12th. Subscriptions, etc., can be sent to the Secretary, Mrs. Groser, 19, Rigault Road, Fulham. The Committee will meet at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Feb. 19th, at 7.30 p.m. All members of the Committee are asked to attend.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

**NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.**—Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, February 19th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members who are interested in the propaganda are asked to attend. Leaflet on "Commune" by Sparling and Dave will be read.  
D. J. NICOLL.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA.**—At Leman Street, Cores and Turner addressed a short meeting here on Sunday morning. At Clerkenwell Green on Sunday evening, a good meeting was held by Mainwaring, Cores, Hicks, and Parker. Some comrades also assisted at the great Anti-Coercion Demonstration at Hyde Park last Sunday.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning, in spite of snow; speakers were Dean and Maughan, and Crouch (S.D.F.); choir assisted. At night, the hall was fairly full to hear Belfort Bax lecture on "The Marxian Theory of Value." This branch has now been for a long time in fine condition and working well, between 30 and 40 members attending the business meetings. Several open-air meetings have been regularly kept up throughout the winter. As the weather improves new stations will be taken up, and we are preparing for a rousing propaganda.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 4th, Leatham read lecture on "Revolution by Reform," Slater in chair. Stormy discussion at close. Outdoor work rendered impossible by wind and snow.—J. L.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Wednesday 6th, J. Gilray read essay on Matthew Arnold's "Social Ideals" to Old Greyfriars Literary Society. The subject was, of course, dealt with from a Socialist standpoint. There was a good attendance, and an animated discussion, in which comrade Milliet took part.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday evening, we held a meeting on Jail Square, Pollock and Glasier being the speakers; owing to the cold weather the meeting was not large. On Sunday, at 5, Pollock and Joe Burgoyne addressed a fair meeting at Paisley Road. At 7 o'clock William Morris gave a lecture on the "Society of the Future," in the Albion Hall. There were some 600 or 700 present—a large audience considering the cold weather and the unfavourable situation of the hall. The lecture, which was listened to with great attention and frequently applauded, obviously made a deep impression on the audience. Quite a number of questions were put to Morris at the close, which he answered with his characteristic vigour and aptness of illustration. A resolution in favour of Socialism was carried with only one dissident. Some seven quires of *Commonweal* were sold and a considerable amount of literature. Financially the meeting was a success. A gathering of members took place in our Rooms at midday to meet Morris and discuss propaganda matters. The gathering was not so large as it ought to have been. No special intimation was sent to members, and in future members must depend for branch intimations upon announcements in the *Weal*. On Tuesday Morris addressed the students of the School of Art on "Arts and Crafts."

**NORWICH.**—Kitz, who was sent here last week by the Council, reports that a good meeting took place in the Market Place at 3 p.m. on Sunday; a crowd of about 1,000 stood in the midst of a severe snowstorm for over an hour, and paid close attention to the speeches; 11s. collected for Mowbray fund. Fair audience in Gordon Hall at night despite the terribly inclement evening. The audience was of the right sort, critical and attentive. Songs and readings wound up an enjoyable evening. Comrade Kitz has received most encouraging reports of Yarmouth, a sturdy movement going on there; and as to Norwich they are pulling together well, and are likely to soon attain once more the position they had temporarily lost.

**YARMOUTH.**—Two successful meetings here, Sunday 10th, on the Priory Plain, in the morning at 11 a.m., and in the afternoon at 3 p.m. Mowbray gave a stirring address at the morning meeting, Reynolds in the chair. In the afternoon Ruffold in the chair, Reynolds gave a short address. Several new members have joined branch. Last Sunday night Reynolds was appointed secretary, and Ruffold treasurer.—C. R.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday February 17, at 8.30, Brookes, "The French Revolution of '89." Sun. 24, Mrs. Schack, "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement." Sun. March 3, H. Davis, "Objections to Socialism Answered."

**East London.**—26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. Members and friends desiring to join this branch should at once send their names to the secretary, H. Davis, 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday February 17, at 8 p.m., S. Bullock, "Adulteration."

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb 17, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Wednesday 20, John Burns (S.D.F.), "Socialism from a Workman's Standpoint." Thursday 21st, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 22nd, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda.

**Hoxton.**—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Business meetings held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Friday February 22, Nicoll will read Kropotkin's "Spirit of Revolt."

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street. All persons desirous of joining are requested to communicate with A. Coulon at above address.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, Duke Street.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—Business meetings every Monday at 8 p.m. See below for open-air propaganda. C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, Secretary.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

### SUNDAY 17.

11.30.....	Latimer Road Station .....	Hammersmith Branch.
11.30.....	Regent's Park .....	Mainwaring.
11.30.....	Walham Green, opposite Station .....	The Branch.
3.30.....	Hyde Park .....	Parker and Nicoll.
3.30.....	Victoria Park .....	Mrs. Schack and Turner
7.30.....	Clerkenwell Green .....	Parker.
7.30.....	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....	Hammersmith Branch.

### TUESDAY 19.

8.30.....	Fulham—back of Walham Green Church .....	The Branch.
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### EAST END.

#### SUNDAY 17.

11 .....	Leman Street, Shadwell.....	Hicks and Turner.
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## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

**NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB,** 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday February 17, at 8.30, Mr. Henry Kershaw, "Manhood."

**INTERNATIONAL W.M.'S CLUB,** 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.—A GRAND MASQUERADE will take place on Saturday February 16, in aid of the revolutionary propaganda. Tickets 6d. each.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday February 15, at 7.30 p.m., to enroll members and receive subscriptions.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The seventh and concluding lecture will be delivered on Sunday March 3rd by Hubert Bland—"The Outlook."

**ARBEITER-BUND GLEICHHEIT,** 38 Charles Square, Brunswick Place, City Road.—This Club has started work, and will be pleased to receive visits from friends or enroll new members.—H. Schwarzenberg, Sec.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH S.D.F.,** New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.—Sunday February 17, at 8 p.m., H. W. Hobart, "Deferred, not Defeated." Tuesday 19th, 8 p.m., Sydney Olivier, B.A. (Fabian Society), "English Socialism in Theory and Practice."

**IPSWICH LABOUR LEAGUE.**—Pioneer Club, Theatre Yard, Tacket Street.—The members of the above League, representing all shades of political opinion, do vigorously and indignantly protest against the inhuman and brutal treatment by the Tory Government of the Irish people, especially in regard to the disgraceful and senseless indignities heaped on its representatives that has now culminated on the patriot and undaunted foe Mr. O'Brien, M.P.; and we likewise heartily sympathise with all men despotically imprisoned in fighting for justice and freedom of speech in England.—J. REID.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d  
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"The Confluents of Socialism," B. Malon; "The Right to Strike, and its Consequences," P. Boilly; "Violence," G. Tridon; "Essay on Scientific Socialism," P. Argyriades; "Alcoholism," E. Fourniere; "Alarm Cry," A. Veber; "Socialist poetry," E. Herbel; "Mme. de Barrau," Emile de Morsier; "Social Movement," A. Verber; Correspondence; Books.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

At the meeting for considering the housing of the poor, Mr. Rowlands said that the present movement in that direction was not "political bird-lime." We may thank Mr. Rowlands for teaching us that word, and go on to say that it would be indeed disgusting if it were; a quite horrible thing to think of, that it should be possible for any set of men to make a false pretence of raising an agitation to house those like men who are now housed worse than dogs! To pretend that you are going to take trouble to make a man happier, when in fact you are only taking trouble to get his vote!

Yet "he who excuses himself accuses himself," says the proverb; and it is clear that Mr. Rowlands thinks that there may be people who would bring this accusation with some show of reason; for "politics" have waded through such seas of mud and blood, that it has become impossible to clean them.

However, though we are forced to allow that there are probably some of those who are setting on foot this matter who are really on the bird-liming business, it would be unfair to assume that of all of them. After all, politics must have hardened a man's heart to stone, if he (being otherwise than a malicious fool) is not disturbed by the thought of a London slum, and would not do something to amend it. Besides, the fact that the political bird-lime is spread on this twig shows that the workers are beginning to think something of their own condition; and that is the first step to their changing it altogether.

It is certainly an indication of the direction in which things are moving that our friend the *Star*, which, once for all, whatever may be its merits or demerits, is the London Radical paper, has this sentence in its leader on the St. James's Hall meeting: "*There is no scheme which the wit of man can devise by which the poor can be made less poor without making the rich less rich.*" This is not Radicalism of ten years ago; not even the five years ago "Socialism plus the Ten Commandments"—which latter some people think were made in the interests of the "property" of the nineteenth century—i.e., to control the poor and leave the rich free. On the contrary, it is a direct attack on private property.

When, however, we get to looking into what it is proposed to do, we Socialists cannot help seeing that the measures proposed are not only timid, but are insufficient also. Sir C. Russell said in his speech that the model (ugh!) lodgings of the Peabody and Waterlow companies were not inhabited by the poor of the working classes, but by those earning large wages (considerably less than Sir Charles "earns," however!), and were let at prices that could not be paid by the ordinary working-man. If that is the case—and I have not seen it denied—then this means that the ordinary working-man cannot pay the market price for tolerably (or not quite tolerable) decent lodgings: so that the least the municipality can do is to see that no lodgings are below that standard of decency, the price for which the ordinary working-man cannot pay: for if any such lower lodgings exist, he will infallibly be driven into them by the force of the action of the market.

But if all lodgings come up to this standard of decency, and the ordinary working-man is able, owing to the action of the municipality, to occupy them, that will mean just this, that the house-rent of the worker will be lowered. "Well," some will say, "a very good thing too." Doubtless, in itself; but please, my friends, note the weight of the chain which binds you. If your house-rent were lowered, you would with your present wages have more to spend on your clothes and food. Therefore, since though there would be a law keeping lodging up to a certain standard of decency, there would be none for keeping wages up to a certain point, your wages would fall under the influence of competition. Paying lower rent you would not need so much wages to buy your food and clothes, and consequently would not get as much; since the pinch of hunger would always force the poorest to undersell the others in the labour-market. This would happen unless you brought some form of compulsion to bear upon your masters,

and forced them to pay you the same wages as before your rents were lowered; and even then they would find some means of evading any agreement you might come to.

For you must understand that you workmen are not paid in proportion to the work you do, but are paid just as little above mere subsistence (or starvation) wages as you will take without rebelling in some way. The natural operation of the labour-market forces you to accept subsistence such as a stingy slave-owner provides for slaves, whose labour can be done by almost any one, and whose places as beasts of burden can be readily supplied when they drop. Whatever any of you have got more than this, you have got, as the *Star* hints to you, by forcing your masters to give back to you some of the plunder they have stolen from you; stolen by means of the very poverty of you, which some of them are even now, hypocritically or ignorantly, deploring.

Some of the plunder you have forced them to give back to you, but how little! And even that little you get from them on the terms that you shall allow a vast number of the workers to be not in the least above that lowest standard of the over-driven underfed horse; to live a life as miserable as that of any slave that the world has yet seen. A life that would be but mere torture to any one who had not been compelled by the habit of his slavery to renounce the hopes and feelings of a man.

It is little indeed that you have forced your masters to yield to you; but you see you can force them to give up something. Put your hands to the task and force them to leave off plundering you altogether! That also can be done when you are determined to do it.

It is good indeed that London slums should be abolished—perhaps on any terms. But if only they could be abolished at the expense of those whose robbery has bred them! These half-measures if they succeed in abolishing them, which they will not, mean abolishing them at the expense of the poor who have suffered and do suffer by them. If this is all democracy can do, let it make haste to melt into Socialism, which alone can destroy poverty and riches, and all the grist of misery which these two mill-stones have ground between them. W. M.

### FREE versus STATE COMMUNISM.

SINCE the introduction of the new Local Government Bill by the Tories, and in view of the establishment of the County Council, there are many well-meaning persons whose hopes have been raised by the prospect of this measure. There are also many who point to it as the silencer of the clamorous Free-Communist.

Now, although much might be said to the former set of well-meaning persons, as to their position with respect to this "reform," I intend to deal more particularly with the latter—i.e., those who think that it will form a basis for all that the Anarchist-Communist desires.

This group may be broadly described as Parliamentary Socialists, who have hitherto regarded the State-machine—the House of Commons—as the undeveloped Hercules, which will, when grown sufficiently strong, take the burdens of the country on its strong shoulders and thus relieve us of any further trouble. Again and again have we been told by these people that every modern Act of Parliament, from the first Irish Land Bill to the last Employers' Liability Act, unmistakably indicates the direction whither we are tending. "Our modern civilisation," says Gronlund, "mainly consists in this: that the State—that is, society in its organised form—has been constantly expanding its jurisdiction, and has more and more contracted the sphere of individual ownership and control. Why, nearly everything the State now manages for us was once entrusted to private individuals" ('Co-operative Commonwealth,' p. 94). Gronlund may be considered something of a master of State-Socialism, and there are many, both in this country and in America, who have followed his teaching. "In the fulness of time," according to his dictum, Parliament will take over the land, and all other means of labour, and administer them from the centre in the

interests of the whole community. Centralisation was the ideal of his followers, the House of Commons the great engine by which this was to be brought about: in fact, the perfection of the State was the end of all things.

Now, however, with many who but a short time ago held this view all is changed. The new Local Government Bill has acted like a magic charm on them—they are Communists now, and their ideal is *decentralisation*! "We are in favour of the establishment of local communes, each retaining its own autonomy—that is to say, each commune self-governing." This is the description one often hears nowadays from our friends the State-Communists; and we are as often assured that the free-communal system advocated by the anti-Parliamentary Socialist and this scheme is really identical. Let us therefore examine both schemes and see whether it is true.

After the establishment of the State-communal system, the representative body in each commune would wield authority quite as much as the central representative body of to-day. Monopoly is carried on mainly by individuals to-day, who are more or less divided in their mode of doing "business," and may really be described as scattered. In one place we behold a landlord, in another a capitalist, in another a money-lender, each engaged in backing up "his own private interests"; and although it is true they, when taken together, monopolise the whole of the resources of the country between them, it is also true that they are separate in their general mode of working, their motto being "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Thus we are afforded the opportunity of choosing, to a small extent, our immediate master. But under the State-communal system the means of labour would fall under the entire control of the communal committee. This committee being the only monopolist, would constitute itself landlord, capitalist, and money-lender. Monopoly in each commune having now become intensified to its utmost capacity, there would be but one master—viz., the communal committee.

Now, the Free-Communist, on the other hand, would destroy all such monopoly, and thus prevent authority arising therefrom. The commune, as I understand it, does not imply the "legislative" committee at all. All committees, under Free-Communism, must, in every sense, become the servants of those who have sanctioned their formation, but they must not attempt to legislate. The functions of the legislative committee is to make laws for others to obey; which again implies representative government, and its necessary counterpart—masters and slaves.

The Free-Communist believes that the people, once having obtained the free use of land and tools of production would group themselves in industrial circles, in such a way that each individual would be enabled to obtain the necessities and luxuries of life with the expenditure of the least labour-force.

I can imagine the necessity for committees, even under Free-Communism, the work of which may be of a varied character; but for all that, their duties would be essentially of a transitory and superficial nature. I can even imagine one of these committees trying to assume more important functions than those conferred on it. The instant it attempted to do so it would commence to legislate, and if it were to succeed it would become the *governor* of those whose servant it was before. Any such attempt, however, on the part of the committee is doomed to failure, because the people are now economically free, and cannot again be made slaves. Committees may make laws to their heart's content, but if they do not possess the "resources of civilisation" with which to enforce their rule, they may save themselves the trouble, for no one will dream of obeying their mandate.

Our sufferings to-day may be truly said to be due to the enforcement of too much prescriptive (committee-made) law, which we recognise to be an artificial means of supporting an equally artificial system of society. "Would you have people do as they like?" is often asked when we urge this view. We answer in the affirmative, and point out that it is only necessary to place people under conditions in which the interests of the individual are identical, and then we need not fear the result from each doing as he likes. Of course, in a society such as we live in, which is, first, divided into classes, the individuals in each class divided, their interests ever conflicting, *competition*—i.e., war—being the arbiter as to who shall succeed—is it any wonder that we forbid each to do as he likes? But when the classes are welded together, and the concern of one is really the concern of all; in short, when there is but one class, governed by voluntary *co-operation* instead of *competition*, the conflict in society which we now witness will come to an end. Emulation will doubtless find a fitting place in such a society. As J. S. Mill ('Political Economy,' Ch. 1, Book 2, p. 127) has very ably pointed out: "But the power also of emulation, in exciting to the most strenuous exertions for the sake of the approbation and admiration of others, is borne witness to by experience in every situation in which human beings publicly compete with one another, even if it be in things frivolous, or from which the public derive no benefit."

Before we can obtain this condition of society, however, we must destroy all State-regulated authority, whether national or communal.

The contention that the people are not good enough to manage their own affairs is no longer regarded as serious; the people are even beginning to question the democratic motto, "Government for the people and by the people," as something that is not all perfect. At every turn of the overburdened lives of the toiling masses they are face to face with the creature of government—authority—which seems to lie at the bottom of all their miseries; and we may be sure that when this view of the situation is well established in the minds of the workers, woe betide those who clamour for more government.

H. DAVIS.

## THE END OF A WORLD.

A VERY interesting review of the remarkable work lately published by E. Drumont entitled 'La fin d'un monde,' appears in the last issue of the Socialist magazine *La Société Nouvelle*. The author, as the reviewer remarks, shows to what a state of decomposition society has arrived, highly civilised as it is supposed to be. By "the end of a world" M. Drumont means the end of one form of civilisation, of a particular social system. It is the end of bourgeois society, of capitalism, to which he points; and his cry, Down with the Jews! Death to the Jews! must be interpreted, Down with the exploitation of labour by capital.

The author points out in a very forcible manner how the change from theocratic monarchic society—that which was founded on divine right—to the bourgeois democracy, to capitalism, affected prejudicially the great mass of the workers.

"Capitalism deeming itself bound by no moral obligation to those whose labour it utilised, conceived the toil which suffers no repose, allows no truce, toil which leaves to the human being not one minute for recreation, for prayer, for thought, and called it Progress, the Triumph of the Nineteenth Century, the Glory of the new era. Theocratic society had made work a means to gain heaven without suffering too much upon earth (the Church guaranteed to the worker ninety days rest in the course of the year, days on which it was strictly forbidden to work); Capitalism made it the path to immediate hell."

But the most interesting portion of the work is that which indicates the signs that capitalism approaches dissolution. As the great feudal system was established at the cost of the holders of small fiefs, so the great capitalist system has been constituted at the expense of the small capitalists. This concentration has been going on for some years with terrible rapidity; it crushes the weak with pitiless might, and it is dividing the bourgeoisie into two bodies—the wealthy, who use their wealth as a means to exploit labour, and that more meritorious body which does some sort of work but which is being thrust back into the proletariat. The reign of the bourgeoisie, then, draws to a close, for it is dismembered; the one part is being absorbed into the proletariat, the other resolves itself into a form of aristocracy which has no analogy in history—a titled plutocracy rather than an aristocracy in the old sense of the word (the government of the best); a hybrid class, luxurious, timid, greedy, daring nothing without the permission of Rothschild.

The last fortress of the bourgeoisie is government and the House of Commons. There the family is assembled, bourgeois from head to foot. The Conservatives submit themselves willingly to the Liberals, provided they don't touch their property; the Republicans will put up with a monarchy, provided they keep their offices. They exchange opinions on these matters in the lobby, where they are boon companions; then they take their seats in the house and pretend to wrangle so as to amuse the people and make them forget that they are dying of hunger.

M. Drumont is of opinion that it needs only a spark to set in full blaze the heap of combustible matter upon which society rests to-day. A great change has come over the people since 1870, a new sentiment has taken possession of the French people—that of hatred. There is more difference between the people of that time and the people of to-day than there was formerly between men who lived two centuries apart. Even their faces have altered. A man of the people in face of a bourgeois can scarcely disguise the aversion with which he regards him. Women, young women, who were formerly unacquainted with these matters, who endeavoured rather to calm, to appease, to humanise, have become even more passionate than the men.

To sum up, says the reviewer, it is evident that in M. Drumont's opinion our social organisation, which has no other foundation than the love of wealth, the pursuit of wealth by all and any means, cannot longer endure; it is irretrievably condemned to destruction, and order no longer exists save in appearance.

A sad conclusion this for those who, like M. Drumont, fail to see how order will be evolved out of this disorder, who have not the hope that is in our hearts, who have not the conviction that is in our minds, that the end of a system, the crash of a world, heralds the birth of the new society, the triumph of Socialism and of humanity.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

TRAMWAY SLAVES.—These poor creatures must feel rejoiced at the success of the masters they slave for. Why should they not? Surely their hearts must rejoice when they hear £1,000,000, the results of their labour, have gone into the pockets of the shareholders of the North Metropolitan Tramway Company. The company is flourishing. People who want to live without labour, and who have already monopolised some of this world's common wealth, will hasten to speculate if they have the chance. Imagine 9½ per cent. half-yearly dividend, £53,837 clear half-yearly profit. Here are tidings of joy. The slaves have their paltry weekly wage docked upon this or that excuse, real or imaginary. But are they not receiving a constant wage? Have they not regular employment? What matters it if a trifling deduction is made now and again? They must consider themselves fortunate that their masters have been so good and kind as to employ them. So much for popular errors of the passing age of ignorance. Now behold the faint light of the new age struggling to dispel the darkness in which we find ourselves enveloped! The slaves are beginning to ask what does it all mean. Should we who have toiled for the past six months, we who faced the inclemencies of the weather, we who have slaved harder than the horses that drag the cars, should we not have had that £53,837? We have done the work, but the men who have got the money have done nothing for what they have received. Surely there must be fraud somewhere? Yes, there most undoubtedly is, and it is because our whole system is based upon similar fraud, sanctioned and enforced by law, that the wage-slaves have been so long in discovering it.—A. B.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

The great strike on the New York tramcar system is practically ended, and, as might have been foreseen, with a defeat of the workers. Never since the year of chronic strikes, 1886, has New York been confronted with a conflict between capital and labour of such magnitude. The strikers, to their honour it must be said, have stood up like men till the last moment for their rights and the rights of organised labour in general, and the complete failure of the strike, or rather the crushing defeat of the men, must be attributed to bad generalship—bad beyond degree—on the part of the leaders. This cowardly and at the same time stuck-up gang belong to the miserable crew who had ill manners enough, even after the Indianapolis disclosures, to present General Master Swindler Powderly, when last in New York about two months ago, for the “eminent services rendered by him”—in ruining the Knights of Labour organisations—with a gold-headed cane.

Ever since the beginning of this year trouble has been brewing between the bosses and the employes of the railroad companies. The workers through their executive committee had drawn up an “agreement” to serve as basis for the relations between masters and men for 1889. The two principal points demanded in this document were two dollars minimum wage a day and ten hours work instead of twelve,—surely demands none too revolutionary, and which certainly might have been easily conceded by the companies, especially when it is considered that each of these companies pays at least 25 per cent. dividend a year, in spite of “watered” stock. But the smart, business-experienced presidents of the soulless corporations knew their day had come; they were determined to break up the organisation of their men and to substitute the trip system for the wages system. By the trip system the men are paid for each trip made, and through this they frequently have to be on duty for sixteen hours while only getting compensation for about ten hours work done. The employes were flatly told that the companies did not feel disposed to sign any “agreement,” and all attempts made by the men to induce the companies to submit all matters in dispute to a board of arbitration chosen by the companies themselves resulted in nothing. “There is nothing to arbitrate,” coolly answered the presidents. After that, nothing could be done by the workers but to strike or to sacrifice their organisation. A secret ballot had been taken in all the New York assemblies belonging to Knights of Labour national district assembly No. 226, and they all voted for a tie-up. In the early morning of January 29th twenty-one roads were tied-up, throwing altogether about 6,500 men out of employment. Hardly ever before were men animated by a firmer spirit of solidarity, of devotion to a cause. They all seemed to fully grasp the idea that they had either to win or submit in future to the most unjust and arbitrary treatment. Even after everybody, even the most optimistic, had to admit that the strike was lost, the desertions from the ranks were few and far between. However, an element has appeared of late in labour struggles which will make it hardly possible for any strike to be won: a superabundance of unemployed workmen—“scabs,” in other words. For each man who goes out on strike ten instantly stand ready to take his place. So large have the numbers of the unemployed become that even a capitalistic paper like the *Herald* is compelled to say editorially:

“The whole story, on all sides of it, is a tragedy. It is full of suffering, misery, a struggle for life in a city that is overcrowded with workmen who vainly seek for the means to buy bread and coal. There is a question for political economists, for charitable church people to discuss, and it is an enormous question. We confess that it seems to us far greater than any problem presented by current politics. The tariff is a side issue and can be left to solve itself; the federal surplus is insignificant. But how shall we provide work for willing hands? how shall we enable these thousands of idlers to get an honest living? how shall we prevent them from settling down into a discontented, revolutionary and dangerous class? There, gentlemen of New York, you have the most solemn, the most pressing and the most impressive problem of the hour. It is not disposed of when this strike breaks. Not by any means. It will come up again, in a new shape perhaps, but come up it will in some shape, until the wisdom of the country has established right relations between capital and labour.”

The companies soon had more applicants for work than they had jobs to distribute. Police-superintendent Murray was at once notified of the tie-up, and set about arranging ostensibly for the protection of life and property, in reality for helping the companies to win. The police, as usual, through the whole trouble acted like the wild beasts they are. The following story, which I clipped from a capitalistic paper, may give an idea of the brutality of a free country's police:

“You three men go and clean out that saloon; use your sticks gently.” Captain Killilea, of the Twenty-second precinct, gave this order to three of his policemen yesterday afternoon. The place designated was ‘The Belt Line Oyster and Dining Saloon,’ with seats reserved for ladies, that is operated, as the name suggests, for the refreshment of the employes of the Central Park, North and East River Railroad Company. It is directly opposite the stables, on Tenth Avenue, between Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth streets. This restaurant is a rendezvous for strikers and their allies during each cessation of hostilities. Two of the policemen forced their way into the place, where about fifty hungry strikers thought themselves secure from persecution. The third officer stood at the door without, and as the inmates of the trap emerged as if under propulsion by a powerful spring, he was hit by the stick of the officer in waiting on the most convenient part of his anatomy. Captain Killilea's admonition for gentleness may have been obeyed, but the horrid cries of pain that were wrung from each striker as he was struck sounded as if uttered in sincerity.”

They used their clubs in the most brutal manner; they were instructed to “shoot to kill,” as Inspector Williams, the Bontfield of New York, put it.

The second day of the tie-up the cars began to run again, in the beginning generally “passengered” by policemen. There was, considering the action of the police in protecting the interests of the companies, and the facts of the existence of the unemployed, but one course open to be pursued by the strikers: To make it by any or by all means impossible for the companies to run any car. “But we would through such action lose the sympathy of the public,” one of the leaders remarked to me. The sympathy of the public be d—d! Mere sympathy does no good to a starving man. Might only can as yet ensure right in this world. The sympathy of the public never—anyhow, not in this case—took any substantial shape; in fact, as soon as the cars began to run again they were soon used by the public, and amongst the first persons who availed themselves of the opportunity to ride in cars happened to be that queer specimen of exquisite and comely womanliness—the American lady.

On some points the strikers tried the obstruction policy. Rocks were piled on the tracks, barricades were built, ashes and dung were dumped in the streets, but as this was only done in few instances it produced hardly any effect. Many collisions occurred between the strikers and the police,

but no life was lost. The strike is over, and organised labour let it be hoped has gained one more experience. In Brooklyn, things took much the same shape.

On January 30th, Judge Barrett, of the New York Supreme Court, dissolved the North River Sugar Refining Company because, as he decided previously, it forfeited its charter by becoming a member of the Sugar Trust. The judge also appointed a receiver of the company's property, who is required to realise all assets and distribute the cash among the stockholders. As this company by order of the trust has for some time ceased to manufacture sugar, the ruling of the judge will not alter the position of the trust.

Hugh O. Pentecost, the brilliant seceder from the Protestant Church, says in the issue of the *Twentieth Century* of February 2nd, referring to the legal decision about trusts:

“Judge Barrett has decided that the North River Sugar Refining Company has forfeited its charter by joining the Sugar Trust, and this is called by the papers a ‘great blow at trusts.’ But a stockholder in the Sugar Trust told me the day after the decision that he did not wish to sell his stock because, as he explained, this case will be appealed, and if Judge Barrett's decision is confirmed it is only against one of the smallest concerns in the trust, which has been idle for some time, and there are fifteen other refineries which will each have to be proceeded against in the same manner and whose cases must be similarly decided before the trust is destroyed, and if it ultimately is broken up, by that time ‘some other method’ will have been discovered to accomplish the purpose which the trust has in view, which, this stockholder says, is ‘to make more money than by the old methods.’ When we consider ‘the law's delays’ and that the Sugar Trust represents about fifty millions of dollars, I presume the stockholders are right in not wishing to sell their stock. But Judge Barrett's decision was a great opportunity for the moral editors of the daily papers. There is nothing like being zealous for reforms which cannot be accomplished and would amount to nothing, economically, if they could.”

The different express companies, eight in number, of the United States, have signed an “agreement,” that is they formed a combination commonly known as a trust. In their circular the following significant paragraph occurs: “It will be necessary to call a convention of the several superintendents of the express companies so as to arrange the future conduct of the business relating to the fixing of rates.”

A gigantic combination of the leading cattle men of Kansas, Texas, Colorado, Montana, Indian Territory, and New Mexico is about to be effected. The principal purpose of the combine is to avoid the commission merchant. So the game of combination is going on swimmingly.

The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company on the 1st inst., shut down sixteen of its collieries in the Schuylkill region, and 4,000 men are thrown out. The remainder of the company's collieries, thirty-five in number, are working three-quarter time. The men have not yet recovered from the effects of the strike they lost about a year ago. Starvation will be the lot of most of them.

Newark, N.J., February 5, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 2, 1889.

24	Sun.	1468. Gutenberg died. 1794. D. I. Eaton tried for publishing a seditious libel. 1796. Trial of Patrick Hart for high treason. 1806. Trial of Governor Picton for inflicting torture. 1810. Trial of John Lambert and James Perry for libel. 1817. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act. 1848. Louis Philippe abdicated: Second French Republic proclaimed by Louis Blanc from the steps of the Hotel de Ville.
25	Mon.	1847. Samuel Fielden born. 1848. Tricolor Flag adopted by French Republic. 1858. Trial of Orsini.
26	Tues.	1786. D. F. Arago born. 1793. Thomas Spence tried for selling ‘Rights of Man.’ 1797. Banks suspended cash payments. 1852. Thomas Moore died. 1884. Explosion at Victoria and attempts at other London railway stations.
27	Wed.	1534. “Kingdom of God” established in Münster. 1833. From July 26, 1832, to this date 254 persons imprisoned in London for selling unstamped papers. 1843. Amouroux born. 1854. Lamennais died.
28	Thur.	1533. Montaigne born. 1799. Thomas Muir died at Paris. 1869. De Lamartine died. 1878. Insurrection in Thessaly.
1	Fri.	1769. Williams pilloried for publishing <i>North Briton</i> . 1787. First Convocation of Notables during administration of M. de Calonne. 1789. J. R. McCulloch born. 1791. Riot at Dublin, provoked by police at annual masquerade at “The New Rooms,” Rutland Square: police beaten, several of them killed and many wounded. 1796. Reform riot in Manchester Theatre. 1843. Trial of Feargus O'Connor and 58 others begun at Lancaster.
2	Sat.	1629. Speaker held in the Chair while the House of Commons passed a motion condemning the king's policy. 1882. Attempt to shoot the Queen.

*Adolphe Clémence.*—Born at Paris, 1842; died in the same town, Feb. 5, 1889. In the last years of the Third Empire, he joined with Varlin, Malon, Franckel, and others the International Workingmen's Association (1st Parisian Bureau) and devoted all his leisure hours to the propagation of the social revolutionary ideas mainly embodied at that time in the above-named organisation. In March 1871 he was elected by 8,000 votes member of the Paris Commune for the fourth district of Paris. After the defeat he succeeded in leaving Paris and went to Lausanne, where he lived in exile for more than fifteen years. He also spent some time in London. He came back to Paris in 1886. Adolphe Clémence was a bookbinder by trade, and soon became an artist in his profession. In 1867 he wrote for the Bookbinders' Trade Union a book on Bookbinding as an Art, which was eagerly looked for by all bibliophiles at the time, and is now very scarce. When the Paris Municipal Council was engaged on the “Ecole du Livre,” it at once consulted Clémence, who was able than any one else to give them valuable technical hints as to the ways and means of creating such an institution under the best circumstances. Comrade Lefrançais retraced his career over his grave in the Cemetery of Bayeux.—V. D.

The Dundee rope and twine spinners have resolved to demand an increase of 2s. per week.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN KNEW IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMNED IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. A.—In addition to the books we named last week, a Polish friend highly recommends J. Pnyjowski's 'Sketches of the Polish Mind.' Lond. 1857, 8vo. **WILL BE USED.**—"Growing Respectable," J. H. W.; "Liberal Malignity," Edgworth; "To West-end Tailors," Myer Wilchinski.  
H. C. (Newark, N.J.).—Send on conclusion of translated paper.

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ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY
Justice	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Labour Elector	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
London—Freie Presse	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Cremona—L'Eco del Popolo
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	
Railway Review	San Francisco—Pacific Union	SPAIN
Social Demokrat	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Seville—La Solidaridad
Telegraph Service Gazette	Denver—Arbitrator	Madrid—El Socialista
Unity	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	PORTUGAL
		Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
INDIA		Porto—A Revolucao Social
Bankipore—Behar Herald	PARIS—L'Egalite (daily)	GERMANY
Madras—People's Friend	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
UNITED STATES	Le Coup de Feu	Wien—Gleichheit
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revue Socialiste	Brunn—Volksfreund
Freiheit	Pobudka	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	HUNGARY
Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Jewish Volkszeitung		DENMARK
Workmen's Advocate	SWITZERLAND	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Arbeiterstimme	SWEDEN
Liberty		Malmo—Arbetet
Chicago—Knights of Labor	BELGIUM	WEST INDIES
Vorbote	Ghent—Vooruit	Cuba—El Productor
Baecker Zeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	
	Liege—L'Avenir	

## A STRAIGHT TALK TO WORKING-MEN.

FELLOW-WORKERS,—The time has now come when we, the workers of all countries, should begin to consider the causes and effects of our present poverty and wretchedness. Poverty which we have battled against so long and often, by all means, including thrift, abstention from alcohol, from meat, and from necessary recreation, but in vain. It seems that the harder we work and the more work we do, the more profit we make for our masters and the less time and opportunity for ourselves. And in the struggle to get on, we often become victims to some form of chronic disease, and die a slow and miserable death long before our time. Even when we can provide against sickness and slackness of trade, and the many other unexpected cares which are part of our lives, we find that it is impossible, even for a skilled mechanic, to live in anything like the comfort that he desires. On our insufficient and uncertain wages we are expected to be self-respecting, independent, and honest—virtues which the rich themselves have not as yet cultivated.

Now we propose that all people shall have equality of opportunity and the right to use all the great gifts of Nature according to their

needs. We do know this, that the land and all the means of producing wealth are in the possession of a few—a small class—and this class came by these things not by honest toil, but by force or fraud, either by past robberies or from the unpaid labour of their workers; and we Socialists intend that the workers shall get possession of the land and machinery, and means of transportation and transit, and that these shall be used by all and for all. The land, which no man made, is claimed and now held by a few idlers, who, because of the increase of the population and their needs, manage to extort enormous rents from the actual workers, for the use of that which the landlord class have not in any way helped to produce or enhance in value. In 1810 they took from the people of the United Kingdom twenty millions as rent, but now they get more than two hundred millions yearly.

Now it does not require a great amount of education to understand that all persons who do not work, are living on those that do. Call them princes, priests, bondholders, politicians, or by any other name, they are all the same as pickpockets, for they consume the best of everything and produce nothing—except it be vice and misery of all kinds. And when our masters kindly allow us to work for them, they give us back a week later, just to keep us going, a small part of what we have previously produced, and they call that our wages. Their horses and mules they feed as soon as they buy them, and doctor them when sick, but we have to keep ourselves and families a whole week, and sometimes longer, before we can get back less than a third of the wealth that our own labour has produced; and if we fall ill we may go to the hospital or workhouse.

Now, we have eminent statisticians recording that out of the thirteen hundred millions that are annually produced, only four hundred and fifty millions go to the workers as wages. The other eight hundred and fifty millions are divided amongst the landlords, shareholders, money-lenders, and other sweaters, who "rob the workers all the week and praise their God on Sunday." They thrive on our misery and degradation, no matter on what part of the earth we were born. They and their so-called newspapers have succeeded, unfortunately, in setting us against one another, so that they may be better able to keep us in ignorance and fleece us. And when they can no longer make "enough" profit out of us, they invest their money in other lands where the people can live cheaper, or import cheap labour, and so make the desired profit. Then we are turned adrift to compete with the thousands of other victims of this rotten commercial system, at the dock-gates or at other similar drudgery. Our savings, if we have any, soon go; our clothes and other things that were so long coming, have to go to pawn; and as we get more shabby and miserable-looking day by day, our chances of employment get less and less, till at last we drift into the ever-increasing army of the unemployed—outcasts of the present diabolical system.

Therefore, we must combine with all workers and would-be workers, and agitate by night and day, using all available means and standing all together against the common enemy—the Exploiter. It is now that we begin to feel the effects of our boasted Civilisation, Christianity, Arts, Sciences, and English freedom, and what good Governments are, or ever have been, to the workers. We cannot get credit to the smallest amount; our property is not sufficient security for a single day's food. The rich man, who has never worked, can get credit from anyone to an enormous extent, and if he cannot or does not pay, then he may by some legal process get off with a shilling in the pound. Now we claim that all wealth is produced by labour of head or hand, applied to natural resources. Therefore, all wealth belongs to labour. Machinery which is supposed to lessen labour, does under the present system in reality lessen wages and also our chances of employment, and is continually putting us out—which causes a great deal of what is wrongly called over-population. Although only ten men may be employed in making a machine, hundreds of others are displaced by it. We learn from this that the workers must get possession of all the inventions that are made, improved and perfected by man, and use them for the benefit of all.

We specially urge our fellow-workers to use any and every means to avail themselves, at every opportunity, of all the vast accumulations of wealth that are stored up on all sides, which have been produced by us and our forefathers. And we further call upon all workers to at once educate themselves in these matters; to educate themselves to know and feel the discontent that breeds resolve; and organise, so as to be able to repudiate the right of all non-workers, whether as individuals, companies, cliques, or Parliaments, to own or control the land, machinery, or anything that is necessary for the production, distribution, or enjoyment of wealth.

We desire freedom, economic, social, and political, but we must first learn what that means. Learn from our fellows, and take advantage of all the means of education, such as reading-rooms, public libraries, lectures, Socialist papers, etc., how the emancipation of the workers shall be brought about and by themselves, independent of and in spite of the rich and ruling classes, who have so long kept us in the ignorant and degrading conditions with which we are so familiar. And then, when the majority of the useful people have prepared themselves, we shall be able to live and work as men and women ought, honestly and happily. In conclusion, we ask you individually to circulate the Socialist idea at every opportunity, and help to bring about this great and beautiful change.

[It is intended to issue the above article as a leaflet by the Propaganda Committee. Readers are asked for criticism, and might suggest improvements.]

D. J. NICOLL, Secretary of Propaganda Committee.

## THE GRINNING APE.

"A MERRIE CONCEITED JESTE."

THERE are two little islands,  
Which in the ocean stand,  
And on those little islands  
The folk are very grand :  
They are so grand and mighty  
They say they rule the sea,  
And yet their little islands  
Are dens of misery !  
That they are freemen ever  
Is still the people's boast,  
Yet a Monkey and his Nunky  
Are left to rule the roast !  
O the Monkey and his Nunky  
Are a pair of precious knaves,  
They seek to play their panky tricks  
To make the people slaves !

The Monkey thinks it precious fun  
A-harassing the poor,  
By shutting them in prison walls  
Or flinging out of door,  
And taking every honest man  
To stretch him on a rack ;  
And this he thinks so comical,  
It makes his sides to crack !  
He chatters and he jabbers,  
And his chops are all a-grin,  
And "Go it, Monkey !" cries his mate,  
"Your Nunky bets you win !"

O the Monkey and his Nunky  
Are a pair of precious knaves,  
They seek to play their panky tricks  
Or find the people graves !

Now the over-fattened Nunky,  
The greedy gross Baboon,  
Has lived a lurcher on the land  
For many a changing moon :  
He and his race before him  
Have sucked the people's blood,  
And coward stabbed each noble heart  
Who 'gainst their thieving stood.  
So the Nunky cheers the Monkey  
For playing every trick,  
To leave himself a freer hand  
The people's pence to nick !

O the Monkey and his Nunky  
Are a pair of precious knaves,  
They're bound to play their panky tricks  
Whoever mercy craves.

O it is so fine and funny  
It makes the people smile,  
To see how they are murdered  
And laughed at all the while !  
The people are so merry  
(At least I've heard it said)  
They're asking as the richest joke  
To have the Monkey's head,  
To use it as a football  
To play upon the green,  
And ask his Nunky if such sport  
He ever yet has seen !

O the Monkey and his Nunky  
Are a pair of precious knaves,  
They're bound to play their panky tricks  
To make the people slaves !

L. W.

## DEMONSTRATION AT VICTORIA PARK.

At Victoria Park last Sunday, long before the time appointed for the proceedings of the demonstration to begin, processions began to march into the park with bands playing and flags and banners flying. By 4 o'clock (the time advertised to begin) the park presented a very interesting spectacle. As far as the eye could reach were to be seen the upturned faces of the immense crowd of persons of both sexes and all ages. At least 50,000 were present. When the Socialist League banner entered the park, heading a monster procession, the Bethnal Green branch of the S.D.F. united with the S.L. and held a joint meeting, at which Bentley presided, and was addressed by Harding, Power, Hicks, and Mowbray. The audience were both attentive and enthusiastic, and received the remarks of each speaker with applause.

At the East London Working Woman's Association platform, H. Davis presided, and the speakers were Mrs. Schack, Miss Sumpter, F. Henderson, D. Smithers, and C. W. Mowbray. The audience at this platform were decidedly revolutionary. The various speakers were received with enthusiasm, and the following resolution was carried unanimously: "That while we protest most emphatically against the brutal conduct of the Tory Government against Mr. O'Brien and the coercion of the Irish people, we no less most emphatically protest against that coercion existing in this country as well as in Ireland, which doom thousands of our fellow men and women to slavery and death by starvation."

H. D.

## HOUSING THE POOR.

THE meeting at St. James's Hall the other night was interesting for several reasons. Foremost we note with gratification the timid approaches of the Liberal party towards State Socialism. They advance not quite with the alacrity of a duck taking to water, but more with the air of a timid tight-rope dancer whose main fear is that he may topple over into unknown depths. Their anxiety to stand well with the respectable classes and persuade them that their proposals are not revolutionary, while they seek to make the people think that if they stick to the great Liberal party they will find it very much to their advantage, is truly ludicrous.

How in the name of that genius of humbug, the G.O.M. himself, is it possible to improve the condition of the people without being revolutionary? And yet these middle-class impostors seek to make the people think that they are going to do something serious, when they exclaim at the same time, with their tongue in their cheek, to the middle classes, O don't be alarmed; it's only our fun, bless your innocence!

Let me say a few words in vindication of my assertion that, according to the statement of one of their own speakers, it would be impossible even to remedy in the slightest degree overcrowding in London, without doing something that the Liberal and Radical Union would consider very revolutionary indeed. The Rev. Mr. Price Hughes stated at this very meeting, according to the *Daily News* report, which I presume may be relied upon as tolerably accurate, that in Soho "there were people living in single rooms the rent of which varied from 5s. 6d. to 8s. a-week, while the comfortable classes assumed that a man ought not to pay more than a tenth of his income in rent." Does Mr. Hughes or his friends propose to reduce these rents to a tenth of the income of the people who live in these rooms? Their income averages about 20s. a-week; the fair rent of these rooms would therefore be about 2s. weekly. I wonder if Mr. Cremer, one of Mr. Hughes' colleagues, would consider this reduction "revolutionary." I wonder how he would like it applied to the house property of which he is the happy owner?

Let us ascend a little higher in the social scale. The respectable artisan who earns an average wage of 30s., pays 9s. 6d. or 10s. 6d. for three rooms. Looked at from the view of the comfortable classes, he ought to pay 3s. Please, Mr. Hughes, is the London County Council going to let its new dwellings at this rate? If it does, either the social revolution or its speedy suppression by the horse and foot of Mr. James Monro is near at hand. Why, what would become of the house-farmers, or that public benefactor the ground-landlord, if rents were to be reduced in this ruthless fashion? Why, the Plan of Campaign would be nothing to it!

But don't be alarmed, my most respectable friends, the County Council is going to do nothing of the kind. It is far more probable that aspirations soar in the direction of those of that very moderate reformer Mr. James Rowlands, M.P. (I like to give the full title), who announced that "the Radicals of London" were determined not only to obtain a reduction of sixpence a-week in the rent of an industrial dwelling (N.B. What a pity these great people cannot condescend to talk English), but to secure sanitary conditions and some approach to comfort in the homes of the poor. (Tremendous applause.) How grand, how inspiring is this great, this unrevolutionary reform! Those who live in single rooms will pay 5s. instead of 5s. 6d. to the great and good County Council, and the respectable artisan will also be rack-rented to the tune of 9s. weekly. Don't be alarmed, house-farmers and ground-landlords, your turn is not yet.

Still, I must own to a certain amount of anxiety as to how a reduction of sixpence a-week in rent will raise the slum-dweller from his present misery to comparative affluence and comfort. We heard from the magisterial bench that 4s. 2d. is a monstrous rack-rent. What, then, would Mr. James Rowlands' reduced rent of 5s. be? Surely it would not be much consolation for the dwellers in Soho to be rack-rented by a Liberal County Council instead of a Tory house-farmer; and yet this is what this grand reform comes to. Though the Liberal party may believe in throwing sops to Cerberus, it is quite clear that they don't mean to over-feed the noble animal. We can trust them at least not to injure the people's health by too much kindness. And the impostors call this Socialism! Well, if the people are taken in by this shallow humbug, they deserve to be, and that's all.

D. J. NICOLL.

## OUT OF WORK MEMBERS.

Two painters, one general labourer, and a member who makes carriage-cushions and tarpaulins. If any of our readers know of anything that will give employment to them, they will be doing a good turn to deserving members (Hammersmith Branch).

One member who would be glad of odd jobs, another in want of situation, as bootmaker (Clerkenwell Branch).

The sale of "licenses," of any kind whatever, must be iniquitous; for a license must be an authorisation to do wrong or to do right; and it must be an iniquity to authorise anyone to do wrong, or to forbid anyone to do right.—W. H. R.

OUR BRAVE PROTECTORS.—Scene: New Cut, an odorous fried fish shop, and a penny show, a group of hungry little ones staring and smelling at both; a brave policeman busy in cuffing their ears and driving them into the gutter. Says a youngster, "Er, yer can clout us yer bacon-gobbler, but yer can't catch Jack the Ripper, can yer?" Scene No. 2: Crossing from Wellington Street, Strand, hear feeble old woman say to a stalwart defender of law-'n'-order, "Please, sir, will you see me across the road?" "Get along, you old bitch, what next?" and the next minute stops a string of 'buses in order that a carriage laden with surfeited human beings may get to Gaiety Theatre door.—F. K.

THE SOCIAL TREND.—"I feel the symptoms of matrimony creeping all over me," says Mr. Graves to Lady Franklin in Bulwer Lytton's 'Money,' and forthwith he makes her proposals of marriage. This half-consciousness of an abstract sentiment is often the prognostic of some practical step. It cannot be denied that during the last few years the symptoms of Socialism have been creeping all over us. This creepy sensation indicates a social trend in the public mind of no small importance. It is too patent and too general to be pooh-poohed. It cannot be long before it is followed by practical measures, more extensive and far-reaching than recent reductions of these social ideas to actual practice, . . . and the Christian Church must not let its heart be troubled nor let it be afraid, though it does feel the symptoms of Socialism creeping all over it.—Christian Leader.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The employers in the Blackburn cotton trade have declined to assent to the operatives' demand for three additional holidays.

A "manifesto" is to be printed and circulated by the Edinburgh Trades' Council, with a view to the better organisation of the labour of the city.

The Bo'ness miners have been offered an advance of 7½ per cent. in lieu of the 10 per cent. asked, and they are continuing to work on these terms.

A majority of members of the Aberdeen Trades' Council are opposed to compulsory insurance as tending, among other things, to weaken the strength of trades' unionism.

The shipwrights on the Wear have agreed to accept an advance of 1s. 6d. a week this month, and another shilling in July. They originally asked for an unconditional rise of 3s. on their present rate of 34s. a week.

**BATHGATE MINERS.**—At a meeting of the coal-miners employed in the Boghead mines, belonging to Young's Paraffin Light and Mineral Company, on the 15th, it was unanimously resolved to let the works stand "till the grass grows on the wheels" unless they get the advance of 10 per cent. demanded.

**THREATENED STRIKES.**—The men employed at the Askam-in-Furness Iron Works have given notice of their intention to strike unless a man named Dutton, who has refused to become a member of the National Association of Blast Furnacemen, is dismissed.—The iron-workers at the Millom Iron Works in South Cumberland are also threatening to strike.

**LONG HOURS AND SHORT PAY.**—We are informed, says the *Railway Review*, of a signalman near Ripon whose regular hours of duty are twelve or thirteen per day, frequently having, during the excursion season, to stay on duty seventeen hours or more. For these extra hours he is rewarded with nimpence by his generous employer—the rich North-Eastern.

**STRIKES AND WAGES.**—Several conferences on the wages question have been held between the employers and representatives of the men engaged in the shipyards and engineering works of the Tyne and the neighbourhood. A settlement has been effected with the drikkers, time men, and shipwrights in the Tyne and Blyth yards, they having received very substantial increases in their wages.

**KIRKCALDY STRIKES.**—The tier boys on strike at Messrs. Nairns and the Kirkcaldy Linoleum Works resumed work on the masters' terms on the 16th. Those employed by Barry, Ostler, and Co. still remain out, and work there has been brought to a standstill, all the printers having been sent home. The mill-workers are still out, and appeals are being made to the public for support.

**HOLLOWWARE TRADE.**—The chances are that the whole of the hollowware manufactories in the United Kingdom will be stopped within a fortnight. Notices were handed in three weeks ago; suspended on Saturday week for a fortnight; arbitration suggested and accepted; and now the disputants are putting the finishing touches to their respective statements. It is difficult to compute the number of workmen affected; the total is variously stated at 8,000 to 20,000.

**SCOTCH MINERS.**—The Lothians men have now got the 10 per cent., and the advances got in the different counties are as follows:—Fife, 15 per cent.; Lothians, 20 per cent.; Stirlingshire, 20 to 25 per cent.; Lanarkshire, 17½ per cent.; Ayrshire, 22½ per cent. Ayrshire men are still keeping up the agitation for another 7½ per cent., which they expect to receive this week. The demand still keeps good, all the collieries working full time, while in Fife alone over 300,000 tons have had to be taken from stocks to meet the demand. All this too, be it remembered, during the "dull season."

**SHOEMAKERS' STRIKE.**—The strike of the workmen employed by D. and J. Smith, boot-manufacturers, Newton-on-Ayr, still continues. Seven or eight "scabs" continue at work, and the strikers testify their displeasure by waiting at the factory gate at meal hours, and selecting a particular man, they escort him with a flute-band home and back to the works again, and take means to draw public attention to the obnoxious individual by holding a cap over his head. Procurator-Fiscal Brown has declined, we are informed, to prosecute the men under the Trades' Union Acts. The firm have raised an action in the Circuit Court to have the apprentices ordered to resume their work.

**SEAMEN'S STRIKE.**—A telegram from New York on the 12th states that a number of men visited a wharf at Boston the previous night, and induced several seamen to desert the ship upon which they were employed. They also assaulted the captain because he ordered them away. The agitators claimed to be acting on behalf of the Liverpool strikers. On the 14th it was reported that the strike in Liverpool had practically ended in a complete victory for the men. A deputation of seamen again had an interview with the heads of the mail steamship companies, and those of the Allan, the Inman, the International, the Cunard, and others expressed themselves heartily sick of the strike, and prepared shortly to concede the Union demands. Several large liners are lying in the docks waiting to commence the emigration season, when several hundred seamen will be required. The companies say that they will then give the Union rates, but will reduce the number of seamen carried on each boat. The Clyde seamen and firemen's strike terminated the same day after two hours' interview between the men on strike and the shipowners. The men agreed to accept the masters' terms of 27s. weekly, in the hope that as times improve they will get something more. They had 25s. at the beginning of the agitation, and came out demanding 30s. The Leith men have received for months 28s. and 27s. 6d. per week. The majority of the vessels at Leith are weekly traders. In London on the 15th it was reported the Navigation steamers Starling, Granton, Virgo, and Gannet, have paid the National Union rate of wages. At night there was a meeting in connection with the Union at Edward Street, Deptford. At Gravesend same evening, a representative meeting of sailors and firemen was held for the purpose of establishing in the port a branch of the National Amalgamated Sailor's and Firemen's Union. They adopted the following resolution: "That we firmly resolve that we will support the Union, and also all the sailors and firemen of the General Steam Navigation Company, by helping them to obtain Union wages." The chairman then briefly described the history and work of the Union, mentioning that although it had been in existence for only sixteen months, its present number of members amounted to 35,000. Before the meeting terminated the chairman said that a branch meeting of the Union would be held at the same place next evening (Saturday).

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

In consequence of the Roman riots, the authorities have at last started some road-work on the banks of the Tiber, which will give employment to some 1,200 hands. That is very little relief of the prevailing distress. The unemployed number many thousands, mostly workers in the building trade, who suffer under an acute crisis, brought on by the wildest speculations of the jerry-builders. Many of the workers had with their families been decoyed to Rome from the provinces by splendid promises, and were, after the collapse of the swindling concerns (the promoters of which had meanwhile filled their pockets), abandoned to their fate. Since last autumn they have continually demonstrated, without any other result but vain promises from the Government and the Municipality, until at last the measure of their sufferings was full to overflowing. The terror of the middle-classes gives great impetus to the police and a cheap pretext to the Government to suspend the right of public meeting all over Italy. Wholesale arrests have been made in Rome, and many hundreds of those immigrants from the provinces will be expelled from the holy city, to starve in the obscurity of their native place. The hackneyed assertion that it is the "foreign agitators," and not the misery, that incites the loyal and contented natives to open rebellion, must hold good once more. In Parliament the prime minister pretends, even, that most of the rioters were no real workers at all, and hinted vaguely at paid agents. In reply, our comrade Costa denounced in passionate and vigorous language the cursed commercial system of the present society. Honourable members tried to howl him down at the outset, but were silenced by the force and passion of his speech.

There is trouble brewing everywhere. The misery is alike in town and country. Fresh demonstrations of the unemployed are reported from Cecina, Ravenna, Parma, Lugo, Ferrara. At the two last named places the mayors appeased the hungry crowd by the magnanimous distribution of 25 centesimi a-head—that is, 2½d. They will return and ask for more.

At Livorno, female coral-workers and rag-gatherers have struck work for an increase of wages. There was some slight encounter between the women and the police, and several arrests have been made.

The police of Florence have outdone their brethren of Messina. They "discovered" their bomb in the right time and proper place, and had thus a pretext to secure a few obnoxious Anarchists of that town. H. SCH.

### SPAIN.

**TARRASA.**—Acted upon by fear of the growing Socialist feeling everywhere, the authorities have recently distinguished themselves by magnifying a molehill into a mountain, and bringing before public notice that very revolutionary feeling they want to suppress. Not long since, a few lads met in the public square on leaving the factories for the singing of a song containing local allusions, for which they were dispersed by the municipal guard and police. The following night those who met in the square were men; the next night again, and more and more of them, thus intimating that a public square was for the public use, and putting to the test a question which, unfortunately, is always solved negatively. Finally an announcement was published forbidding groups to be formed "of more than three persons." The combative nature of man was naturally fired in the citizens of Tarrasa by this, and they turned out in larger numbers than before. The next night they tried to assemble again, but found the square "occupied" by the civic guard and a certain number of cavalry, who dispersed the gathering crowds after the fashion some time back familiar to the inhabitants of our peaceful isle.

**SPANISH MINERS.**—By mining statistics for the year 1888, lately published, we gather that there has been an increase on the preceding year in accidents and deaths, but on the other hand it is satisfactory to learn that the revenue for the year shows a considerable increase on previous years—a fact which, as our informant *El Socialista* says, should be very consoling to the families of those killed while contributing to all this wealth. The wages of those employed in and about the mines in some provinces are 2 francs, 1 fr. 50 c., and 1 fr. for the men, and 1 fr. and 0.75 c. for the women and children.

### PORTUGAL.

**Oporto.**—The stevedores employed on the Duro have declared themselves on strike. As the movement will be prejudicial to the capitalist interest, the Government are arranging to send to Oporto a company of military engineers to "spoil sport" for the strikers. Thus the armed workers will serve not only to shoot the unarmed workers, but also to depreciate the value of the labour-market at critical moments like this!—*La Solidaridad*.

The first number of a new Socialist weekly has appeared in Oporto under the name of *El Trabajador*, edited by Anthesa de Quental, a revolutionary well known in the peninsula. M. M.

"The panic in London at the time of the Trafalgar Square meetings was nothing," writes a Roman correspondent of the *Pall Mall*, "to the panic here now. The least mention of 'the mob' causes the shops to be shut, and at every bank soldiers are stationed. Moreover, the police do not allow working-men to walk about in more than twos or threes. Even Mr. Matthews did not interpret 'meetings' so strictly as this."

**NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB**, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday February 24, at 8.30, Mr. C. R. W. Offen, "The Responsibility of the Democracy."

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday February 23, at 7.30 p.m., to enroll members and receive subscriptions.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The seventh and concluding lecture will be delivered on Sunday March 3rd by Hubert Bland—"The Outlook."

**ARBEITER-BUND GLEICHHEIT**, 38 Charles Square, Brunswick Place, City Road.—This Club has started work, and will be pleased to receive visits from friends or enroll new members.—H. Schwarzenberg, Sec.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH S.D.F.**, New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.—Sunday February 24, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Tuesday 26th, 8 p.m., Graham Wallis, M.A. (Fabian Society), "Property under Socialism."



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—At the last Council meeting, it was urged upon the managers of outdoor meetings to be more energetic in making collections at our stations. The two delegates to the Co-operative Aid Association, Davis and Cores, gave in their reports, and were re-elected to represent the League delegates to the committee to arrange the projected Conference.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, March 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commune Celebration.**—At this year's celebration, the choir will sing the "Marseillaise," "When the People have their own again," and "All for the Cause." All willing to take part are invited to practise along with the Hammersmith choir, which meets every Thursday at 7.30 prompt. A Special Practice will take place at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, February 26th, at 8 p.m.

**Children's Party.**—A Children's Party will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on March 12th. Subscriptions, etc., can be sent to the Secretary, Mrs. Groser, 19, Rigault Road, Fulham. The Committee will meet at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Feb. 26th, at 7.30 p.m. All members of the Committee are asked to attend.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Clerkenwell, to December. 1889:—Leicester, to January. Mitcham and North London, to February.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collected at Regent's Park, 1s. 7½d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### CHICAGO COMMEMORATION FUND.

Samuels (Nov. 27th), 2s.; H. K. (Jan. 12th), 1s.; Brocher (Feb. 1st), 1s.; S. Sturt, 2s. 6d.; F. Sturt, 2s. 6d.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

C. Launspach, £1 5s. 0d.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

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Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA.**—Good meetings were held last Sunday at Fulham, Hammersmith, Regents Park, Victoria Park, and Shadwell. *Commonweal* sold out at several stations.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Very good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning at 11.30 a.m.; speakers were Dean, A. J. Smith, and Maughan, and Crouch (S.D.F.); choir assisted. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. At Weltje Road at 7 p.m., Morris and Tarleton spoke to good audience; sale of *Commonweal* fair. At Kelmscott House at 8, comrade Beasley lectured to rather worse audience than usual. Morris was lecturing at the West Kensington Park Club, and drew some of our frequenters there, and the first fine Sunday evening of the year no doubt tempted others on to the river and elsewhere.

**ABERDEEN.**—Open-air work still interfered with by stormy weather. Indoor meeting on 11th poorly attended, so adjourned to meeting where Dr. Hunter was addressing his constituents, and Leatham put a number of questions which seemed to irritate the member for North Aberdeen very much. Comrade Cooper also feathered the doctor on Thursday night at Woodside.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 13th, William Morris lectured in Queen Street Hall on "Equality." Audience numbered 200, and would have been larger had we managed to hire the hall earlier. Had only day or two to advertise, but *Scottish Leader* kindly devoted on day of lecture a whole column to a sketch of Morris's career as artist and poet. The *Scotsman* also "honoured" the lecturer with a column and a quarter of criticism. Meeting successful also financially. On Sunday, Feb. 17th, in Moulder's Hall, Melliet delivered deeply interesting lecture on Victor Hugo, and kept attention of audience riveted for an hour and a quarter.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 5, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke at Paisley Road Toll. There was a good audience, which paid much attention to the speeches but very little to the collection hat, only 6d. being contributed. We rather like the Paisley Road Toll folk nevertheless, and when they learn to be as economical in their dealings with the capitalists as they are with the Socialists, the Revolution will be at hand! At 7 o'clock, Glasier and Turley (S.D.F.) addressed a large audience on Jail Square. We intend increasing the number of our open-air meetings, and members are requested to pay attention to the announcement column.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday morning, well attended member's meeting held in Gordon Hall; various means adopted for future propaganda. Sunday afternoon usual open-air meeting in Market Place, good audience addressed by W. Moore, Darley, and Poynts, who delivered some capital addresses. In evening, Adams read the League 'Manifesto' to good audience, several questions asked; animated discussion opened by Poynts, Darley, and Mills; discussion adjourned until next Sunday evening, when Mills will open the discussion by leading off in the negative. The chair was taken by G. Ashley; meeting concluded with songs and recitations, and three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 5s. 8d. collected for propaganda.—S.

**YARMOUTH.**—We held two most successful meetings here last Sunday. Comrade Arthur Moore in the chair, Darley (of Norwich), a comrade from London, and Reynolds (of Yarmouth) addressed the morning meeting. In the afternoon a comrade of Norwich assisted us with a telling address; Darley left at noon for Norwich meeting. Altogether we had a good day here. *Commonweal* sold out at morning meeting. Mr. Howes, newsagent, George Street, is agent for the *Commonweal*, where those desiring can purchase it. Things are moving in the right direction.—C. R.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½ minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card; to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday February 24, at 8.30, Mrs. Schack, "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement." Sun. March 3, H. Davis, "Objections to Socialism Answered."

**East London.**—A Members' Meeting will be held Sunday March 3rd, at 4 p.m., at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. All members and officers of the three dissolved branches are requested to attend. H. Davis, secretary *pro tem.*, 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Lecture on Sunday February 24, at 8 p.m., Arthur J. Bywaters, "Some Popular Objections to Socialism Considered and Answered."

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb 24, at 8 p.m., A Lecture by William Clarke, M.A. Wednesday 27, at 8 p.m., Sidney Webb (Fabian), "Economic Socialism." Thursday 28th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday March 1, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda.

**Hoxton.**—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Business meetings held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m. Members are requested to turn up at 8 p.m. at the "Lord Napier," Mitcham Fair Green. Important business.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Friday February 22, Nicoll will read *Marxopitkin's* "Spirit of Revolt."

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street. All persons desirous of joining are requested to communicate with A. Coulon at above address.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels (Scot Sect.).**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

**Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, Gordon Hall, at 8, resumed discussion on the Manifesto, by comrade Mills. Tuesday, at 8.15, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder (Scottish Section).**—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—Business meetings every Monday at 8 p.m. See below for open-air propaganda. C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, Secretary.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

#### SUNDAY 24.

11.30.....	Latimer Road Station .....	Hammersmith Branch.
11.30.....	Regent's Park .....	Blundell.
11.30.....	Walham Green, opposite Station .....	The Branch.
3.30.....	Hyde Park .....	Hicks, Nicoll, & Parker.
3.30.....	Victoria Park .....	Mowbray and Davis.
7.30.....	Clerkenwell Green .....	Parker.
7.30.....	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....	Hammersmith Branch.

#### TUESDAY 26.

8.30.....	Fulham—back of Walham Green Church .....	The Branch.
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#### EAST END.

##### SUNDAY 24.

11 .....	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball," .....	Davis and Hicks.
11 .....	Leman Street, Shadwell .....	Mrs. Schaack & Mowbray.

##### FRIDAY 1.

8 .....	Philpot Street, Commercial Road .....	Mowbray & Cores.
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### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 5 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d  
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8, Rue des Martyrs, Paris.

SUMMARY OF THE JANUARY NUMBER.

"The Confluents of Socialism," B. Malon; "The Right to Strike, and its Consequences," P. Boitley; "Violence," G. Tridon; "Essay on Scientific Socialism," P. Argyriades; "Alcoholism," E. Fourniere; "Alarm Cry," A. Veber; "Socialist poetry," E. Herbel; "Mme. de Barrau," Emile de Morsier; "Social Movement," A. Verber; Correspondence; Books.

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Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 164.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE *Star* has been warlike of late, in view of the opening of Parliament, and has been urging on its leaders the duty of fighting hard so as to bring on a dissolution. The *Star* hints not obscurely at organised obstruction under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone. But Radicals may set their minds at rest, they will have no such excitement as this. Mr. Gladstone is no rebel, but a decent respectable party parliamentary leader; and to do him justice he has never pretended to be anything else. The gilded idol has not pretended to be alive itself, it has been its worshippers only who have seen life in the inert mass. Don't call the poor thing names if it won't get up and put out the fire—or, call it names if you like; but it will be all the same, it won't move.

If the Radicals who sympathise with Home Rule want to do anything at this juncture, they must not wait for their leaders but must do it for themselves. The time is not yet past when they might make the stroke (recommended in these columns before) of withdrawing from the House of Commons in a mass, and allowing the Tories and Whigs to govern them under protest. But, unfortunately, the Radicals are so wedded to a wretched little war of outposts, that they now scarcely perceive that there is a main battle. To exhaust your energies in attacking mere accidental effects of the evil, and wear out the patience of your adherents in winning victories that lead nowhere, and suffering defeats in which there is no dignity; these are the Radical tactics in England, and it is ten thousand pities that Socialists can be found to imitate them.

Under the name of "Australian Working-class Vagaries," the *Daily News* lately has had an article which may be worth a word or two. The writer rates the Australian workmen soundly for their folly in striking, when they already have such enormous wages. Of course, he assumes that he knows their business better than they know it themselves, and very naturally assumes that their business is to keep trade humming for the benefit of the capitalists. Of course he does not tell us what the purchasing power of the high Australian wages is, how much food and clothes and amusement (if any of the latter) they will buy; and we should like to have some information from our friend the *Australian Radical* on this head.

But even granted that the workmen in Australia are well supplied with necessities comparatively with their British brethren, does not this wise-acre understand that workmen who are thrust into such a beastly corner of the earth, must be paid extra for living there, away from any chance of participation in the intellectual pleasures of the Old World, and that they will only be got to go there on those terms, unless, indeed, they are shipped off by obvious violent means?

This latter plan seems to be in the writer's mind. He says: "The moral of the story is this, the supreme task of governments is the adjustment of the labour-markets. It is sheer folly to allow enterprise to slacken, and commercial ruin to spread, because men here or there make unreasonable demands. If the patient and frugal Chinaman is refused work that needs be done, then a much larger proportion of the 350,000 annual increase of the population of the United Kingdom must be emigrated to these shores."

"Must"? Mr. Emigration Agent; and how, pray? On the whole, I think you will have to give up the idea of a press-gang for the purpose. And you need not grumble at that; there is plenty of compulsion at work to procure you land-thieves in Australia the "plenty of honest and moderately inexpensive labour" for which you say there is but one cry. Screw down the wages at home till people are rather past the verge of starvation and the streets are thronged with the unemployed; strengthen the chain of police and soldiery round them, so as to safeguard yourselves from anything more dangerous than an occasional unorganised bread-riot, which is always more serviceable to the masters than the slaves; and for aught I can see you will have for a little time "moderately inexpensive labour" to enable you to go on living on other people's toil.

But here comes a hitch for you; and therein I see another moral to your tale which has escaped your eye. When you have deported your British starvelings to Queensland and other colonies, and they begin to be a little less starved, and have leisure and spirits to consider their position, you will find that they are not such fools as you thought. They will begin to say: Well, we are better off than we were; why should we not be as well off as we can be? Here are the recourses of nature, and here we are, the workmen; what else do we want to produce all the wealth we need? Why should we pay the greater part of all that we produce to people who do nothing but work hard at keeping up their position of being our masters? Dimly when we were worse off we knew *That the wit of man can devise no scheme by which the poor can become less poor without the rich becoming less rich.* And now that we are better off we see it clearer still, and we also see that we now have a chance of acting on our insight.

In short, "the moral of the tale is this"; and it is a very encouraging one if the "tale" is true: This is the moral, that the Australian workmen, having before their eyes all that wealth, actual and potential, refused to be bribed by somewhat higher wages than they would have at home into acquiescence with their position of inferiority to the useless classes! The *Daily News'* Emigration Agent, on the contrary, clearly and very naturally looks upon the workmen in the colonies and at home as so much marketable goods and nothing else. What he is really aiming at is to transport the whole of the evils of our civilized life in England in the lump to our colonies, in order that by means of it he may make those evils more lasting in the old world. All honour to the workmen who consciously or instinctively resist such a vile scheme.

W. M.

The directors of the Civil Service Stores are said to be in a dilemma which will "excite the generous sympathy of shopkeepers all over the kingdom." They have just made up their accounts for the last half-year, and find they have taken a trifle less than £500,000 sterling. Out of this results the very moderate profit of £10,000. But according to the articles of their association the company cannot divide more than 5 per cent., and so small is the capital that 5 per cent. absorbs only £5,000. There is something like £3,000 carried over from the preceding half-year, and thus the directors have £8,000 more than they can distribute among the shareholders. Of course it will never enter their heads to apportion it among the employés from whose labour it came!

Here, according to the *Pall Mall*, is Sir George Trevelyan's version of the Liberal programme as put before the party by its trusted leaders:

1. The assimilation of the taxation on real and personal property.
2. A sound registration system which will give men the votes which Parliament intended them to have.
3. Religious equality.
4. Abolition of the privilege of the plural vote.
5. The reform of the House of Lords.
6. The rating of ground rents.
7. The entrusting the local representatives of the people with the charge of the police.
8. The regulation of the liquor traffic.
9. The redress of Ireland's long-standing grievances.

So much for the "Liberal" side of it. The *Star* gives the "London Radical Programme," saying that "the London Liberal members, with the view of carrying into effect the Radical programme for London, have given notice of the following bills relating to the metropolis, which they will bring in during the present session of Parliament:—

1. A bill for the better housing of the working-classes.
2. For the better incidence of rates.
3. For the better registration of voters.
4. For the equalisation of the poor-rates.
5. For giving to the County Council of London the control of the police.
6. For the regulation of meetings in Trafalgar Square.
7. For enabling the County Council of London to deal with the water supply.
8. For enabling the County Council to establish markets and to acquire existing market rights.

These bills apply exclusively to the metropolis. Besides these, bills for the enfranchisement of leaseholds, for registration, for the extension



of the hours of polling, and for the abolition of aldermen, have been introduced by London members, but apply to the whole country."

It might, perhaps, afford matter for debate as to the exact shade of difference between the "Liberal" and "Radical" programmes; it cannot as to their "moderation" and "practicability." S.

## A UTOPIAN NIGHTMARE.

PROBABLY there are few Socialists who ever see that mild and moral publication called the *Leisure Hour*. I don't advise anyone to waste a sixpence on it, but those who have a chance will find in the January number an article decidedly amusing, and indirectly instructive, to a Socialist.

The article is entitled "The Social Revolution Achieved: What Then?" An important question this, touching on doubtful ground—where even angels might fear to tread. "What Then?" Well, this is what the writer of the article in question did "then" (in his imagination): "I mounted," he says, "to my bachelor lodging in a quiet suburb, and was just going to sit down to my evening meal." A decidedly practical, common-sense course of action, doing great credit to our author's equanimity. For "it was the evening of the last of the terrible days of the social war in Paris. . . . But this time it was the people that had conquered. . . . Capitalists, proprietors, masters, merchants, shopkeepers had disappeared; . . . many killed in the conflict, others massacred in cold blood, and those who were not in concealment had fled from the doomed city. . . . In the deserted streets and the empty mansions one could only see groups of grimy workmen, mostly excited with drink. . . ." And so our friend goes calmly home to supper.

He is disturbed by the entrance of three men, who, as it soon appears, have come to stay. They say to him, "The Social Commune have had prepared a statistical record of apartments; and as the rich have too great accommodation and the poor too little, it has been arranged that each person shall have a right to a place. You have four rooms, and you live alone. Therefore you must give lodgings to three persons, my two comrades and myself." One man, one room: this is an excellent idea, and, I think, quite new to Socialists. Well, our friend acquiesces, finding that there will be no rent to pay for the rooms in future; and he presently asks them to partake of his bachelor supper. They do so, and he rather imprudently gives them some of his wine, so that they "began to be even merry." Then follows some "close conversation." The youngest of the three exults in the thought of doing no more work. He is going to live on the "two milliards" in the Bank of France, and on the food, drink, clothing, etc., in the stores and warehouses. Whereupon our friend delivers himself of the following remarks. They tell very much for Socialism; but that doesn't matter. He didn't see it, nor the editor either. He says:

"But all this would not last very long among so many. The two milliards in the Bank of France divided among the thirty-eight millions of Frenchmen would give scarcely fifty francs per head. And as to the money and the provisions in the shops or in private houses, that might last for a week, or, if you like to say it, a month, and there would be an end of it. The wealth of a country is not at the bottom of wells, from which it can be always and at any time drawn; it is a water which runs, and renews itself at every instant. Work or industry is the source of a country's wealth; if the fountain stops only during eight days the river will soon be dry. If in a few days, or a few weeks at the very utmost, work is not resumed everywhere, we shall all die of starvation, as in a beleaguered city."

The oldest comrade chides the young man, who "has spoken like a child." He admits the necessity of labour: but "instead of working for the benefit of a master, we shall now work for our own profit." This gives opportunity for about half a page on equality, obedience, etc.; we learn that "industry is like an army," which is rather a curious thing for industry to be like, and gives rise to speculations as to what other abstractions, such as Religion, Idleness, and the like, may be compared to. However, one sees the writer's meaning, and so it serves.

Soon we are bidden remember "that these men were not of what are called the criminal classes, as some suppose all Socialists and Communists to be. They were decent [thank heaven for that, at least!] working men, misguided by the teaching and plausible statements of theorists and demagogues." On the resumption of the "close conversation," the oldest man states that "It is that we may obtain the entire product of our labour that we have made the social revolution." He illustrates his meaning by imagining "one thousand workers in a factory, who get 1,200 or 1,500 francs yearly," and "a master gaining perhaps 100,000 francs." Of course it is easily shown how this salary, divided among the thousand men, would only amount to an extra 100 francs a year for each of them. I believe our author thinks he has made a strong point here; and it may be well to show how the difficulty is to be met.

There are many businesses in which the men are so underpaid and the work is turned out so cheaply, that the whole receipts of master and men together do not amount to nearly the equivalent of the men's labour. The difference goes into the pockets of the consumers, who get their goods far below their value. Further, it must not be forgotten that a man's wages are in reality the quantity of necessary articles he can buy with his money. Now so many men are taken

from useful work, to produce useless rubbish of all sorts for the rich that the production of necessary articles is very small compared to the universal demand for them. Consequently, when the workers come to spend their money, they only get a very small part of their money's worth. But our friend seems not to recognise that money only represents exchange-value: he appears to think there is some intrinsic use-value in the money itself; and the result is an amazing confusion.

This confusion is rendered still deeper when they begin to talk about capital, with the very haziest notions as to what capital is. Communism and Collectivism get into a mix too. The editor tells us in a note (where, by the way, he advocates reform, to avoid revolution—on the "sop for Cerberus" principle) that "in France the tendency of Socialist opinion is toward Communism and Anarchy." But here we have mere State Socialism. The oldest says, "The State or Government would supply all the capital we require"; to which the other replies, "But the State has not the power to make capital drop from heaven, like the manna in the wilderness. The State never has any money except what it takes from those who contribute to it"; and so on, and so on. The poor man has forgotten his own most true statement that "work or industry is the source of a country's wealth." He is still under the delusion that the working classes live on the money supplied by the capitalist. He actually has not realised that it is victuals and drink—the produce of labour—that we all live on; and that in a reasonable commune (whatever a Collectivist State might attempt) money would be dispensed with altogether; nor has it ever occurred to him that the members of such a commune, instead of worrying about whether each got 100 francs more or less, would simply work to supply their own common needs; and that, having no idle class to keep, nor any men wasting their time in producing useless things, they would all have much leisure—certainly far more than a *Leisure Hour*—for enjoyment.

However, the three men are convinced that the social revolution is a failure; and in his disappointment the youngest thumps the table so hard that—our friend awakes, and lo, it was a dream!

Now this is significant. He attributes his "nightmare," as he calls it, to having read the '*Journal de Pétroleur*' before going to sleep; but when he dreams, without the least surprise, of having supper enough to share with three other men, and wine on top, of that, he really must forgive us if we—well, think what we like, but suggest that he join the Blue Ribbon Army.

It were a pity if, without good reason, the space of the *Commonweal* were wasted over such a helpless thing as the *Leisure Hour*—hardly worth the trouble of kicking, so feeble is it. Perhaps the following consideration may be my excuse.

Such nonsense as the article in question, sandwiched in between mere frothy inanities, is the sort of thing that house-mistresses supply for their servants' reading. As Socialism spreads, we may expect a large increase of such misrepresentation; and the question is, How shall we best open people's eyes, so that they may not be deceived by it? The first thing plainly is, to make them *anxious* to see through it. Now no one would care two straws for the realisation of such a low ideal as the *Leisure Hour* credits us with. A mere rise of wages all round, gained by getting rid of all employers, and in all else the same shabby life that we lead to-day—such an aim wouldn't be worth fighting for. 'Twould be a case of "mountains in labour" over again. The fact is, it will take something deeper than mere economics to make a success of the inevitable overturn of society. To begin with economics is to begin at the wrong end. But let men once realise what a far happier and nobler life is possible for them, and they will soon learn enough about surplus-value and the rest of it to meet all ordinary objections. And where their logic fails them, they will defiantly take their stand on still firmer ground, and answer, "Right or wrong, we are sick of this shameful, miserable life we lead to-day. We conceive something better, and we intend, spite of all you say, to try for it, and prove you wrong by the happy lives we lead."

We cannot make too much of our ideal. That light should be kept clear in view through everything. But while so many mere palliatives are going about under the name of Socialism, and so many men and women are being led into the bogs of parliamentary representation and the like, by the will-o'-the-wisps of constitutional agitation, we must expect the progress of Socialism to be hindered by frequent falls over such tangles of stupidity as this in the *Leisure Hour*.

G. STURT.

HOLLOW-WARE.—All the notices given to employers in the Birmingham hollow-ware trade have been withdrawn, pending arbitration proceedings. The operatives were asked to submit three names from which the employers could select one to act as arbitrator with regard to certain points which arose out of the new lists upon which the masters and men could not agree. On Saturday it was announced the employers had selected Alderman Avery, subject to his consenting to undertake the duty. It is understood that the arbitrator's decision will be accepted by both parties.

AN ECHO FROM THE SCAFFOLD.—Though the proofs were not conclusive, the young Italian patriot, Oberdank, was executed for supposed participation in a plot to free Trieste from the Austrian yoke. This happened seven years ago. In vain did Oberdank's mother plead for mercy. The great humanitarian poet, Victor Hugo, lent her his powerful aid, also in vain. The Emperor of Austria remained inexorable. Now this monarch, according to the *Star*, while still crushed with grief and despair, has received the following letter:—"Trieste, Feb. 8th.—Sire, You are an unhappy father. I regret that in consequence of the tragic death of your only son, you must have experienced all the heartrending agony, the unspeakable grief, which I, a poor abandoned mother, endured on the morning of December 20, 1882. Bow down, as I have done, before the Supreme Will.—The Mother of Oberdank."

### IN THE UNITED STATES.

INSPECTOR BONFIELD, Captain Schaack, and detective Jenkob Loewenstein, of the Chicago police, the three officials who did all the dirty work of the Chicago Citizens' Association to get our martyrs convicted, were on the 6th of February suspended by mayor Roche, pending the investigation to be made into their character. Suspension in this case is but a milder word for dismissal. The trio have brought libel suits against the Chicago Times for damages aggregating a million and a half dollars.

In Chicago a movement has been set on foot to secure the "pardon" of our imprisoned comrade Oscar W. Neebe. A petition to the new Governor of Illinois, Fifer, is now being circulated by his friends.

The Standard Oil Trust has gobbled up the Amazon Oil Company, and is now sole owner of the Ohio oil field.

The latest in the formation of trusts is—a trust of justices. On the 7th inst. the Justices of the Peace of Hudson County, New Jersey, met and formed a trust. They at once resolved to raise their fees.

Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of the National Department of Labour, has submitted to the Secretary of the Interior his fourth annual report, which deals exclusively with "working women in great cities." In his preface the commissioner says:

"A quarter of a century ago women were allowed to enter but few occupations. Now there are hundreds of vocations in which they can find employment. The present report names 342 of them. Whenever any industrial operations are simplified to such an extent that the weaker person can perform what was done of old by the stronger one the cheaper labour comes in and wages must of necessity be lowered."

whether to the one formerly performing the labour or to the new comer.

"So, as the adult man in light occupations has given place to the woman or to the young person, wages in specific employments have decreased as compared with the former wages of the man."

*Bradstreet's Weekly* has published a statement of the failures of the last years in the United States. According to this paper, 10,587 failures were announced in 1883, against 9,740 in 1887, 10,568 in 1886, 11,116 in 1885, 11,620 in 1884, 10,299 in 1883, 7,635 in 1882, and 5,929 in 1881.

The same publication gives some interesting figures which it has collected in reference to capital and labour disputes. During 1888 there were reported

"679 strikes and lock-outs, an average of more than two each working day, involving 211,841 industrial employes, as against 884 strikes and lock-outs, an average of nearly three each working day, involving 345,854 employes, in 1887, and 350 strikes and lock-outs, involving 448,000 employes, in 1886. The decline in the number of men involved in strikes in 1888 from the totals of 1886 was 236,359, or over 52 per cent., while the decline last year from the figures of 1887 was 134,013, or 38 per cent. Comparing the number of strikes reported in 1888 with those of 1886, 679 against 350, there is apparently an increase of 94 per cent. in two years. There were 29 lock-outs in 1888, affecting 74,837 employes, against 20 lock-outs, involving 46,000 employes, in 1887, and 10 lock-outs, involving 80,000 employes, in 1886. Of those in 1888, 11, including 61,325 employes, failed, and 18, involving 13,512 employes, succeeded. Thus the employers won 62 per cent. of the lock-outs, but succeeded in carrying their point with only 18 per cent. of the men locked out. Nearly 38 per cent. of the strikes in 1888 were successful, while 50 per cent. of the workers involved gained their demands. In 1888 7,562,480 days' labour were lost in successful and unsuccessful strikes. The days lost in successful strikes in 1888 numbered 1,972,902, while those in unsuccessful strikes 5,589,578. The grand total loss of wages in successful strikes in 1888 is estimated at 2,959,353, and in unsuccessful strikes is said to aggregate 3,384,367 dollars."

The big car strikes in New York city and Brooklyn are ended. On February 5th a meeting of the local assemblies belonging to national district assembly No. 226 Knights of Labour was called to decide as to whether the strike should be continued or not. The vote was in favour of ending the strike. The Executive Committee of the district therefore declared the strike "off." Much the same course was gone through in Brooklyn, in national district assembly No. 75 Knights of Labour. Just the very day the strike was declared off a collision happened in New York between the strikers and the police, which resulted in the loss of a life—a striker's. The brutal way in which the police tried to force a way for a car through a crowd in Sixty-first third so infuriated the people that they threw stones and other missiles at the car. Without any other provocation, the policeman Snyder, standing on the front platform of the car, and the "scab" conductor, drew their revolvers and fired at the crowd. Striker James McGown fell and was killed almost instantaneously. A dispute arose as to who had killed the unfortunate man, but at last the authorities agreed, the why I know not, to fix the charge on Snyder. He and the conductor and the driver were brought before a coroner's jury consisting mainly of small shopkeepers and suchlike bourgeois rabble. The jury, of course, dutifully brought in a verdict that McGown was shot by Snyder while in the discharge of his duty, and that Snyder, the conductor and the driver of the car deserve every commendation and credit for the heroic (!) manner in which they acted in defence of the property intrusted to their care. The jury also found that McGown was a rioter at the time he was shot. Snyder was discharged by the court. Who after this will yet maintain that cowboyism does not reign supreme in "the land of the free and the home of the brave"?

As soon as the strike was declared off the men applied for re-employment; but in New York as well as in Brooklyn all those who were taken back had to sign an iron-bound "agreement" swearing off allegiance to all labour organisations, and re-entering the employ of the different companies as individuals only. They had to promise they would resign from every labour organisation they belonged to. Yet in spite of all these humbling and degrading conditions, which the unfortunate men, in order to escape starvation, were compelled to accept, but 3,000 found re-employment; 3,500 more had to join the great and ever-increasing army of the homeless, friendless, penniless.

It is calculated that the strike has cost New York city about half a million dollars. The calculation is made up this way: The strikers lost in wages 6,500 men at 1 dol. 50 c. a-day, 8 days, 78,000 dols.; loss of the companies, 203,100. From stoppage of traffic, fear of the public: theatres lost in patronage, 60,000; shopkeepers lost, 150,000; minor houses (brothels?), restaurants, etc., 10,000; total, 501,100 dollars.

It is interesting to note how the capitalistic press calculates the loss of the companies. Let us, for instance, take the account of the Fourth Avenue road, the property belonging to the Vanderbilts, as given by the *Herald*:

"The Fourth Avenue road has seventeen miles of track. Its usual receipts from fares is over 2,600 dols. a day. The loss of this for eight days means a deficit of 20,800 dols. This company fought the strike from the first, hiring new

men, giving them three good meals a day and buying coats and blankets by the hundred. These expenses, with good dinners for 150 policemen at the Park Avenue Hotel every day, and breakages of property, must have made the outlay of the company about 900 dols. a day. Multiply this by eight and you have 7,200 dols., which, added to the 20,800 dols. loss of income, makes the big total of 28,000 dols."

In the same manner the accounts of the other companies are made up. It must have been quite an item for capital to feed about 3,000 policemen, to quench their thirst and to satisfy their desire for aromatic conchas. But New York capitalists know well how to treat their "blue boys." In Brooklyn the police have been made disgusted over the niggardly treatment of the railroad people, who tried to feed them on weak coffee and stale bread and treacle.

The loss of Brooklyn is calculated to be: railroad company, 7,100 dollars; strikers, 14,000; business men, 30,000; benefits, subscriptions, 4,500; total, 56,600 dollars.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* says: "It is stated that out of 30,000 mine labourers in the Luzerne district of Pennsylvania, only 9,000 obtained steady work during January. The falling off in wages, as compared with the same month last year, is 97,235 dollars. The outlook for February is still worse. Business of all kinds is greatly depressed."

There were 71 strikes, involving 18,926 men, reported to *Bradstreet's* in January this year, against 68 strikes, involving 40,436 men, in January 1888, and 92 strikes, involving 76,971 men, in January 1887.

Newark, N.J., February 12, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

### MINE AND THINE.

The following lines are literally translated from a poem written in Flanders in the 14th century, and show how the men of that day longed for the simplest Communism, probably with nearly as much reason amidst the high-handed open violence of "kings and scoundrels," as we have for our longing amidst the fraudulent veiled violence of capitalists and scoundrels:—

Two words about the world we see  
And nought but *Mine* and *Thine* they be.  
Ah! might we drive them forth and wide  
With us should rest and peace abide;  
All free, nought owned of goods and gear  
By men and women though it were.  
Common to all all wheat and wine  
Over the seas and up the Rhine.  
No manslayer then the wide world o'er  
When *Mine* and *Thine* are known no more.

Yea, God, well counselled for our health,  
Gave all this fleeting earthly wealth  
A common heritage to all,  
That men might feed them therewithal  
And clothe their limbs and shoe their feet  
And live a simple life and sweet.  
But now so rageth greediness  
That each desireth nothing less  
Than all the world, and all his own;  
And all for him and him alone.

Translated by WILLIAM MORRIS.

### REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 9, 1889.

3	Sun.	1756. W. Godwin born. 1794. Trial of Joseph Gerrald for sedition. 1848. Louis Philippe, as "Mr. Smith," lands in England. 1861. Serfdom abolished in Russia. 1879. W. K. Clifford died.
4	Mon.	1799. Trial of John Vint and two others for libelling the Czar. 1866. Fenian mass-meeting in New York. 1877. George Odger died. 1880. Karl Sladkowsky died. 1880. S. O. Molodietzky attempts the life of General Loris Melikoff, Governor-General of St. Petersburg.
5	Tues.	1817. Trial of Alexander McLaren and Thomas Baird for sedition. 1867. Fenian risings in Ireland. 1877. Trial of 50 Russian Socialists for working in factories under false names and carrying on secret propaganda: sentences—mines, 6; Siberia, 11; banishment, 19; prison, 6. 1880. Molodietzky hanged. 1882. Edwin James died.
6	Wed.	1812. Trial of D. I. Eaton for blasphemous libel. 1815. Riots in London on account of a bill prohibiting importation of corn, lasted three days. 1848. Riots in Trafalgar Square and West-end. 1867. Proclamation of the Irish Republic sent to the <i>Times</i> and other papers. 1868. First prosecution of the International at Paris; five prisoners. 1880. S. O. Molodietzky hanged. 1881. Land Nationalisation Society formed.
7	Thur.	1896. The <i>Press</i> , organ of the United Irishmen, seized by Government, and office wrecked. 1867. Fenian rising near Dublin: Fenians hold market-place at Drogheda against police and soldiers, but at length beaten off. 1878. Osinsky makes attempt on Procurator Kotliarevsky at Kieff.
8	Fri.	1831. Riots in South of England to prevent shipment of corn.
9	Sat.	1762. William Cobbett born. 1867. P. L. Lavroff banished by administrative order to Kadnikoff; whence he escaped same day three years later.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The seventh and concluding lecture will be delivered on Sunday March 3rd by Hubert Bland—"The Outlook."



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN  
HEARD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

N. O.—The Free Labour Journal (first number Oct. 3, 1868) was a forerunner of Jus, and met the same fate. It advocated Courts of Arbitration for trade disputes, Emigration, and Technical Education; talks of the tyranny of the trades unions, etc.  
N. D.—“Spartacus” was W. J. Linton.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 27.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	ITALY
Die Autonomie	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Justice	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Turin—Il Muratore
Labour Elector	Fort Angeles—Commonwealth	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Ancona—Il Libero Patto
London—Freie Presse	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco—Pacific Union	Seville—La Solidaridad
Postal Service Gazette	Denver—Arbitrator	Barcelona—El Productor
Railway Review	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Madrid—El Socialista
Social Demokrat	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Ruskin's Reading Guild Journal	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
INDIA	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	GERMANY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	Wien—Gleichheit
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Freiheit	BELGIUM	DENMARK
Truthseeker	Ghent—Vooruit	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	WEST INDIES
Jewish Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	Cuba—El Productor
Workmen's Advocate	Arbeiterstimme	

LIBERAL MALIGNITY: THE NEW JESUITS.

THE most malignant symptom of social disease in our day is the prostitution of intellect, under its three forms of Literature, Science, and Art, to plutocracy. Hence the inventions that should lighten the burdens of toil, increase them by supplanting the employed and putting skill at a discount, and shift the yoke to the shoulders of women and children. Great works of art, instead of developing taste and ideality among the masses, as in Greece, have become private property, the ostentation of privilege, adorning the palaces of great robbers. But the most shameful fact of all is, that men of letters, whose fortunes are not directly due to plutocrat patronage, but depend on the sale of great numbers of books at small prices, should combine with the oppressors of that labour whose spoils nourish luxury. This is the more ungrateful, because of their clearer knowledge of the facts and methods involved, and when these men of letters profess “liberalism,” it is also the more hypocritical. Their very existence as “liberal,” secular or infidel, propagandists, depends upon a tolerance of speech and press which they refuse to other economic controversialists. An arch-type of this evil eminence, because of his intellectual and social culture, is Moncure D. Conway, one of the few who a quarter of a century ago had the moral courage to withstand and oppose the madness of the interstate war, and whose recent work, ‘Pine and Palm,’ is a gem in English literature.

Bred to the pulpit, i.e., to professional obscurantism, Conway broke the trammels of theology; he refused to owe his bread to the authority of an imaginary despot; but entered no less zealously than his ex-clerical brethren, into the holy alliance of Government, Capitalism, and the Church, with Mother Grundy for their housekeeper and common prostitute. Under this selfish and sinister bias, Conway in face of the miseries of London and New York, quiets his conscience with the Malthusian placebo. They rush upon their fate by pullulation. If they would abstain from pigging, and thus allow themselves to die out naturally, after a while, they would be few enough to command better prices for their labour. What can be done for a class that insists upon extravagance in children? Can a man of Conway's intelligence pretend to be ignorant that it is the inherent vice of misery to pullulate, as of luxury to rarefy? Was there ever a numerical excess of individual perfections, such as culture obtains in flowers, fruits, or animals? Does not this check to numbers, or quantity by quality, visibly reign in humanity? What hypocrisy! to blame the masses starved into coarseness, ignorance, and filth, degraded by industrial despotism to a lower moral level than any other beast than the hog—and not even like it, fattened for the table—for lacking self-control over the only passion whose exercise is left to them in common with other brutes! If capitalism, omnipotent through its governmental agent and its church conjuring, would but reconstitute chattel-slavery, kill off supernumeraries, and treat the rest as other beasts of burden or pleasure, there would be comparatively little ground of complaint and fewer to complain—or rather to be complained about—for these dumb-stricken ones can complain only by crime or by death.

Instead of culture, such as makes the Conways, heedless of their brother's woes, our plutocracy gives its proletaires the lot of Tantalus; which Nature has spared to the cart-horse and other beasts of burden, whose intelligence scarcely transcends their situation. It would not be worth while to single out an illustration of the so common apathy of egoist culture. I have just happened to learn that at the epoch of the “Anarchist” trial at Chicago, Conway while thanking me for informing him about the case, and letting me suppose he would use his influence in the direction of justice, was writing to the New York Tribune against the lives of the accused. He had also proclaimed himself an opponent of the death penalty; yet after the execution, he said to a friend of mine who was deprecating this public crime, “It was best they should be exterminated.”

Here is a teacher of ethics for you, that found the Christianity of Jesus not good enough for him, and that finds blasphemy against the money power an unpardonable crime.

Conway was not ignorant of the iniquities of the Anarchist trial, and avowed to me in general terms his disapproval of its proceedings. He also told me that he had read Spies' autobiography, which whatever economic dissent it may provoke, cannot fail to touch sympathies in every noble heart. No one could have limned the characters in ‘Pine and Palm,’ without having felt what it is to be a gentleman. Yet here is one hand in glove with Gary, Bonfield, Schaack and Co., synonyms of an ineffable monstrosity of baseness, cruelty, and perfidy. Suppose, which is improbable, that Conway ever believed the condemned accessory to the bomb-throwing, i.e., to the crime of resenting a police aggression on the right of assemblage, added to the other crime of using their constitutional rights of speech and press in behalf of ideas that Conway does not share. Are these two legal innocences adequate to converting previous horror of capital punishment into an exterminative hatred?

Let me interpret the true inwardness of Conway's conduct. Attached as a partisan to the privileges of the ruling class by his culture, and too intelligent not to be aware of their injustice, he like his ethical comrades, Salter, Adler and Co., all “free thinkers,” has become a systematic hypocrite, who sees in the police, however hoodlum, and in courts, however corrupt, the palladium of his privileged culture. To be such a partisan is to confine every sentiment of humanity to the membership of one's own social class; it is to be as narrow and bigoted a sectarian as Calvin or as Torquemada, independently of doctrines, it is to be as impervious as an alligator to justice or to charity. Such is the culture which is achieved at the cost of extreme degradation and misery; in our civilised proletariat, here is an exponent of the very best results of our system of government, and from this we never shall move so long as the police forms a class apart from the mass of citizens, instead of being renewed from week to week by lot from all the able-bodied. Chicago has been the police-made organic law.

EDGEWORTH.

OUT OF WORK MEMBERS.

Two painters, one general labourer, and a member who makes carriage cushions and tarpaulins. If any of our readers know of anything that will give employment to them, they will be doing a good turn to deserving members (Hammersmith Branch). One member who would be glad of odd jobs, another in want of situation as bootmaker (Clerkenwell Branch). Two painters would be glad of work (North London Branch).

LONDON PAUPERISM.—The number of paupers in London on the last day of the first week of February, exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants, was 105,730, as compared with 110,319 in 1888, 104,253 in 1887, and 100,517 in 1886. The vagrants relieved on the 7th inst. numbered 1,234, of whom 1,058 were men, 166 women, and 10 children under sixteen years of age.



## TO WEST-END TAILORS.

At this time of the year we are all of us, more or less, out of employment, and during the last busy season (that broke off for some of us long before Christmas) we had to work long hours, and in many cases in unhealthy workshops, and many is the scuffle<sup>1</sup> and the drag<sup>2</sup> we were in. Many a night we had to work to get a job done, many a snarl from the foreman, and many a job ill-paid—and for what? Do you think it is necessary to go through the anxious and worrying life, with all its uncertainties and disappointments, for the scanty reward that we get? How many of us can live through a slack time without the pawnshop? How often we are without the means of getting the makings of a suit or even a coat; and our children—how we crib the pieces of cloth and linings to make them little things, because the cheap clothes, when we can afford them are so common and nasty. And yet we are always making up the finest of materials. For whom? For other useful people? No. For honest men and women? Sometimes. And how do our fellow-workers get clothed? We know that they are obliged to get slop-made shoddy things, that are made by women and children in London and the provinces and on the Continent, in factories, for starvation wages, and the contractors that employ them getting richer on their misery and prostitution. Now does it not seem, friends, a very disreputable state of affairs, when we West-end tailors are never making anything for our fellow-workers, but always toiling for the comfort and benefit of the so-called upper classes; who in return do not do a single stroke of anything useful whatever, but who manage to get out of the annual results of the united labours of the workers of England, about eight hundred millions of pounds as rent, interest, and profit. "Oh, but they keep us employed!" say some. Yes, and there's the mischief. They do keep us employed on their fashions and finery (the very trimmings of which would clothe all the naked ones), keeping us away from doing the work for our fellows in all other trades and occupations, who require our labours so much. Who are continually robbing them and us, and out of the proceeds manage to keep many of us wasting our time for them and their servants. Think of the liveries that are made in a year! Think of how many honest men and women that are obliged to go to service to these people whom we work for! Who keeps these gentlefolk and their man and maid-servants? Who earns the money that buys and keeps their horses and carriages, and their expensive furniture and jewellery and wines? Why, the workers of all countries. All wealth is produced by labour, that's clear. Then labour must claim all the wealth that is stored up on all sides. These lazy people pass their time mostly in pleasure, vicious and degrading; who call themselves our superiors because, forsooth, their fathers or friends were successful thieves, not open and daring like Dick Turpin or any of the robbers of old, but in a strictly legal way protecting themselves with laws of their own making, founded or floated bogus companies, or sucked their per cents. out of the sweat and blood of the miners, or cotton hands, or the many other speculations they are engaged in at our expense.

How many of us would not have been tailors, or for the matter of that, other kinds of tradesmen, if the land had not been stolen from the people. They say (and they have it over the entrance to the Royal Exchange) that the "earth is the Lords and the fullness thereof," but they have taken advantage of the people's apathy and ignorance, and to day the earth is the landlord's, and he can and does turn us off it and makes for himself and confederates a pleasure ground. Thus it is that we are forced to come to the towns and cities and compete with already under-paid labour, and there being a demand for house-room the rents are put on. We are obliged to live in unhealthy places, we cannot get wholesome food or pure air, and we are obliged in many cases to go to work for sweaters. We perhaps go out and get work for ourselves to make at home; and if we have children they must help, and the wife also, and from so much close confinement we get sallow and miserable looking. How many of us know how many tailors die, long before their time, of consumption and other chest diseases in London alone? And shall we not make a struggle to free ourselves from this slavery? "Yes," you say, "there's the Tailor's Society!" Can that get us back the vast stolen results of our labours, past and present? Does not the society admit the necessity of masters, and only wishes to get out of the profits a little more as wages? And is not the little money we get back from the society in cases of sickness and death, part of the hard earnings of ourselves and others, who have denied themselves and families the necessary comforts to be able to keep up the payments? Must we always be so stupid to think that we cannot work and live without masters? I for one say that the whole system of masters and slaves is a rotten and unfair one.

We are told to be thrifty and temperate. That is, that we the workers, the producers, should not partake of the comforts and luxuries that we make, but should deny ourselves of nearly all that is worth living for, even to actual necessities, in order that the idlers may have more ease, more luxuries, more wealth. Because the cheaper we can live the less wages will we get, and so leave the shirkers more surplus. "Ah! but we all stand the same chance to get on," say some. Yes, but we can only get on at the expense of many of our less fortunate fellows, who may have more real ability and be in every way more worthy, and yet because another is more cringing or crafty he stands the better chance. We may all learn cutting, and pay away our hard-

earned savings to some quack professor, but we only make so many more competitors for the job and so bring down the wages. Some will say, perhaps, that by belonging to the society and paying an extra 1½d. a-week for so many years, that you become eligible for admission to the "Home" at Haverstock Hill. Just fancy! After working a lifetime, perhaps, for the benefit of the innumerable parasites that fatten on us. After helping to build up the fortunes of some Poole or Redfern, and living on the cag-mag that falls to the lot of many of us, perhaps being a teetotaler, non-smoker, vegetarian; reared sons, perhaps, who have gone and fought for their country's "honour" and "nobly" died for some money-monger's profit, and who might have been a support in old age and infirmity. What a grand reward! Well, you might say, its better than nothing or the workhouse.

No, fellow-workers, it is not the reward that we are entitled to. We tell them, the aristocrats, money-lenders, stock-jobbers, and all the other sweaters, that it is good enough for them—they who have never worked, and never starved; they who have exploited the workers of all countries; they who have set us against one another because we were born on different parts of the earth; they who pay us a few pence a day to go out to India or Egypt to be shot at for their pleasure; they who debauch our daughters, our sisters, and our sweet-hearts; they who pass laws to keep us in subjection, to keep us servile and ignorant; they it is whom the workhouses, almshouses, and infirmaries are good for! They have by combination, international and social, acquired their privileges. We must do likewise. We must combine with the down-trodden workers of all countries and colours, and educate and agitate until the whole "so-called civilised world is convulsed.

Let us no longer waste our time and energies on politics, and no longer be the Christ-crucified between the two thieves—Capitalism and Landlordism—but let us work unceasingly for the preparation of the workers for the great Strike of Labour throughout the world, when the two armies shall be opposed, the Workers and the Shirkers. This can and shall be accomplished in a comparatively short time, if you individually make it the duty of your life. The more we agitate the more converts we shall make, and the nearer we shall be to the great crisis, the great strike, the great Social Revolution.

MYER WILCHINSKI.

## THERE'S PLENTY FOR ALL.

FROM "DRURY LANE LYRICS."

THERE'S plenty for all, but we thwart one another,  
And the weak gather weeds, while the strong cull the flowers;  
Let man aye treat man like a man and a brother,  
And there's plenty for all in this rich world of ours.  
Had the godhead been selfish, no frail flower blooming,  
Would, dying, bequeath its perfume to the air;  
And the life-giving streams, through our wide valleys roaming,  
Would have ne'er spread their circles, nor mirrored a star.

Dark deeds and rare virtues, self-love and negation,  
In the wisest of nations have struggling met;  
And the page that records the good deeds of the nation,  
Is polluted with crime that we fain would forget:  
Did men love one another as firm as they hated,  
This world were a spot wherein no man could grieve;  
Will the palate of Woe with Man's tears ne'er be sated?  
Will man never practice to live and let live?

Shall the shadows of darkness grow shorter or longer?  
Have martyrs unbowed trod the scaffold in vain?  
Will brotherly love become weaker or stronger?  
The crimes of the past be enacted again?  
Fair plenty shall enter the cottager's dwelling,  
Laughter will shake his fat sides at his board,  
Paeans to Joy fill the breeze proudly swelling,  
And the wand of old Time change the serf to a lord.

JOHN BEDFORD LENO.

THE PARIS WORKMEN'S CONGRESS.—It has been resolved by the French National Labour Committee that the International Workmen's Congress shall be held during the latter half of July, immediately after the great national fêtes, which will celebrate the centenary of the Revolution. All groups, associations, or trade unions, which are represented, must prove that they were in existence in 1888. The votes will be taken by nationality, each nation having one vote, to be decided by the majority of its delegates. The agenda will include—(1) International legislation on the hours of labour; (2) The most practical means to employ so as to establish constant relations between the labour organisations of the different countries without infringing upon their autonomy. All nationalities can place other questions on the agenda for discussion. It is not at present determined where the Congress shall be held, but it is possible that it may take place in the great hall of the new Paris Labour Exchange now in course of construction. This building will cost £120,000, and will hold 180 separate offices for the use of the various trade unions. The arrangements for organising the Congress are entrusted to the French Workmen's Party (Federation des Travailleurs Socialistes de France). A discussion will be raised on the method by which the eight hours' principle is to be enforced. The French committee makes a special appeal to the English trade unions ("so well organised and so powerful") to be present through their delegates. It is to be hoped, says the *Star*, that this appeal will be responded to in a spirit more cordial than that which marked the conduct of the Parliamentary Committee at last November's Congress. Trade unions merely will not be the only bodies represented in Paris. All genuine societies organised to promote the interests of the working classes as a whole are invited to send delegates.

<sup>1</sup> Hurry.

<sup>2</sup> A drag is when with all your hurry you don't get the job done in time.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Northumberland miners have agreed to accept the terms proposed by the masters.

The Kirkaldy mill-workers who were on strike, resumed work on the 21st of February.

The plater's helpers employed in the Wear shipbuilding yards struck work on February 20th for an increase of wages.

The Leith carters at a meeting on Saturday night resolved to form themselves into a branch of the Scottish Horsemen's Union.

The strike in the Stockport hat trade still continues. The employers, it is said, are about to establish some defensive organisation.

The rivet beaters in Leven Shipyard, Dumbarton, came out on strike on Saturday, Feb. 23rd. Several hundreds of men are affected.

There is a movement amongst the members of the Greenock branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers for an advance of 3d. per hour.

**IRONMOULDER'S WAGES.**—The ironmoulders on the Clyde have intimated that they will require an increase of 3d. per hour, to take effect on the 29th inst.

A deputation to the managers reported to a crowded meeting of miners at Broxburn, February 23rd, that the Mineral Oil Association refused to grant the advance demanded.

**BOILERMAKER'S WAGES.**—The shipbuilders on the Mersey have agreed to grant the boilermakers and others an increase of 5 per cent. on piece-work and 1s. on time wages from 1st of March, with a similar further increase on 1st of July.

**SHIPYARD STRIKERS STAND OUT.**—By a ballot the 2,000 shipyard helpers on strike at Sunderland for an advance of 1s. 6d. a week have refused the builder's offer of an increase of 6d. per week. The strike, therefore, continues. As a compromise, the men have offered to accept an advance of 1s.

**NEWRY (IRELAND) SPINNERS.**—The operatives in spinning department of Bessbrook Company's Spinning Mills, Dromalane, Newry, struck work on 20th for an increase, and consequently the workers in preparing and reeling departments are also idle. All the mill hands, to the number of about 300, are now out.

**SOUTH WALES COLLIERS.**—At an adjourned meeting of the South Wales colliers, held on Saturday at Aberdare, the employer's conditional offer of 5 per cent. advance was rejected by a majority. It was afterwards decided to demand an increase of 12½ per cent. in wages throughout the district of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

**CHAINMAKERS.**—The chainmakers in small-chain trade have accepted new list of prices lately formulated. The new list will make a reduction upon best qualities, and also a slight decrease in prices upon some classes of inferior chain. The list represents an increase upon most of the common chain. The chainmakers are now all busily at work.

**LABOURERS' WAGES.**—A large representative meeting of hillmen and labourers was held at Baillieston last week to discuss the wage question, and according to reports their weekly wages ranged from 13s. to 17s. per week. The following resolution was unanimously agreed to: "That we, the labourers and hillmen of Baillieston district, consider that we have been unfairly treated by our employers not giving us a fair share in the recent advance in wages, and consider that at least the weekly wage of labourers ought to be 18s.; and further, that they join the order of the Sons of Labour."

**TIN-PLATE WORKERS.**—At Morriston, on Saturday, a great demonstration took place to sympathise with the workmen who have given notice to the proprietors of Worcester and Upper Forest Tin-plate Works to cease work a month from February 6th. On the reception of this notice the proprietors gave notice that they would close the works at the end of the month rather be dictated to. Morriston being the centre of the tin-plate industry, the dispute is creating great anxiety. Resolutions pledging support in the approaching struggle were adopted. Over 2,000 workpeople, it is stated, will probably be locked out in about six days, and the works stopped.

**MASTERS AND APPRENTICES.**—D. and J. Smith, boot manufacturers at Newton-on-Ayr, applied to the Court to have two of their apprentices ordered to return to their work under the alternative of imprisonment. In defence, it was explained the boys had left their employment because of not being taught the business in accordance with the indentures, and pleaded thereby that the masters had thereby broken the indentures in having kept them almost exclusively at boy's boots, instead of also giving them men's and women's. Sheriff Paterson, after hearing proof, has decided that the masters had not fulfilled the contract with their apprentices, but held that the boys had no right to leave their work, having other remedy. He ordered them to go back, and the masters to give them a proper share of higher class work.

**MANCHESTER CIGARETTE WORKERS.**—A branch of the Cigarette Workers and Tobacco Cutters Union has lately been formed at Manchester. Last Thursday week the members of that society employed at the firm of Muratti and Co., at St. James's Street, Oxford Street, about 21 in number, have left work on account of the firm refusing an advance of 3d. per 1,000, which, according to the employes' statement, would simply be a returning of the 3d. that has recently been taken off. The prices at present are 2s. 6d. to male workers per 1,000, and 2s. 3d. to females for the same quantity and quality of work. The strikers are all foreign Jews, most of whom are females. Unfortunately, there are seven English Christian females still at work, and the prospect of those on strike is not very hopeful. The conditions, fines, abuse, etc., they were subject to is indescribable.

**SEAMEN'S STRIKE.**—A crowded meeting was held on Thursday 21st at Deptford in connection with the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, John Burns in the chair. It was reported that the General Steam Navigation Company were willing to reinstate the men on strike, and would not insist on their being transferred from one ship to another without any rest, and would concede an advance of 2s. per week on the wages formerly paid. After some discussion a resolution was passed by a majority of two to one agreeing that the men should return to work Friday on these terms. An amendment proposing that the men should stand out for an increase of 5s. was lost, but nearly 200 men remained neutral, voting neither for the resolution nor amendment. Mr. Abbott, secretary, bitterly complained of the manner in which the agitation had been boycotted by the London newspapers, with the

exception of the *Star*, whereas in provincial seaports the local press had given full publicity to the proceedings of the Sailors' Union. John Burns said at very short notice he had attended that meeting, and brought with him cordial expressions of sympathy from several members of parliament. With regard to the General Steam Navigation Company, he noticed from their report for the year ending 1888 that they had earned £9,000 more than in the corresponding half-year of 1887; they had put by £40,000 for depreciation, besides a dividend of £11,040 for the shareholders and carrying over a balance of £3,344. That justified the men in asking for an increase, especially as the manager got £2,000 a year for four hours per day on six days of the week, while they worked nearly night and day all the week. That was a shame. He promised them the support of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, to which he belonged, and would endeavour to put a stop to the boycotting by the press.—At the Dublin Trades Council on the 18th it was stated that the owners of ten ships had conceded their demand. Michael Murphy had given his men a rise from 25s. to 30s. Tedcastle 25s. to 30s., the Caledonian, on the Silloth line, from 28s. to 30s. Palgrave and Murphy had also recognised the justice of the request, and had given a concession, but the British and Irish Steampacket Co. did not entertain the proposals. The men were willing to leave the dispute to arbitration. The Lord Mayor has consented to be one of the arbitrators. There has been a warm little dispute caused by the officers of the fire-brigade trying to prevent their men joining the Seamen's Union; but the question has been settled by the Water-works Committee resolving that "the Committee have no concern with the men as to their becoming members of any association so long as such action on their part does not interfere with the discipline and efficiency of the brigade."

## THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY AND PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION.

THE *Co-operative News* publishes the following circular, copies of which are issued to the shareholding societies in the Wholesale:

GENTLEMEN,—We address you on a subject of importance to co-operators. We believe that the revision of the rules of the Co-operative Wholesale Society offers an opportunity for reconstituting the Co-operative Wholesale Society's workshops on a truly co-operative basis.

Delegates at the meetings of the Co-operative Wholesale Society have decided to appoint a committee for the purpose of considering and reporting on the present rules and constitution of the Wholesale Society.

In the present condition of co-operative opinion, which demands a solution of the labour problem, it is most desirable that the instructions given to this committee should include power to take this subject especially into their consideration, and report upon it.

The Wholesale Society stands before the public as the most prominent representative of co-operative industry; by its faults we are judged; by its failures to carry out the co-operators' principles, the public condemn our cause.

We venture to set before you some suggestions which, if incorporated in the rules of the Wholesale Society, would make it a federation in reality.

At present the productive workshops of the Wholesale Society too often act as an impediment to its progress.

By adopting a scheme similar to that outlined, it is possible to continually extend the productive side of co-operation with the help of the Wholesale Society. Workshops of this kind, possessing local self-government, and infused with local energy, would be a strength and support to the Wholesale Society, and make it what it ought to be, the great central agency for the collection and distribution of every product of co-operative industry.

We address you as fellow co-operators. We are, like you, members of co-operative societies, and therefore wishful that our Wholesale Society should have a generous programme, which would give opportunities for expansion in co-operative production.

We ask you to seriously consider the proposal we now lay before you, and pledge those for whom you vote to support proposals at least as liberal to the workers as those annexed. We remain, gentlemen, yours faithfully.

(Signed by the Executive Committee and the Secretary, H. E. Ivimey.)

Labour Association, for Promoting Co-operative Production based on the Co-partnership of the Worker. Central Office, 1 Norfolk Street, Strand.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING THE RELATIONS OF THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY WITH ITS WORKSHOPS.

1. Separate registration of each workshop as a workshop society under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, so that workers can hold shares.
2. Wholesale Society's present capital invested in the existing productive works to be represented in £1 shares, consecutively numbered.
3. Such capital to bear the same rate of interest as is now being charged the workshops by the Wholesale Society in their accounts.
4. The Wholesale Society to remain the sole distributors to co-operative societies of the products, receiving the same commission as the workshops are at present charged in the Wholesale Society's accounts.
5. The Wholesale Society to receive such proportion of profits as will pay their present average dividend on custom.
6. The Wholesale Society to have the option to accumulate their profits in share capital of the workshop societies.
7. In the event of there being at any time surplus capital in any workshop, the shares to be paid out as consecutively numbered.
8. The share-list of each workshop society to be always open to the workers for investment in the workshop in which they are employed.
9. The workers' share capital to receive the same rate of interest as that of the Wholesale Society invested in the workshop.
10. The workers to receive (as workers) the profits remaining after providing for numbers 3, 4, 5, and 9.
11. The workers' profits to be always capitalised in shares, except such portions as are set aside for special funds.
12. A committee of management to be appointed for each workshop, upon which the workers shall elect at least one representative in the beginning, the numbers to be increased as the workers' proportion of capital increases.
13. The workers to appoint an advising committee.
14. Each workshop society to become a shareholding member in the Wholesale Society.

COSMOPOLITAN CLUB, Charles Square, Hoxton.—Sunday March 3, at 8 p.m., C. W. Mowbray, "Socialism and Politics." Friends are specially asked to turn up here on this occasion, this being the opening night.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—At the last Council meeting, Sparling, Davis, and Cores were elected as delegates to Metropolitan Radical Federation on the question of the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, March 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp. Members are specially asked to attend the next meeting, as the question of the best method of conducting London propaganda will be discussed.

**Commune Celebration.**—At this year's celebration, the choir will sing the "Marseillaise," "When the People have their own again," and "All for the Cause." All willing to take part are invited to practise along with the Hammer-smith choir, which meets every Thursday at 7.30 prompt. A Special Practice will take place at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, March 5th, after the business of the Propaganda Committee has been finished.

**Children's Party.**—A Children's Party will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on March 12th. Subscriptions, etc., can be sent to the Secretary, Mrs. Groser, 19, Rigault Road, Fulham. The Committee will meet at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, March 5th, at 7.30 p.m. All members of the Committee are asked to attend.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1889:—Clerkenwell, Leicester, Mitcham, and North London, to February.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collected at Regent's Park, 1s. 2d.; and at Hyde Park, 1s. 7½d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

**NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.**—Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, March 5th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members who are interested in the propaganda are asked to attend.

D. J. NICOLL.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Schmitt, 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; J. Presburg, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Latham, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Morris, 2s.; B. W., 6d.; and S. Presburg, 6d.; J. Stirling Robertson, 4s. From Norwich Branch, 1s. 6d.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA.**—A good meeting was held last Sunday at Regents Park, when Cantwell, Blundell, and Parker spoke; 1s. 2d. collected. At Hyde Park, Parker, Davis, Cores, and Nicoll spoke; several chants sung with good effect, and 1s. 7½d. collected. Procession to Broad Street escorted by police, horse and foot; a short meeting was held at Broad Street. At Clerkenwell Green, Parker, Brooks, and McCormack spoke. Literature and *Commonweal* sold well at these stations.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, February 24th, Mrs. Schack lectured on "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement"; very good discussion and many questions asked. Several women were present, but it was suggested that more women should attend Socialist halls and lectures, outdoor and indoor, on Sunday evenings and at other times. We closed with several revolutionary songs and the Marseillaise; 2s. 8½d. collected.—S. P.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting on Sunday at Latimer Road at 11.30 a.m.; very good audience; speakers were Dean, Maughan, Wm. Morris, Crouch, and A. J. Smith; choir assisted; 16 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road at 7 p.m., good meeting was held; speakers were Lyne, jun., Tarleton, and Bullock. At Kelmscott House, Wm. Clarke lectured to fair audience. The business meetings of this branch continue to be well attended. A few more voices wanted in the choir.—G. M.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Last Friday week, Nicoll read Kropotkin's article entitled "The Spirit of Revolt" to a select audience; very well received, and a good discussion followed.—T. C.

**ABERDEEN.**—At open-air meeting in Castle Street on 23rd inst., we were moved by police to another part of the square. Here we had to contend with cheap jacks, fruit-sellers, and a revivalist meeting in close proximity, but held our own against the whole chorus. Duncan and Leatham addressed large and densely packed meeting, and drew the revivalists into speaking about the social question from their point of view; questions at close. Comrade Cooper has made an excellent platform for us. At indoor meeting on 18th, Carpenter's lecture on "Private Property" read and discussed. Leatham is doing good propaganda in the most popular local paper, in which he is running a series of articles.

**GLASGOW.**—On Wednesday evening, members distributed leaflets at Mr. Naorji's meetings in the City Hall. On Sunday at 2.30, Glasier and Tim Burgoyne spoke to a good audience on the Green. At 5 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke at Paisley Road Toll on the "Distribution of Wealth." There was a large crowd, and the people listened attentively, but all the wealth they distributed into the hat when it was sent round was 5d. At 7 o'clock we held a meeting at St. George's Cross, a station which we abandoned two years ago after a short campaign. There was a very good audience, mostly of the well-dressed class. They seemed much interested, and bought *Commonweal* well.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday morning, a large number of back copies of *Commonweal* was distributed by several comrades at one or two of the surrounding villages. In afternoon, a short open-air meeting was held in Market Place addressed by Darley and Poynts; audience not so large as usual owing to the very bad weather. In evening, at Gordon Hall, Freeman in chair, discussion upon the 'Manifesto' was resumed. Mills opened in the negative at some length, and was supported by W. Moore. Owing to the length of time taken up, it was decided to adjourn until next Sunday evening, when it will be again resumed in the negative. Meeting concluded with songs by Darley, Emery, and Lennyng, a duet by G. and H. Ashley, and three cheers for the Social Revolution.—S.

**YARMOUTH.**—Sunday morning, Reynolds and Ruffold paid a promised visit to Gorleston, and held a meeting in a building used as a sailor's look-out, which was kindly offered us, the weather being very cold. We were listened to very attentively, and asked to go again. We sold six *Weals*. In the afternoon we held usual meeting on Priory Plain, Ruffold and Reynolds again being the speakers. All our *Weal* sold.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday March 3, at 8.30, H. Davis, "Objections to Socialism Answered." Sun. 10th, A Lecture. Sun. 17th, D. Nicoll, "English Revolution, 1815-1817—Spafeld and Derbyshire Insurrection." Sunday 24th, H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then." Sun. 31st, Frank Kitz, A Lecture.

**East London.**—A Members' Meeting will be held Sunday March 3rd, at 4 p.m., at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. All members and officers of the three dissolved branches are requested to attend. H. Davis, secretary *pro tem.*, 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Lecture on Sunday March 3, at 8 p.m.

**Hammer-smith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 3, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. Thursday 7th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 8th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda.

**Hoxton.**—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Business meetings held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street. All persons desirous of joining are requested to communicate with A. Coulon at above address.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. Central Halls, Nicolson Street, Tuesday 5th March, at 8 p.m., Leo Melliet will lecture on "Woman and Social Progress."

**Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

**Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meetings Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall. Sunday, at 8 p.m., resumed discussion on the Manifesto. Tuesday, at 8.15, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m.—All comrades having books belonging to the Branch are requested to return them at once to the Librarian, W. Moore, in order that a complete catalogue may be made.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder (Scottish Section).**—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—Business meetings every Monday at 8 p.m. See below for open-air propaganda. C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, Secretary.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

### SUNDAY 3.

11	.....	Broad Street, Soho	.....	Nicoll & Mowbray.
11	.....	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball,"	.....	Hicks and Davis.
11	.....	Leman Street, Shadwell	.....	Mrs. Schaack and Mowbray.
11.30	.....	Latimer Road Station	.....	Hammersmith Branch.
11.30	.....	Regent's Park	.....	Parker, Springfield, Mainwaring.
11.30	.....	Walham Green, opposite Station	.....	The Branch.
3.30	.....	Hyde Park	.....	Nicoll, Brookes, Mrs. Lahr, and Parker.
3.30	.....	Victoria Park	.....	Davis and Mowbray.
7.30	.....	Clerkenwell Green	.....	Brookes and Parker.
7.30	.....	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park	.....	Hammersmith Branch.

### TUESDAY 5.

8.30	.....	Fulham—back of Walham Green Church	.....	The Branch.
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### THURSDAY 7.

8.15	.....	Hoxton Church	.....	Cores & Mowbray.
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### FRIDAY 8.

8	.....	Philpot Street, Commercial Road	.....	Mowbray & Cores.
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## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

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**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 165.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CELEBRATION OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

THE Celebration of the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Paris Commune (convened by the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation) will be held on

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MARX-AVELING, P. KROPOTKINE, LE MOUSSU, and E. BERNSTEIN.

CHAIRMAN: H. M. HYNDMAN

*Selections of Music will be given during the Evening by Members and Friends of the Social Democratic Federation, and the Choir of the Socialist League will render the 'Marseillaise,' 'All for the Cause,' and 'When the Workers have their own again,' etc.*

Comrades and friends are earnestly requested to take in hand the collection of money for the defrayal of expenses, for which purpose collection sheets have been issued. Donations may be sent to

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### NOTES ON NEWS.

It is difficult indeed to say a word about the "Great Case" which has not already been said dozens of times. Socialists must of course join in the general rejoicing. If things had gone the other way the reactionaries would have been encouraged to more and more acts of oppression, and the *Times* newspaper would have been our master till we could have mustered strength to upset the whole concern. As things go the *Times* has been hit hard indeed; and although it is true that by taking things quietly and letting the days pass, it will in a few months regain something of the appearance of its old prestige, yet at all events its forward movement to take us all by the throat has been checked.

As to Mr. Parnell, he is not of us, and probably, in time to come, will be very much against us; but it would be ungenerous indeed not to rejoice in his triumph over such a vile crew as the *Times* and the Tory Government. On the other hand, we think no better of him for being cleared of the crime of being art and part with the revolutionary party in Ireland; and as to the famous or infamous letter, when the fac-simile first appeared in the columns of the *Friend of Informers*, I remember rubbing my eyes and saying to myself, "Why, what the devil has bit the *Times* now, where's the harm in that letter?"

For the Government of course the blow is serious; but the hopes of a speedy dissolution in which the *Star* and other Radicals are indulging are surely delusive. The Government majority on the amendment to the Address shows pretty clearly that though there may be some of the Tory party who are ashamed of the tactics of their leaders (now they have failed), yet they have no choice but to vote straight on a

division. Indeed, as to the shame, I doubt it; for politics make blackguards of us all.

However, when the general election does come, no doubt this defeat will go some way to overthrow the Tory party, and unless the unexpected weighs down the scales on the other side once more, we may look for a Gladstonian Parliament next time. Well, what then? As to Ireland compromise, and shelving the matter until it reappears, one may well hope, with a far more revolutionary aspect. As to the country in general? Well, what we may reasonably expect is, that the New Gladstonian Parliament will think that they have done enough for the popular side in conceding some crippled Home Rule to Ireland, and will set their face against any serious change in England. And on the whole I think that this which is likely to happen is the best thing that could happen. For there are many Radicals, and perhaps some Socialists, who expect much from a new Liberal Parliament, and if they get nothing perhaps they will bestir themselves a little, and try to push things forward.

For just think, while all these fine ladies and gentlemen, these miracles of refinement and cultivation, were crowding into the Court as into a theatre, to enjoy themselves over this judicial drama, the point of which was to find out, whether a certain Parliamentary leader was more or less mixed up with an enthusiastic and generous attack (though made on grounds that we should not agree with) on that great reactionary power, the British Empire—while all this was going on, and the corruption of well-to-do society was day by day being exposed, all around them thousands of poor people were (and are) dying of starvation and living in torment, without a hand being held out to help them. Anything is good enough to obscure the thought of that and what will come of it—though nothing worse than itself can come of it. And there is no wonder in that, for all this suffering is the foundation of "Society." Touch it, attempt seriously to remedy it, and down topples that false Society itself—and there is the remedy, and there is no other.

W. M.

As comrade John Burns well said when speaking there, the meeting of the Metropolitan Radical Federation, of which a report will be found elsewhere, marked an era in the history of the struggle for free speech. The picked men of the working-men's Liberal and Radical clubs were met together, resolute, angry, ready to do anything—if they could but resolve on what was to do. They would have nothing whatever to do with the cowardly proposal to get parliament to "legalise" their meetings. The right of public meeting antedated parliament by centuries; it was one of those imprescriptible rights which the people had never delegated to any legislature. They would not be "allowed" to do that which was well within their right. Such was the clearly expressed feeling of the meeting right through.

The two Liberal members who came down to direct, remained to be rebuked and badgered. They were beginning to feel a little uncomfortable, when Sir Charles Russell came in, and their faces cleared. But they soon clouded again, not to clear for the rest of the evening, when they found how futile was the would-be *coup-d'état*, and how little even the "old lion of the law courts" could do for them. To see Mr. Pickersgill gradually lose his grandiose air, and plead and wriggle like a frightened pettifogger under the stern questioning of his judges! Mr. Morgan, his companion, met with a less severe reception, for he was obviously a good honest old man, a survival from bygone days. But more instructive than all, was to see Sir Charles Russell straining every nerve to master a hostile audience—of Liberals and Radicals!—and failing.

All his prestige and the greatness of his power could do nothing for him. The old familiar shibboleths fell on deaf ears—deaf to everything but "Free Speech" and "Trafalgar Square." And it was by no means an audience of Socialists; the delegates of Socialist organisations were in a very small minority. The fiercest speeches were made by the delegates of Liberal clubs and similar bodies; from the body of the meeting came the shouts of denunciation, the short bitter sen-

quences that stung Sir Charles into rage and whitened the face of Mr. Pickersill. So infuriated were the Radicals by the thought of the treachery wrought against them that it was the Socialists who again and again, by immense effort, secured a hearing for "the accused." This was so marked that Mr. Morgan admitted it to a League delegate after the meeting.

It was a time to be remembered, that night on which the old party ties were shown to have been destroyed by the batons of Bloody Sunday. Amid immense cheering, the delegate of the Deptford Liberal Club declared that Liberal and Tory were alike when the claims of labour were in question; that the meetings in Trafalgar Square might have added as much again to the forty years during which they have been allowed, had not the unemployed come to "show their rags there." And if the Liberals want to win back the allegiance of the London workmen by the next election, they will have to begin early and bid high.

Meanwhile, we Socialists should take heart from the "stirring of the dry bones," and work on unwearied. Who knows but our day is much nearer than we dream of?

S.

### A MINSTREL COMMUNIST.

WE have suffered quite a loss lately, in this neighbourhood, in the death of our old friend, Joseph Sharpe; and as a specimen of one of the people—of native feeling, dignity, gentleness, in the very poorest walks, and of that desire for and belief in a better social life, which runs like a golden thread through the thoughts of the real workers in all lands—it may be worth while to put on record some little account of him.

At the time when I first knew him, some ten years ago, Mr. Sharpe was sixty-two or sixty-three years of age; had a somewhat military air, like an old-fashioned colonel or general, but in very reduced circumstances; a heavy grey moustache, handsome profile, and youthful, even jaunty carriage. Only a few weeks before he died—last January—he presented much the same appearance, working—in red scarf and old greatcoat—in a corner of one of my fields. Sometimes, when smartened up a bit on Sunday or other day, and walking briskly up the lane, I would from the distance wonder what young man it was coming to pay me a visit. The same youthfulness characterised his mind. Notwithstanding all the reverses and struggles of a long and hard life, he possessed an indomitable power of hope, a sanguine innocence which saw no difficulties ahead as soon as he had set his mind on a thing. Only a year or two before he died, he said to me one day, "To belong to a Communistic society has always been the dream of my life, and I don't despair of it now. Peace and goodwill and true fraternity—that's what we want."

In fact, at the time when, as I have said, I first knew him, he had just been joining in an experiment for the realisation of peace and fraternity. A small body—about a dozen—of men calling themselves Communists, mostly great talkers, had joined together with the idea of establishing themselves on the land somewhere; and I have understood that it was at their instance that John Ruskin bought the small farm (of thirteen acres or so) at Totley near Sheffield, which he afterwards made over to S. George's Guild, and which now, under the name of S. George's Farm, has been put in the hands of another, less voluble and more practical, body of Communists—John Furniss, George Pearson, and Co. However that may be, it is certain that the first-mentioned set of men—of whom William Harrison Riley, formerly editor of the *International Herald*, was one of the most active, and among them our friend Joseph Sharpe—did for a short time occupy S. George's Farm. Their idea was not (at any rate at first) to abandon their various occupations in and around Sheffield, but to give their spare time to communal work at the farm, and in some way to share its produce—the scheme including, as most Communistic schemes seem to do, some project for the establishment of a school on the place. Unfortunately the usual dissensions arose—usual, I would say, wherever work of this kind is ruled by theories instead of by practical human needs and immediate desire of fellowship. The promoters of this scheme knew next to nothing of agriculture—being chiefly bootmakers, ironworkers, opticians, and the like—and naturally were ready to dogmatise in proportion to their ignorance: and in a very short time they were hurling anathemas at each other's heads; peace and fraternity were turned into missiles and malice; the wives entered into the fray; and the would-be garden of Eden became such a scene of confusion that Ruskin had to send down an ancient retainer of his (with a pitchfork instead of a flaming sword) to bar them all out.

Mr. Sharpe, probably, in his naive way, was as much convinced that his theories were the right ones, and that failure was due to their not being followed, as any one. He was at this time a harpist by profession, and believed in the harmonies of the spheres; but he thought, as he often told me, that discipline was very necessary in order to create harmony; and there, perhaps, he was right: but, alas! who was to enforce it? He had had, I believe, some experience of the same kind of thing before, at Mount Sorrel, near Leicester, where he was born. His life had been a curiously diversified one—always with this dream of human communism floating over it. He laughed when he told me that he was apprenticed to a butcher, saying "I couldn't kill a goose, never." Then he went into the police force for a time—by way of a change; and after that got employment in a factory. Factory work, however, becoming slack, and as he was now

married, and a small family growing up, he bought a harp. "Do you see, I had a good voice—I was about thirty then—and I thought that if I was thrown out of work I could make a little by singing up and down. Having a young family makes you anxious. Well, I worked hard at the harp for three years, and could play pretty well at the end of that time; and I soon began to make quite a good thing by singing and playing: so that when the time came that I was thrown out I took to that entirely." There was possibly another reason for taking up the harp. The Chartist movement was going on at that time. Our friend, as may be imagined, was an ardent enthusiast for the five-point Charter—to be enforced by points of steel if necessary; he had often drilled with his comrades in the deserted granite-quarries of Mount Sorrel; they had muskets and other weapons hidden away in their homes. Possibly he thought it would be as well to have a trade at his finger-ends which would make him independent of locality or of the caprice of an employer. Anyhow the new trade stood him in good stead. He went about Leicester and neighbourhood, enlarging the circuit of his wanderings, till one day he came to Sheffield. "Well, I suppose they had hardly ever seen a harp in Sheffield before, and it took wonderfully. I was out at one public-house or another every evening—couldn't get away—and there was no early closing then. At last I had to bring my wife and family over and settle there; and Fred was growing up, and I taught him the fiddle; and from the time he was about twelve he accompanied me about, and has done ever since. We did very well then—made many pounds a week often—going to village feasts; but it's not the same now."

In truth they were a pair of good musicians—both endowed with ear and taste superior to the kind of work they were often called upon to perform,—the father with a fine voice and considerable dexterity in accompaniment, the son hardly at a loss for any tune on the fiddle that might be asked for. The village feasts were a great institution at that time. They lasted for a week in each locality, beginning on the Saturday evening and extending to the following Saturday. The ancient pagan or pre-Christian practice of "well-dressing" often formed part of the festival; indeed, this custom is still kept up in some of the remoter villages of Derbyshire, and the chief well or fountain in a village is adorned with greenery, sometimes very cunningly and tastefully (as, for instance, I have seen Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, represented by human figures elegantly inlaid in flower-heads on a green background, inside the porch of a well otherwise decorated with leaves and branches). The neighbours would congregate to these feasts from miles round; dancings and drinkings went on all night long in farm parlours and public-house upper chambers, sleepings in barns and on kitchen settles and floors, and frolics (and some work!) during the day. I have been down with the old man and his son into Lincolnshire—where the feasts are yet maintained with some spirit—taking my turn with them to carry the harp (and I found it no light weight—54 lbs.), through the byelanes around Horncastle and Coningsby, and dancing at night on sanded board floors with the young fellows and occasionally girls (though these jewels are rarer) of the locality, and enjoyed the times much.

But the advent of the railroads had already begun to tell upon the rural life. As the importance of the villages waned, and the agricultural population began to flow towards the towns, the feasts also began to fall off. People began to save their cash and their holidays for trips to the seaside and day excursions to London, and the money dribbled away from the old channels. After a few years Joseph Sharpe began to find his receipts diminishing, and the last twenty years of his life were a pretty continuous struggle with poverty. He opened a small shop in Sheffield, which his wife attended to while he was out playing, but there was not much to be got out of it; then came the *fiasco* at St. George's Farm; and after that there was little left to look to. He did not, however, lose his native pluck and hopefulness. There was something almost Quixotic about his dignity of manner and generosity under circumstances which would have justified a very different bearing; as, for instance, when he would, travelling by train with a companion, insist on paying fares for both, though he could ill afford it; or spread his table with the last he had for a casual visitor. In this respect his communism was not of that kind which makes free with other people's goods, and is niggardly of its own. His love of literature and the ideal tendency of his mind stood him in good stead in these times; to get hold of a book on Astronomy or the poems of Shelley was to forget all his troubles. Latterly he would make me translate to him, as best I could, the 'Divina Commedia' of Dante, and ultimately he bought himself Cary's translation of the 'Inferno.' On his bookshelf were Humboldt's 'Cosmos,' Pickering's 'Races of Man,' and several old-fashioned works on Physiology, a subject of which he was very fond.

Meanwhile, and notwithstanding a falling exchequer, he managed to bring up a small family and send them out into the world. One of his daughters went to Australia, and it was always a great day for him when a letter came from her, or a *Sydney Bulletin*—a paper he was very pleased with on account of its Socialist tendency. Indeed, the growth of the Socialist movement gave our friend a new impetus and object in life. *Commonweal* and *Justice* and *Freedom*, and other Socialist papers and pamphlets, were carried by him to remote villages and public houses through Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and the amount of propagandist work done by him in this way was probably very considerable. He enjoyed an argument, too, and was not easily worsted, for though in detail his ideas were crude and theoretic, and often quite vague and unclear, still he possessed a truly British obstinacy which never knew when it was beaten, and also a certain ease and grace of expression that gave credit to the general



truth of the doctrines which he upheld. When I took to my little farm and garden at Millthorpe, Mr. Sharpe came and worked for me; and though his rows of potatoes were not always of the straightest and most regular, owing, I fear, to the inveterate ideality of his mind, still he was always a plucky and hard worker, full of enterprise, and a cheery companion. He and his wife took a small cottage in the neighbourhood, and many of our Socialist and other friends remember pleasant evenings spent there—the low-raftered room, with bright fire, the one or two pictures of Garibaldi on the wall, the harp in the corner, sometimes played upon, the reminiscences of old Chartist and other times. The minstrel was also a bit of a verse-maker, and one evening—it was Christmas time—when I came in, he was pinning a paper with some verses on it to the wall. He said: “The old lady and me were talking about old times—how we went to school together more than fifty years ago—but it seems like yesterday—and how we got married and brought up a family, and they all gone away; and now we are left alone, and wondering which of us will be the first to go. And then I thought of some verses which I once wrote to my father and mother, and I thought I would copy them out and stick them up here.” But there were tears in the old man’s eyes as he spoke.

It was not so long after that before it turned out that he would be the first to go. Some symptoms of heart-disease—and then he had to take to his bed. The doctor said his heart was just about worn out. The usual discomfort, prostration, sleeplessness followed, with intervals when he was quite chatty and good company. His pluck and hopefulness remained with him, his chief anxiety being that his wife should not be troubled. “Cheer up, mother,” he said, as in her grief she leaned and kissed him, “I am going to prepare a New Jerusalem for you!” One day the new parson called. Sharpe was generally rather amusing with parsons, having a cheerful way of drawing them into endless discussions on Free Will and Predestination. I asked him afterwards how he got on with this one. “Very well,” he said; “he asked me if he should put up a prayer for me.”—“What did you say?”—“I told him he might do as he pleased, I didn’t think it necessary.” “You see,” he added, “I’m always praying somehow or other. I find I can’t help it. Sometimes I pray to the stars.”

“I have never feared death,” he said, “and I don’t alter my opinion now: it has to come to everybody, that is quite certain.” “I believe in the future still, and think a true community will come some day; but you know, E—, the nation will have to suffer before it comes, and many leaders and teachers will be wanted.”

He died “very peaceable and gentle,” as one present expressed it; nor will the death of the old Communist make any difference to the great world, but he and his harp will be missed over a large area around here.

E. C.

Millthorpe, Feb. 1889.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 16, 1889.

10	Sun.	1861. T. G. Schevchenko, Little-Russian popular poet and revolutionist, died. 1872. Giuseppe Mazzini died at Pisa.
11	Mon.	1793. Irish Volunteers suppressed by proclamation.
12	Tues.	1817. J. Cashman hanged for treason in connection with the Spa-fields riots. 1858. Serious riot in Dublin. 1868. Attempt on life of Duke of Edinburgh at Sydney.
13	Wed.	1733. Dr. Joseph Priestley born. 1794. Trial of Joseph Gerrald for sedition. 1811. Trial of John Drakard for seditious libel. 1848. Chartist meeting on Kennington Common. 1848. Open-air demonstration at Berlin. 1858. Orsini and Pierri guillotined. 1879. William Broadhead died. 1881. Execution of Alexander of Russia with a dynamite bomb prepared by Kibolchich, and cast between himself and the condemned by T. A. Prinsvitzky, who consciously paid with his life for the successful carrying out of the mandate of the Executive Committee of the People’s Will. 1882. Anniversary of the execution of the Tzar celebrated at Cleveland Hall, London. 1887. Attempt on Alexander III. by two students.
14	Thur.	1820. Gilbert McLeod transported for five years for sedition. 1842. Congress of Trades and Political Associations at Manchester. 1846. Famine riots in Ireland. 1848. Metternich expelled from Vienna. 1881. Secret bomb-factory seized at St. Petersburg; Sablin killed himself. 1883. Karl Marx died.
15	Fri.	1812. D. I. Eaton imprisoned for publishing the ‘Age of Reason.’ 1881. Famous article in <i>Freiheit</i> . 1884. Conspiracy against the King of Spain discovered.
16	Sat.	1796. Joseph Gerrald died. 1820. Henry Hunt, John Knight, John Thacker Saxton, Samuel Bamford, Joseph Healey, James Moorhouse, Robert Jones, George Swift, and Robert Wylde, tried for “conspiracy to overturn the Government by threats and force of arms,” at Peterloo. 1881. Underground dynamite mine discovered under Sadovaja Street, St. Petersburg, where Tzar had to pass. 1883. Explosion (nitro-glycerine) at office of Local Government Board, Whitehall, and unsuccessful attempt at same time on the <i>Times</i> office.

*Joseph Gerrald.*—Born in the island of St. Christopher, West Indies, Feb. 9, 1763; died at Port Jackson (now Sydney), New South Wales, March 16, 1796. Son of a West-India planter, he was educated at a well-known boarding-school in Hammersmith, and afterwards by the celebrated Dr. Samuel Parr. From the first he showed considerable parts, and was deservedly a favourite with his masters and schoolmates. He was about twelve years old when his father died, leaving an estate impoverished through extravagance. He left England when he was about seventeen, having already formed an acquaintance with Sheridan and won the favour of Pitt, at that time a reformer. Soon after his return to the West

Indies he married and had two children, a son and daughter, both of whom survived him. From circumstances which it is now impossible to explain, he lost most of his property and was reduced to comparative poverty. Upon this he went to America, where he lived for several years, and practised at the bar. During this time he came into contact with the leading minds of the Republic, and thoroughly imbibed their principles. Early in 1788 he came to England to enter upon proceedings for the recovery of his property. He arrived amid the excitement as to the Regency Bill, and despite his invalid state, caused by hardships he had unwisely exposed himself to in the course of his travels, he took part in the agitation and wrote pamphlets, at the request of Sheridan and his friends. A letter of his to a friend in 1789 speaks of him as one “whose constitution has been so shattered by continued sickness and anxiety, that he will incur a premature old age, and in a short time be numbered among the silent dead.” In the same letter he speaks of retiring for the rest of his life to a lodging “at Walton-on-Thames, in a sober, retired family.” The pressure of his friends and his own inclinations, however, soon led him to lay aside his intentions and become a member of the Constitutional Society and afterwards of the London Corresponding Society. Of the latter body he soon was one of the most active and distinguished members, and was chosen, along with Maurice Margarot, to represent it in the British Convention at Edinburgh. Pitt was now a renegade and in power; his ministry was resolved on crushing the Reformers. Gerrald was one of the selected victims. Fyshe Palmer and Margarot were “tried” before him; but though he was pressed by all his friends to escape the fate their “trials” showed to be in store for him, he refused to do so, though the way stood open, saying: “My honour is pledged; and no opportunity for flight, however favourable—no expectation of danger, however alarming—no excuse for consulting my own safety, however plausible—shall induce me to violate that pledge. I gave it to men whom I esteem, and respect, and pity; to men who, by avowing similar principles, have been brought into similar peril; to men who were confirmed in those principles, and led into that peril, by the influence of my own arguments, my own persuasions, and my own example. Under these circumstances, they became partakers of my responsibility to the law; and therefore under no circumstances will I shrink from the participation with them in the rigours of any punishment which that law, as likely to be administered in Scotland, may ordain for us.” At the time on bail in England, he could easily have fled to France, but instead went back to Edinburgh. Before he went, he addressed a severe and dignified letter to Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, in which he said: “I take my departure for Edinburgh; . . . not for the purpose of taking my trial (for trial implies candid examination), but, as you well know, for the purpose of receiving my sentence of transportation for fourteen years. As you send to the things called—and in one sense justly called—the criminal judges of Scotland the sentences which they are to pronounce in all cases of State prosecution, you may as well make me the bearer of your mandates. I shall punctually transmit them; and, what may surprise a man of your cast, though I make the promise, shall faithfully keep it. . . . When I went to Scotland, I expected persecution from the Government, and protection from the people. I have met, and do still expect to meet with both. But I trust that the period is fast approaching when neither legal quibbles nor fur gowns will shelter the abuse of delegated authority, and when the people will know, will feel, and will assert, that the law is only the means, but that justice is the end, and that the SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SOVEREIGN LAW. At all events, be assured that the severities of the Scottish criminal judicature shall be exceeded, if possible, by the firmness with which I will encounter them.” His friend, the great thinker and writer William Godwin, wrote to him about the same time: “I cannot recollect the situation in which you are in a few days to be placed, without emotions of respect, and I had almost said, of envy. . . . Your trial, if you so please, may be such a day as England, and I believe the world, never saw. It may be the means of converting thousands, and progressively of millions, to the cause of reason and public justice. You have a great stake. You place your fortune, your youth, your liberty, and your talents on a single throw. If you must suffer, do not, I conjure you, suffer without first making use of this opportunity of telling a tale upon which the happiness of nations depends. Spare none of the resources of your powerful mind. . . . What an event would it be for England and mankind if you could gain an acquittal! . . . It is in man, I am sure it is, to effect that event. Gerrald, you are that man! Fertile in genius, strong in moral feeling, prepared with every accomplishment that literature and reflection can give. Stand up to the situation. Be whole yourself. . . . You REPRESENT US ALL!” And never did the cause of the people find a worthier voice: clear, calm, cogent reasoning, warmed by the fire of genius, and rising occasionally to heights of grave and noble eloquence, Gerrald’s speech on his defence put forth in detail the rights of the people for which he contended, and supported them with a thousand conclusive arguments. A speech of great length, lasting for hours, but with no superfluous point in it. After the verdict had been rendered, he said: “I am as little hurt as I am surprised at the verdict returned, inasmuch as I find that the Public Prosecutor himself, in the House of Commons, anticipated the fate which I was to meet; but, my lord, I trust that a moral and enlightened world, collectively, will do justice to the purity of the motives which have actuated my conduct; and I glory in being the advocate of a cause, with which is complicated Truth, Justice, and Freedom, which I know must and will ultimately triumph.” He was sentenced to fourteen years transportation. This was in March 1794; in April he was removed to London and committed to Newgate; whence in October he was transferred to Giltspur Street. On May 2, 1795, he was, without warning, dragged from a sick-bed, ironed, conveyed to Gosport, and hurried on board the “Sovereign” transport, for Botany Bay. He suffered terribly during the voyage, reaching New South Wales November 5, 1795, in a state of great weakness. He survived his arrival only five months. Almost with his last breath he said: “I die in the best of causes; and I die, as you are my witnesses, without repining.” He was buried at Farm Cove, and on his tombstone it was recorded that “he died a martyr to the liberties of his country.” Is his grave there forgotten, like his memory at home? Or is it known and visited as one of the few tombs in Australia that will be looked for in time to come? It is the last resting-place of one of the most honest, most generous and most able of the advocates of the liberties of mankind.—S.

We learn, says the *Daily News*, with a regret that will be widely shared in this country and in Australia, that Lady Gavan Duffy, wife of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, has lately died at Nice. Lady Gavan Duffy, who was in her thirtieth year, had never recovered from a fever which followed her confinement, which took place at the end of December. Her death took place on Sunday last. She leaves four children, the youngest less than two months old.

“FOR THE PEOPLE.”—The splendid poem by James Jeffrey Rothe under this title, reprinted in the last number of *Christian Socialist*, and there credited to the *Independent*, was given in *Commonweal*, No. 128, June 23, 1888, and acknowledged as taken from Conolly’s “Household Treasury of Ireland’s Poets,” New York, 1887.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The number of paupers in London (exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants) on the last day of the second week of February was 107,056, as compared with 110,220 on the corresponding day of last year, 104,560 in 1887, and 102,050 in 1886. The vagrants relieved in the metropolis on the last day of the second week of February numbered 1,191, of whom 1,030 were men, 144 women, and 17 children under sixteen years of age.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. A.—Charles Cole, “a London Mechanic,” published a volume of ‘Political and Other Poems,’ 1835, which was highly praised by Cobbett and also by the critics of the time.  
L. T. H.—The Irish Truthseeker was published in Belfast, 1848, by Hugh Clark. It was not a success.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 6.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO (ILL.)	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Baecker Zeitung	Geneva—Przedswit
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Rome—L’Emancipazione
London—Freie Presse	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Barcelona—El Productor
Personal Rights Journal	S. F. Coast Seamen’s Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	San Francisco—Pacific Union	PORTUGAL
Sozial Demokrat	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Telegraph Service Gazette	Newfound’ld, Le Reveil les Masses	GERMANY
Unity	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	Paris—L’Egalite (daily)	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
Madras—People’s Friend	Le Proletariat	Brunn—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	La Revolte	HUNGARY
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Coup de Feu	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Freiheit	HOLLAND	DENMARK
Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Jewish Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Workmen’s Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmo—Arbetet
Boston—Woman’s Journal	Liege—L’Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Investigator		

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Newsagents and others are requested to send their orders early, as a large demand is anticipated.

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THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

WHAT IT SHOULD DO.

SOME of the new Council’s doings can be clearly foreseen. There will be much talk, more talk, most talk. There will be discussion, dispute, disagreement, detraction. On the one hand, heroic and thorough remedies will be termed preposterous, utopian, and impossible; and, on the other, alleviates will, and truly, be termed futile and hopeless. But out of the tiresome turmoil of talk some good will result. There will be more public, earnest, and practical discussion of social evils and social reforms than has hitherto been known in England, and the discussion will stimulate thought and greatly multiply the number of social reformers.

What should be done? A complete answer is, perhaps, beyond the capacity of a finite mind, but there are important measures of relief that can be suggested by all old social reformers, of whom I am one.

Work must be organised. Carlyle says, “All human interests, combined human endeavours, and social growths in this world have, at a certain stage of their development, required organising; and Work, the greatest of human interests, does now require it.” Before we can organise understandingly, society must be scientifically and systematically analysed. A social census should be taken, which, in addition to the usual census particulars, should specify the amount and nature of property, and the exact location of lands and buildings owned by each person. The gross income of each person, and from what occupation or investment it is derived. The amounts paid as rent of lands and buildings. As regards the poor and “working classes,” exact information should be obtained of the number of persons unemployed, and of the sort of work they can do; also of the average hours of labour of those who are employed; and all such particulars should be carefully classified and summarised.

Meantime, Labour Offices should be opened in every district, and every applicant for work should be given immediate employment of some kind. Starving people should not be expected to wait until the census auditors have completed their calculations. If the Council can think of nothing else for the first day’s applicants to do, let it give them all the red tape to make carpets of. If the Council can’t find anything in the “great world of London” for the next day’s applicants to do, then (the red tape being out of the way), it is not so competent a body as I hope and believe it to be.

The Council should, and probably does, understand that immediate assistance is needed by at least one hundred thousand people in London, and that such assistance, in a non-charitable form, will require a large sum of money at the outset. How should such a large amount of money—of legal tender—be obtained? By getting possession of the misappropriated property of the city guilds and other misused trusts, and by taxation of ground-rents? Those resources are available—barring red-tape—but the best way to obtain an immediate supply of money will be to make it, in the form of London Council Notes, of denominations of value of five and ten shillings, and one, two five, ten, twenty, and one hundred pounds. With these notes (which would become money by being made legal tender), all the slums of London could be immediately purchased—the land and the buildings thereon. New buildings could be erected, new streets and squares made, and old streets widened. The “improvements” would increase the incomes from the property, and, as the saying is, “pay for themselves,” or, so far as sovereigns and bank-notes are concerned, be made without cost. The Council Notes would pay for improvements; the rents of the improved property would be paid in notes, which, having done their work, could be made into pulp for wrapping paper. The gas and water works, and the trams, should be bought, improved, and operated by the Council on the same “costless” principle; that is, without any expense for gold or usury.

But the red tape!—backed by a multitude of usurers and ignoramuses? I have no hope that this first Council can abolish it. Wilkie Collins wrote: “Look where you will, in every high place there sits an Ass, settled beyond the reach of all the greatest intellects in this world to pull him down. Over our whole social system, complacent Imbecility rules supreme—snuffs out the searching light of Intelligence with total impunity—and hoots, owl-like, in answer to every form of protest, ‘See how well we all do in the dark.’ One of these days, that audacious assertion will be practically contradicted, and the whole rotten system of modern society will come down with a crash.” Let the crash come, and welcome, if the Asses cannot be otherwise disarmed and dethroned.

Let all people have a fair opportunity to earn their living at occupations they are fit for, and there will be no more need to wrangle over such expedients as gratuitous school dinners. (The children are entitled to a full supply of daily food, or none. If the parents cannot, or will not, provide proper food, clothing, and shelter for their children, then they—not being anybody’s “private property,” but being wards of the State—must be wholly cared for by the State, or a competent agency thereof.)

The establishment of the Council is an important step in the right direction. It is the Commune<sup>1</sup> Council of the greatest town in the world. The first Council will be genteelly reformatory—not shockingly revolutionary. I have not yet seen a list of its members, but if a few of them are really Radical, they will be outvoted by the Party of Order—the representatives of lawyers’ laws and perquisites, the church’s dominion and prerogatives, the landlord’s, the householder’s, and banker’s usuries, and the red-tape of all beadle and bumbledom.

But despite all the obstructions caused by ignorance and avarice, the Council will, as I said at the outset, be the means of doing some good. By stimulating thought on social questions, it will inevitably increase the number of Socialists and weaken their adversaries. Therefore, fellow Socialists, let us cry Hurrah for the Council! and then let us roll up our sleeves and work harder than ever.

Townsend Centre, Mass., U. S.

W. HARRISON RILEY.

“It is the greed for gain which is responsible for four-fifths of the crime committed,” said a popular clergyman, and then he accepted a call for £500 more per year.

<sup>1</sup> Many people seem unaware that there are over 20,000 recognised communes in France, and that a large proportion of the towns of England are described as communes on their official seals.

# IN THE UNITED STATES.

DURING the year ending December 31st, 1888, 518,518 immigrants arrived in the United States, as against 510,058 in 1887. Of the total number arrived, 172,317, or 33 per cent., came from the United Kingdom, as against 178,071, or 35 per cent., in 1887. The following table shows the arrival from Great Britain and Ireland during the past two years:

	1888.	1887.
England and Wales ... ..	77,168	83,493
Ireland ... ..	71,761	72,599
Scotland ... ..	23,588	21,979
Totals ... ..	172,317	178,071

The new eight-hour movement is making but slow progress. It is hardly talked about, not even in labour circles. The first meetings to be held to discuss this question are to be held on the 22nd inst. (Washington's birthday), and yet nowhere are active preparations made to make the meetings a success. To break the ice, delegates representing twenty-five trade and labour organisations, held a conference in New York some days ago, under the auspices of the American Federation of Labour, at which a committee of three was appointed to prepare an address to the workers, and a committee of nine to arrange for a great demonstration on the evening of February 22nd at Cooper Union in New York city. The Central Labour Union of New York was severely criticised by the delegates present for its inactivity. The committee of three has in the meantime drawn up the address of which the following extracts will give the principal points:

"In the name of the trade and labour organisations of New York city we cordially and earnestly invite you to attend a mass meeting to be held on Friday evening, February 22, at Cooper Union, in order to inaugurate the eight hour movement decided upon by the Convention of the American Federation of Labour last December.

"The eight hour workday is an issue on which all wage earners, organised and unorganised, employed and unemployed, stand united. You are all interested in the great cause which we now urge you to struggle for. Misery and overwork are the parents of ignorance. Reduce the hours of labour, elevate the standard of life of the toiling masses, and you will sap the very foundation on which rests political corruption, which disgraces the honour of our nation.

"Therefore it behoves us as toilers, as citizens, as a people who have a common inheritance, to give this movement all the aid and encouragement so necessary to success.

"We urge you by the undying bonds that unite us, by our duty to our fellow men and posterity, to attend the meeting. Let the glad tidings go forth from Cooper Union on the evening of Washington's birthday to the workers of America that the labouring men of New York are in sympathy with the spirit and necessity of our time, to enforce on May 1, 1890, eight hours for work, eight for rest and eight hours for what we will."

As will be seen, the address contains some assertions which will hardly bear criticism.

It is reported in the daily papers, and not as yet contradicted, that Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labour, has of late had many conferences with T. V. Powderly. It is to be hoped that Gompers remembers that he has a reputation to lose, and also that "bad company corrupts good manners." It is further reported that the two "labour leaders" have arrived at an arrangement to work hand in hand in the eight hours movement and to forget, at least temporarily, their mutual antagonism. More than likely the "Pauper's Palace," the headquarters in Philadelphia of the Knights of Labour will be turned into a "Working-men's Exchange."

Superintendent Murray of the New York police has sent in to the Police Commissioners a report of his action during the last street-car strike. The report shows that the police were several days before the strike aware that the men intended to strike, and they had consequently ample time to prepare themselves for their "duty." The policemen, of course, are much praised by their chief for their "courage," strict attendance to duty, and, last but not least, their "humanity," shown during the strike. The superintendent also makes the following two "suggestions": "First, the reliance that can be placed upon a thoroughly organised and well equipped police force in maintaining the public peace; and second, the necessity of making immediate provision for a stronger force, numerically speaking, and giving to it all the improved aids that science, wisdom, and experience might suggest." The "force," he suggests, should be increased from 3,000 to 4,000 men; there should be more patrol wagons, and the electric communications between the stations and the central office should be vastly improved. Of course the "chief" will get all he wants granted. A month's vacation was granted to him to go to Florida and to get a severe cold (!) cured which he contracted during the strike. And 3,500 strikers are yet without work. Are they to go also to Florida—or are they to die, as they are doing, in the gutter? "Blessed be a Christian country!"

*Appropos Christianity.* The New York police have got a pension fund. A few days ago the Sixth Avenue Railroad sent a cheque of 500 dols. to this fund, with a copy of resolutions praising the force for its success in protecting the company. The Broadway Company followed suit with a cheque of 1,000 dols., and the Fourth Avenue Railroad (the Vanderbilt's) imitated the good example by sending to the same fund 5,000 dols. Even some capitalistic papers saw the stupidity of such action and they kicked. The Police Commissioners interviewed said: "That as pay for police services the money of course could not be accepted, but that as a voluntary gift for 'sweet Christian charity's sake' the mammon would be taken." "Sweet Christian charity," indeed! "Gentlemen, the veil which you have thrown around your rotten carcasses, composed of brutality and hypocrisy, is getting dangerously thin! Beware, every dog has his day!"

At Birdsboro, Pa., the Brooke Iron Company on the 12th inst. posted notices in their mill works that they would be obliged to ask (!) their employes to accept a reduction, beginning March 1st. The amount was not stated. The wages of the puddlers are already reduced from 3 dols. 25 cents. to 3 dols. per ton.

The 700 employes of the Pottsville Iron and Steel Company's Fishback rolling mill in Pottsville, Pa., were notified of a reduction of from 10 to 15 per cent. in wages, to take effect on Monday next. The men will hold a meeting on the 15th inst. to decide whether or not they will accept the reduction.

The workers of the central iron works in Harrisburg, Pa., have been informed that on the 4th of March a reduction of wages of 25 per cent. will be put in force.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union is a strong one. There are 5,920 men in it, and only 79 non-union men in the trade outside of it. Of the 5,920 men in the union, 5,678 are employed at present. All but six of the 117 flint glass furnaces in the United States are in operation.

The Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration, on the joint application of a Rockland shoe manufacturing concern and its employes, has fixed a scale of wages to be paid.

The cane chair-workers of Heywood Bros. and Co., in Gardina, Mass., have had to submit to a reduction in wages of 20 per cent. Since September last year their wages have been reduced 40 per cent.

The following despatch is cabled from Montreal, Quebec, and has been headed by a skunk of an editor of a capitalistic paper, "Idle labourers in Montreal refuse employment that is arduous." However, there are plenty of lamp-posts in New York when the time comes:—

"There are always hundreds of able-bodied, deserving labourers, principally outdoor workers, thrown out of employment here during the long winter months, and they have to hustle pretty hard to secure a living at all. This year the number of those in distress is much larger than usual. When the city authorities, forced to do something by the popular clamour, advertised their willingness to give work to the unemployed, there was an unexampled rush to the City Hall. Nearly a thousand men gathered there this morning to endeavour to secure means to keep the wolf from the door. The crowd was made up of various types, from the toughest specimen of the wharf rat, in tattered garments, to the respectable working-man, decently apparelled. The employment offered was that of snow shovelling and other work on the roads, and some hundreds were given employment in this line, but there were many left, and when they demanded work City Surveyor St. George told them they could go to the city stone-yards and break stones, for which they would be paid 5 dols. per toise. To his surprise no one accepted the offer, and all without an exception replied that they would sooner starve than break stones. An old hand would be able to earn 1 dol. a day, but a novice at stone-breaking would take a very long time, perhaps ten days or a fortnight, to break a toise."

If men who are willing to shovel snow in Canada refuse any kind of work, that kind of work must be bad indeed! The sneer of the reptile pressman is surely "cheap and nasty."

Newark, N.J., February 19, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

A MEETING of delegates of Liberal and Radical clubs and associations, forming what is known as the Dillon-Lewis Open-air Meetings Committee, held Monday-week night, denounced "the course of conduct pursued by the authorities in the statement of the case between the people and the Government as to the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square, and declares that such conduct is a disgraceful breach of the engagement entered into on the part of the Government." Mr. Conybeare said they did not deem it necessary to go to Parliament for a recognition of the right they had enjoyed for so many years, and it was resolved—"that the right of public meeting ought not to be made dependent upon any new legislation, as it was an undoubted right under the Constitution." Another resolution condemned "the apathy and want of courage of the Liberal party generally, and the members for London in particular, in not attacking the Government for the misbehaviour of the police in regard to the Trafalgar Square meetings." The sub-committee were appointed delegates to a conference on the subject to be held by the Metropolitan Radical Federation.

At the Borough of Hackney Club on Thursday night about 400 delegates of Liberal and Radical clubs and Socialist organisations assembled; one of the finest conferences that has assembled in London, and the men meant business. The London Liberal members sent Messrs. O. V. Morgan and Pickersgill as a deputation. Mr. Ben Ellis (Peckham) took the chair and the West Southwark Club delegate moved that a meeting be called for an early date in Trafalgar Square. It was, however, at once resolved: "That the Liberal members' deputation report on what they had done in Parliament to assert the right of free speech." Mr. Pickersgill got up to face an audience which soon proved to be thoroughly hostile. Instead of facing the motion, Mr. Pickersgill talked about what should be done in the future. The delegates wanted to know why the conduct of the Government in suppressing meetings had not been energetically and persistently attacked; and Mr. Pickersgill was not inclined to discuss that point. Then Mr. Morgan tried, and though he personally met with a more kindly reception, the delegates again quite firmly expressed their disapproval. Then Sir Charles Russell, who had entered the hall meanwhile, evidently with a sort of *coup d'état* in view, got up. In spite of appearing in the full flush of his great victory, in spite of his immensely clever and powerful speech, his attempt to excuse the conduct of the Liberals on the Trafalgar Square question was received with the most emphatic disapproval, and he would hardly have been heard had it not been for the Socialist delegates present. Sir Charles's main point was that, although the continuous proclamation was illegal, they could go no further in legal measures after a popular jury had justified the suppression of the meeting on Nov. 13, 1887, by convicting Cunningham-Graham and Burns. This point brought out the loudest expressions of dissent, and Sir Charles Russell had to bow to the storm awhile. Cunningham-Graham hotly declared that the jury was not a popular, but a packed shopkeepers' jury. He vehemently denounced the doctrine that the right of free speech should depend upon either Parliament, law courts, or jury, and was vociferously cheered. Mr. Saunders, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, John Burns, and Connell all delivered terse and vigorous speeches, the whole tenor of which was bitter resentment against the Liberal party for not taking up the right of free speech in Trafalgar Square. There could be no mistake about the unanimity and depth of the feeling of dissatisfaction that prevailed. When Sir Charles rose for the third time, his temper was up. In cross-examination tones he declared that they had done their best, and that they (the delegates) were to blame for not sending more Liberals in for London constituencies; but he was met with lusty shouts of "What use are they?" "They won't defend our rights!" and similar expressions. The meeting was in a highly excited state, but the full exasperation of the delegates did not burst forth until Mr. Pickersgill, in response to an appeal that he should move and amendment to the Address on the subject, as suggested by the *Star* some days before, timidly answered that he could not do so without consulting the other London Liberal members. This was hissed outright, and it was well that the next speech was by a calmly-disposed delegate, who moved the adjournment of the conference for a fortnight. The *Star* concludes its report by saying: "There could be no mistaking the strong and even bitter feeling shown by the meeting, and it is to be hoped that before the conference reassembles some vigorous course of action will be resolved upon by the Liberal party." We may add our hope that whatever the "Liberal party" may do now, they will be unable to lull the working men again into the dead-alive condition they were in before Bloody Sunday worked them up.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The North Warwickshire miners assembled at Bedworth on the 27th, and resolved to demand a 10 per cent. advance.

There are fears in some quarters of a strike with the colliers in Wales. They are firm in their demand for 12½ per cent. advance in wages.

Cabinet makers are warned, by advertisement in the local press, to keep wide from Kirkcaldy and the central district of Glasgow during impending disputes. At Kirkcaldy a few have resumed work, and a large number have left the district and got work elsewhere.

**SOUTH WALES COLLIERS.**—More than a thousand notices to cease work in 28 days were handed in on the 1st by the Abercarn colliers in default of 12½ per cent. advance. The same course is adopted by all colliers throughout South Wales which are governed by the sliding scale board.

**LABOURERS STRIKE.**—The labourers in Levenbank Foundry, Dumbarton, have struck for an advance of ½d. per hour. Their present wage is 4d. per hour. The masters offered to grant the increase to some of the men and not to others, but this offer was refused; and the labourers, numbering 80, left work.

**STRIKE AT HOLMES.**—At a mass meeting of shale miners, held at Broxburn on Thursday week, it was reported by the Holmes men that three of their number had been victimised for taking an active part in union affairs, though their dismissal was on other small pretexts. They had agreed not to resume work until the men were restored to their places.

**SEAMEN'S STRIKE.**—A monster meeting of the trades and labourers was held in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, on Sunday, March 3rd, to express sympathy with the seamen on strike. The Trades' Council and other bodies took part in the demonstration. James McDonnell, T.C., presided, and addresses were delivered by M. Darby, the Glasgow delegate, P. A. Tyrrell, Wm. Graham, and others.

**MOTHERWELL MINERS.**—At last week's meeting it was stated there were 914 miners in the district, of whom 650 belonged to the union. Resolutions were passed (1) demanding an increase of 6d. per day on their wages, (2) calling upon all miners in the kingdom to support Mr. Cunningham Graham's Eight Hour Mining Bill, (3) that all members of Parliament be requested to support Mr. Baird's Mining Accident Bill.

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES PENSION FUND.**—On Thursday 28th, the employés in the London and North-Western Steel Works at Crewe held a great meeting on leaving the works. Several thousand were present, and the following was unanimously passed: "That we, the workmen employed at the west portion of the London and North-Western Railway Steel Works, Crewe, decline to have any further deductions made from our wages for the pension fund. We further demand that the money already stopped from our wages should be returned at once."

**THE STEAMING OF WEAVING SHEDS.**—On the 26th a monster petition, signed by 42,000 operatives of Blackburn, was forwarded to London for presentation to the House of Commons, praying the Legislature to put a stop to the excessive infusion of steam into Lancashire weaving sheds. Petitions are also being forwarded from other towns, the agitation against steaming, which began in Blackburn, having been taken up generally amongst the operatives of Lancashire. The petition states that the steaming of weaving sheds is a serious evil, and is detrimental to the health of the operatives.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### LEGAL INNOCENCES.

After mailing the paper on Conway, I have reflected that the phrase in which I qualify the bomb-throwing and the incendiary propaganda respectively, as "two innocences," made perhaps too great a demand on the reader's intelligence of the technically legal point of view that I assumed, irrespective of either policy or morality, by which neither act nor words were anything like innocent, though some may approve them while others condemn them. As regards the propaganda, neither Gary nor the Supreme Court of Illinois pretended that it came within the scope of criminal law, in itself, or without acts of violence. As to the bomb-throwing, I do not rest its legal innocence merely on the general and imprescriptible right of self-defence, but first on the Illinois law that holds all persons present at a meeting responsible for acts of any of them. Now, if they were collectively inculpated by the act of violence, they were equally exculpated by concurrence with the countermand of Spies, in coming unarmed, all except the bomb-thrower himself. He, however ill-judged his act, was legally exculpated in another way, by the ruling of Judge McAlister, a few years previous, that resistance to police force, when aggressive and unauthorised by higher civic authority, was legal. The Haymarket case was still stronger in this sense than the other, inasmuch as that was a secret meeting, while the Haymarket was open and authorised officially by presence of the mayor, who on the other hand, had personally instructed Bonfield not to interfere because of its orderly character. Moreover, violence at the secret meeting could but have avenged the tailor, murdered there by the police; whereas at the Haymarket, being used preventively, as the police were in the act of charging on the meeting, the most valid objection to the bomb is that it was only one, and inadequate to disable the aggressors whom it provoked and whose bloody reprisal it seemed to justify or was calculated to do so with the help of the capitalist press. The insistence of the Cook County Court for a collective trial betrays its purpose to condemn, yet even with this arbitrary method, fairness would have cleared the accused. The same legal logic bears upon the imputation of conspiracy at Gmef's Hall on the 3rd of May. If, notwithstanding the perjury of the chief witness Waller, it could inculpate the accused collectively, through its planner Engel, of a plot against the police, they must equally have been exculpated by the efforts of Spies to prevent the execution of that plot, made as soon as he heard of it. A collectivism that generalises only such evidence as criminals, while refusing to apply in the same way what exculpates, has no more legality than justice, and can only be compared to the ropes with which Versailles murderers encircled their victims before firing on them.

EDGEWORTH.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### BELGIUM.

It is now more than six weeks ago since the quarrymen of Quenast, about two thousand in number, went on strike, and they have hitherto shown such an admirable spirit of solidarity that it is most probable that they will win their case. The wives of the strikers, notwithstanding the hard conditions they live in, are of indomitable energy, and incite their husbands to hold out to the utmost and never to surrender to the "owner" of the quarries; an individual named Urban, one of the biggest exploiters of other people's labour that exists in high-capitalistic Belgium. At the beginning of the strike, Urban, who has plenty of friends in the Government, thought it advisable to ask for some soldiery, which was at once granted, and soon afterwards a meeting of the strikers was interfered with by these soldiers. A striker named Joseph Laurent was fatally wounded, and several women received severe blows. Then gendarmes and soldiers charged the people assembled and fired right and left, even in the houses. A man named Lethème, who sat quietly dining at his table, was shot dead by these murderers. Several persons were wounded. In spite of these provocations, the quarrymen stick to their ground and mean to have the ultimate victory. The Executive Council of the *Parti ouvrier* are doing their utmost to support the men on strike, and so also the various Socialist Federations established throughout Belgium. The co-operative bakeries of Brussels, Ghent (Vooruit), Liège, Antwerp, etc., send thousands and thousands of loaves weekly to their comrades of Quenast, the smaller organised groups send wagons of potatoes, or money to buy same, the Association of Jupille has sent important quantities of bacon, and so on. We hope that the Belgian *Parti ouvrier* will continue to do their best for the poor wage-slaves of Quenast, and then Urban, and not they, will have to surrender.

A few days ago, comrade Aimé Mahaim, member of the General Council of the Belgian *Parti ouvrier*, died at Brussels. He was one of the founders of the *Ligue ouvrière* (Workers' League) of Cureghem, near Brussels, secretary of the Brussels Federation of Trades Unions, and accountant of the Co-operative *Maison du Peuple* (People's House) at Brussels. The Belgian Socialist papers acknowledge the large part he took in their various organisations.

The next Congress of the Federation of Belgian Rationalist Societies will be held this year at Lodelinsart, in the province of Hainault, when the agenda-paper will be as follows: 1. Philosophical education in the family; 2. Considerable influence which women's education, if based on rationalism, would involve for the party of Freethought; 3. What ways and means could be used to get rapidly that philosophical education developed among free-thinkers' families; 4. Emancipation of the proletariat; 5. About the urgent necessity for all workers and peasants in joining the rationalist movement; 6. Ways and means to be used to come to that end as soon as possible.

As our readers will see from the above-quoted agenda, the Belgian free-thinkers do not hesitate to discuss two of the greatest social problems of our times—viz., the emancipation of woman and the reform of the family, and the enfranchisement of the proletariat, both urban and rural. Why do English freethinkers not do so?

The Belgian freethought party has just started a new monthly review, entitled *La Raison* (Reason), under the editorship of Léon Fuménont, 39 rue del Enseignement, Brussels. Among the contributors are Dr. César De Paepe, Professor Hector Denis, MM. Emile van der Velde, Guillaume De Greef, etc., who are both freethinkers and outspoken Socialists. We hope that this new venture of our Belgian friends will live long and do good to the cause.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Since last month our two colleagues of Brünn, *Volksfreund* (People's Friend) and *Arbeiterstimme* (People's Voice) have considerably enlarged their size, and now they are enabled to devote a larger amount of space to matters of an international character. Both papers are well written and generally interesting.

Three weeks ago comrades Alois Trajan, Adolph Talisch, Joseph Lischta, K. Bonupf, F. Knoth, T. Haubner, A. Braunseis, T. Wenisch, F. Schmidt, T. Nerad, T. Jungmaier, and Joseph Pica, after several months of preventive imprisonment, have been tried for alleged "secret conspiracy"—always the old game. In his curious indictment against the defendants, the attorney has put his case "all right" in a rather delightful way: The prisoners, it is true, have merely constituted an "Arbeiterverein" (workers' society), but these societies very soon become permeated by Social-Democratic ideas, and it not seldom happens that these Social-Democratic ideas give way to Anarchist doctrines,—and therefore (!) it will be well to bring the prisoners at once under application of the clauses of the exceptional anti-Anarchist laws! And the Austrian Nupkines did so, and sentenced the "future" Anarchists to fifteen months hard labour.

A new monthly review, *Sozialdemokratische Monatschrift*, has been started at Vienna, VI, Gumpendorferstrasse, 79, under the editorship of comrade A. Grosse, the first issue of which is entirely devoted to the debates on the anti-Anarchist laws and the speeches of Pernerstorfer and Kronawether, deputies to the Reichsrath.

V. D.

### DEATH OF JAMES FRANCIS MURRAY.

On Tuesday, March 5th, at Paddington Cemetery, a large number of old Chartists and followers of Bronterre O'Brien, assembled to do honour to the remains of James Francis Murray, who died on Feb. 27th. H. M. Hyndman and Herbert Burrows represented the Social Democratic Federation, and F. Kitz the Socialist League. Hyndman and Burrows spoke at the grave-side. H. Burrows, in a moving and eloquent address, alluded to the deceased's life-work in the interest of the workers, and appealed to his audience to emulate the example shown by our deceased comrade's fidelity to principle.

**COUNCIL AND LONDON MEMBERS' MEETING OF S.L.**—At meeting on 4th inst., it was unanimously resolved: "That this meeting of the Council and London members of the Socialist League desires to record their regret at the loss of an old and esteemed worker in the Cause, and to express their condolence with his relatives." Frank Kitz was appointed League delegate to attend our comrade's funeral on the following day.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee of the above Society passed the following resolution at their last meeting on the 2nd inst.:—"The Committee of the Socialist Co-operative Federation hereby record their sincere regret at the removal by death of James Francis Murray, a veteran in the Cause of Labour and their esteemed co-worker, and express their heartfelt condolence with his family." Our late comrade was a member of the Committee from the commencement of the Society.—DUNCAN C. DALLAS.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, April 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commune Celebration.**—At this year's celebration, the choir will sing the "Marseillaise," "When the People have their own again," and "All for the Cause." All willing to take part are invited to practise along with the Hammersmith choir, which meets every Thursday at 7.30 prompt. A Special Practice will take place at 13, Farringdon Road, on Saturday, March 9th, at 8.30 p.m. All members of choir please attend.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1889:—Clerkenwell, Leicester, Mitcham, and North London, to February.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### CHILDREN'S PARTY.

A Children's Party will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on March 12th. Tea on table at 4 p.m. sharp. Comrade E. Radford with magic lantern at 5 p.m. Subscriptions, etc., can be sent to the Secretary, Mrs. Groser, 19, Rigault Road, Fulham.

### CHICAGO COMMEMORATION FUND.

Three Railway Men (per H. B. Tarleton), 1s. 6d.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; J. Presburg, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 2s. 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Latham, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; S. Presburg, 6d.; Solomon, 6d.; Tilley, 6d.; Kneifel, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; D. Nicoll, 6d.; E. E. Minton (13 weeks), 6s. 6d.; and A. J. Wharton (South Wimbledon), 2s. 6d.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

### REPORTS.

**LONDON MEMBERS.**—The monthly meeting of London members, held on Monday the 4th inst., resolved: "That this meeting do recommend branches of the Socialist League at their branch meetings to regularly obtain names of comrades willing to sell papers and literature, make collections, carry platforms, etc., in connection with the open-air meetings of the League, in order to take some of the work from off the shoulders of the speakers, and add to the efficiency of the propaganda."

**FULHAM.**—On Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, Maughan, C. Smith, and Lynes, jun., addressed a fair audience. Sunday morning, Samuels spoke to a good meeting, and in the evening Smith, Lynes, and Maughan had an excellent audience outside our rooms.—S. B. G.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road at 11.30 a.m., speakers were Dean, A. J. Smith, Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., Maughan, Crouch, and last but not least, "Our Young Saint;" 17 *Commonweal* sold. We were well supported, as usual, by a detective sergeant taking notes of the several speeches, backed up by six or seven more of them. We sometimes think they mean mischief, as our meetings begin to enlarge and our comrades attend well. Good meeting at Weltje Road at 7 o'clock; speakers were Lynes, jun., and Maughan. At Kelmscott House, Wm. Morris lectured on "How shall we live then?" Interesting discussion.—G. M.

**ABERDEEN.**—Open-air work again prevented by heavy snow-storm. At indoor meeting on 25th ult., Leatham read paper on "The Socialist Movement throughout Europe," being a review of Dr. Zacher's work, "The Red International." Gray, sen., occupied the chair, and discussion was carried on by Aiken, Duncan, Slater, and Leatham.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday, Reynolds and Harboard, from Yarmouth, paid us a visit. In afternoon, usual open-air meeting in Market Place, chair taken by Darley; Reynolds spoke at some length to very good audience, although the weather was very cold. In evening at Gordon Hall, Mills in chair, discussion upon 'Manifesto' was resumed; Houghton opened in affirmative, supported by Darley and A. Moore; fair audience.

**YARMOUTH.**—Usual weekly meeting held Sunday on the Priory Plain, Ruffold in chair; W. Moore and Poynts, of Norwich, spoke. Meeting good, though not so large as usual, owing to severe weather. Branch is progressing well, and is very confident of gaining a strong position when finer weather allows larger meetings.

**IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.**—Comrade Creed opened debate at above class last Sunday night on "Organisation of Labour" to a good audience; good discussion, in which Thomas and others joined.—M. C.

**CHESTERFIELD DISCUSSION SOCIETY.**—On Sunday evening, Feb. 24th, comrade Snel, from Nottingham, gave the last of our present winter course of Sunday evening lectures. He compared France in 1790 with England in 1890, and certainly gave one of the most eloquent appeals for Socialism that we have had. Considering the size of our town, and that this is the first attempt which has been made to hold secular lectures on Sunday evenings, we consider that the course has been very successful. The majority of the subjects have been bearing on Socialism, and I think we may certainly claim to have brought several over pretty much to our way of thinking. We intend to start again in the autumn with renewed vigour, and make the next course even more successful than this has been.—R. U.

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F.**, New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.—Tuesday March 26, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "The History of Radicalism." Sunday March 31, a Lecture by Wm. Morris.

**BIRKBECK DEBATING SOCIETY**, Breams Buildings, E.C.—March 18, at 8 p.m., Mr. J. L. Shadwell will move: "That no scheme of Socialism can really improve the condition of the working classes." Non-members are allowed to be present and take part in the voting, but members only are allowed to take part in the discussion, except by permission of the chairman.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday March 10, at 8.30. Sun. 17th, D. Nicoll, "The English Revolutionary Movement, 1815-1817; Spa-fields Riots and Derbyshire Insurrection." Sunday 24th, H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then." Sun. 31st, Frank Kitz, A Lecture.

**East London.**—26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. H. Davis, secretary *pro tem.*, 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Lecture on Sunday March 10, at 8 p.m.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Mar. 17, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. Thursday 21st, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 22nd, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda.

**Hoxton.**—Comrades desiring to help in the propaganda of the Socialist League in this locality are requested to send their names and addresses to H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

**Milham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m. **North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Waltham and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivgate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street. The annual Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at the above on Monday March 18, at 8 p.m. All friends of the cause invited.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall. Sunday, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Tuesday, at 8.15, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m.—All comrades having books belonging to the Branch are requested to return them at once to the Librarian, W. Moore.—**COMMUNE CELEBRATION.**—A great open-air demonstration will be held in the Market Place at 3 p.m. on Sunday March 17th, addressed by Mrs. Schack (London), also other London comrades and members of the Branch. At 8 p.m. same day lecture in Gordon Hall on the Commune. On Monday 18, at 8 p.m., in the Gordon Hall, a Social Meeting will be held in commemoration of the Commune; admission 1d.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—Business meetings every Monday at 8 p.m. See below for open-air propaganda. C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, Secretary.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

#### SUNDAY 10.

11.30.....	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball,"	Cores and Davis.
11.30.....	Latimer Road Station	Mrs. Schack.
11.30.....	Regent's Park	Nicoll and Mainwaring.
11.30.....	Walham Green, opposite Station	The Branch.
11.45.....	Leman Street, Shadwell	Mrs. Lahr, Turner, and Parker.
3.30.....	Hyde Park	Parker, Mrs. Lahr, and Nicoll.
3.30.....	Victoria Park	Mowbray, Mrs. Schack, Cores, and Davis.
7.....	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park	Hammersmith Branch.
7.30.....	Broad Street, Soho	Nicoll.
7.30.....	Clerkenwell Green	Parker, Brookes, and Mowbray.

#### TUESDAY 12.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

#### THURSDAY 14.

8.15..... Hoxton Church..... Davis, Mowbray, and Cores.

#### FRIDAY 15.

8 ..... Philpot Street, Commercial Road..... Parker, Cores, and Kitz.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

**NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB**, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday March 10, at 8.30, Mr. M. Culpin, M.D., "How to Abolish Poor Rates."

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 166.

SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CELEBRATION OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

THE Celebration of the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Paris Commune (convened by the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation) will be held on

SATURDAY EVENING, MARCH 16th, at Eight prompt,

AT THE

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The following speakers will address the meeting :—

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CHAIRMAN : H. M. HYNDMAN

The following is the resolution which will be moved at the meeting :

*"That this meeting hopefully recalls the establishment of the Commune of Paris, and expresses its sympathy with the French workers who heroically struggled to abolish class rule, and the cruel capitalist exploitation of man by man; and looks forward with confidence to the early emancipation of labour for which they strove, being determined to employ all means to achieve that end."*

*Selections of Music will be given during the Evening by Members and Friends of the Social Democratic Federation, and the Choir of the Socialist League will render the 'Marseillaise,' 'All for the Cause,' and 'When the Workers have their own again,' etc.*

Comrades and friends are earnestly requested to take in hand the collection of money for the defrayal of expenses, for which purpose collection sheets have been issued. Donations may be sent to

W. H. LEE (S.D.F.), or F. KITZ (S.L.),  
Organising Secretaries, 13, Farringdon Rd., E.C.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE London Liberal and Radical Union has played a kind of return-match to the meeting commented on by us last week. That respectable body is obviously somewhat shocked at M.P.'s being treated like common clay, and has proceeded to clap a plaster on their wounds, although not without a certain amount of protest from the other side, but of course Mr. Howell and Mr. Cremer took care that the due resolution should be passed. Mr. Howell thought it disgraceful for Radicals to attack the M.P.'s who had been doing their best for the right of public meeting. Dear me, Mr. Howell! if everybody did his best what a different world we should have! And as for these gentlemen, if they had done their half-best or their quarter-best, we should all have praised them as men quite up to the mark. But to speak plainly, what they did was—nothing: though it must be admitted that they rather regret it now.

Poor fellows! They had been investing largely in Irish "political bird-lime," and didn't see the point of making an experiment in English ditto at the time; besides, they thought that they had got their dicky-birds already, and need not catch them over again. Let us hope that

they were mistaken. The extreme Radicals may yet take a leaf out of the book of a man who is much praised now—Mr. Parnell, to wit. How did he convert Mr. Gladstone to Home Rule? By organising his followers to vote Tory. It is an old story now; but perhaps the Radicals remember it yet.

After all, probably Mr. Howell was joking: his solemn condemnation of Sunday meetings, which followed this, gives one that impression; and more particularly his professing to think that anyone present wanted him at any meeting except a due proper official Whig one; for the joker who cried out that he would have to go to Sunday meetings was quite obviously a joker.

The fact is, to Mr. Howell a meeting is not an assemblage of citizens, gathered together to give genuine expression to a sense of their grievances; or to educate themselves into understanding their haplessly servile condition and its only remedy: to him a meeting in the open-air is a necessary though seldom-to-be-resorted-to piece of the machinery of the machine-politics of which he is a votary. Such a meeting as this does not need a Sunday or general holiday for its success; it is simply a matter of wire-pulling and money-spending, and the thing is done, whatever it may be worth; and that is not much, I fancy, even to its projectors. Meantime, do not forget, working-men, that this M.P. who so despises Sunday meetings is your special representative.

Mr. Matthews' humbug about the Square is exactly what we might have expected of him; but it is rather surprising that the *Star* should still talk the stale nonsense of trying the matter legally: surely all those poor fellows who were so shamefully treated by the police and other courts for not rioting have had enough of law. The law courts will take very good care to confirm the police and its generals in all they have done. As far as these matters are concerned, they are there for that purpose. When juries begin to refuse to follow the direction of the judge when persons accused of defending their rights are before them, that will be a sign that the well-to-do are beginning to sympathise with revolution—and when will that be?

Meantime, those Radicals who really take to heart this trampling down of what they conceive to be their rights, should turn themselves seriously to the duty of making the whole democratic party throughout the country, look at this affair of the Square from the same point of view that some (only some, I fear) of the London Radicals do. It is not and cannot be a mere London question, but concerns all strugglers for freedom throughout the length and breadth of the land.

W. M.

The *Glasgow Herald* is "wise" in its generation. It has awakened to the fact "that the labouring classes of this country are becoming fully conscious of their strength," and that their "strength" is something more than merely numerical. With that fact lying heavy on his mind, the editor is constrained to say something to protect the interests of his masters—the commercial classes—and through them his own, by advocating isolated co-operative production, whereby the commercial classes can pocket the employers' fleecings, and he assures the workers that in following the directions of Karl Marx, "labourers [are] on a false scent." The "strength" of the labourers is more than numerical, it is growing more "knowing," and the scent of commercial papers is beginning to stink in their nostrils.

The parasites of labour have hitherto been assured that British workmen would never listen to the "dangerous doctrines" promulgated by their continental comrades, but that is all changed now. The *Glasgow Herald* is forced to admit, "Our workmen are slowly but surely following the lead of their continental brethren. It is time for society at large to realise that by far the most important question that looms in the immediate future is that of labour—its position, its claims, its rewards, and its fallacies. We may shut our ears to the clamour that is already beginning to be heard at our doors. Those sounds, dreaded as they are by many, are becoming articulate, and it will not be easy to ignore the fact for long." This admission, coming from

whence it comes, is significant and hopeful to Socialists. Our opponents clearly recognise and admit that in our movement there is a "strength" which must be met by other means than those they have hitherto forged in their mental foundries.

But this editor, whose foundation rests on the workers' wrongs, is fain to poise as the friend of the workers. He says, "We fear, however, that the sufferers will have to be contented to wait until statesmen and philosophers have agreed upon a method by which the 'socialism of the chair' may be converted into a reasonable and practical scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the masses. The present attempt to force on action at the cost of all other legislation cannot but be received by society at large with resentment." Mr. Editor need have no fear that the sufferers will "be contented" under these conditions. They will not wait in their "strength", which is getting something more than "numerical", until "statesmen and philosophers have agreed upon a method," and these latter will not find it "easy to ignore the fact for long." The workers do not require to be told that anything which will improve their conditions will "be received by society at large with resentment." They have analysed and summed up society's "resentment," and they know its meaning and worth.

In advocating his method, this "philosopher" of the chair says: "The would-be co-operator need not wait for legislation to put his theories into practice. He can begin at once by exercising economy, not parsimony, in his daily life. Then when he has succeeded in accumulating a little store, he will be in a position to join with one other person, or many other persons, in producing useful commodities, the profit which shall be wholly his own or his partners'." This "philosopher" seems never to have heard of producers having nothing to divide, owing to it having been annexed by the dealer, and yet in the same sheet in which his philosophy appears we read, "The dividend of the Edinburgh Meat Market Company, whose business premises are in Fountainbridge, is announced as 40 per cent." Neither does he condescend to say how a labourer getting 13s. per week, with a house and family to provide for, can exercise "economy, not parsimony" in order to accumulate "a little store" to start business. How can a coalminer become a coalmaster?

G. McL.

## SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT IN ECSTASY.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT appeared in dazzling rhetorical raiment at Derby a couple of weeks ago. There was an exaltation in his utterance as of one who stood beside the throne of the most high political virtue, and whose eyes beheld the glory of universal justice. One could almost hear the flapping of his wings! What had happened? What event of transcendental importance had occurred thus to stir the waters of Sir William's deepest and innermost emotion, and inflate his seraphic soul upon the empyrean of political ecstasy? Had some great national calamity been averted? Had some class wrong, hoary with centuries of crime, been abolished? Had some great and gladdening measure of freedom been achieved? Not so. The event that had transfigured Sir William was of a much loftier order—the "Parnell letters" had been proved forgeries!

In his ecstasy over the discomfiture of the *Times* and the wicked Tories, and in his jubilation at the prospects of the Liberal party—himself included—coming back to office and emoluments, Sir William exclaimed, "We live in remarkable times—times that will live in the pages of history!" What a lofty idea of the making of history Sir William has! The poor Invincibles believed that if they could succeed in "removing" Mr. Forster, Lord Spencer, and probably Mr. Gladstone, they would in a humble way be making history; but they were not, alas! statesmen; they had not the magnifying eye of the politician, else they might never have been hanged, poor fellows! Had they had a particle of the political prescience of Sir William Harcourt, they would not have purchased knives and dipped them in the blood of their foes, they would have purchased pens and tracing paper and forged a few letters sympathising with rebels and political crime.

Surely, friends, this exclamation of Sir William's exemplifies the utter shoddiness of the sentiments that inspire, and the ideas that guide, the political leaders of our time? What a nation of dupes their followers are! The people who can be induced to believe that the fiasco of determining the right or wrong of Home Rule by an inquisition upon the private correspondence of Mr. Parnell, is a subject that will form a staple part of the history of our time, must have about as silly a conception of the duty of future historians as they have of present day statesmen. That the Parnell Commission business may form a theme for future comedy writers is likely enough; but that anything resulting from its revelations will be treated as a heroic episode in the future histories—long or short—of our country, presupposes the notion that our posterity will be a race of gaping idiots.

We do live in remarkable times; but what is most remarkable in them, appears to be quite beyond the ken of Sir William Harcourt and his political crew. Political slanders and party intrigue, letter forging and newspaper lying, are no new features in the world's history—they have been vastly common events, indeed. The terrible economic war raging around us; a free and civilised industrial population living in abject poverty amid stupendous wealth created by their own hands; the growth of social revolt, and the impending fall of centuries of class privilege and oppression—these are remarkable and

manifest facts of our time, facts which will vitally determine the destinies of the race; and these, I venture to assert, and not the nine days' wonder of Parliamentary gossip, will be the episodes of our time that will live in the pages of history. In a few years Sir William Harcourt, the Parnell Commission, and all the incidents in the party sham-fights of our day, the record of which fills the columns of hundreds of newspapers, will be forgotten, and their influence on the evolution of human progress practically effaced; but the Social Revolution which has already begun in our midst, its causes, its incidents, the efforts of its disciples and martyrs, unheeded by politicians and unrecorded by the press, these will not be forgotten, but will assume a majestic importance as the years go on and their achievement is seen and felt in the transformation of civilised life.

Immediately after emitting the above exclamation, Sir William referred to his "distinguished friend Sir Charles Russell" as "a man who by the greatness of his ability and the strength of his sympathy for freedom would deserve to take a place in the noble profession to which he belongs with Erskine, as a man who is willing to do battle against fraud and injustice, and to vindicate the principles of truth and freedom." Great Jehosaphat! What hallelujah chorus is this? Who is this blessed Sir Charles Russell whom Saint William Harcourt thus doth magnify? What great and good deeds hath this lawyer politician done that that lawyer politician doth so jubilantly praise him? Let us see. Five years ago Sir Charles Russell spoke and voted on the side of pay and preferment against Irish freedom. Three years ago he was made Attorney-General under Mr. Gladstone, and spoke and voted with his leader on the side of pay and preferment for Irish freedom. He prosecuted, for pay and preferment, Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams, when, despite his efforts, they were acquitted of "crime." He lately championed Mr. Cunningham Graham and the people's right to hold meetings in Trafalgar Square—he was paid to do so, and his political credit depended upon it. He has recently defended Mr. Parnell with much ability—he is paid to do so, it is said at the rate of £50 to £100 a day. Noble and disinterested sympathy for truth and freedom this! How many lawyers and politicians are there, think you, who would not do battle, as earnestly at least, against "fraud and injustice" for a similar fee? Truly, if the advocacy of justice and liberty were universally rewarded as Sir Charles's has been, political sanctity would become an epidemic in our midst.

The trade of a lawyer Sir William Harcourt designates a "noble profession." We can estimate the value of the adjective "noble" in Sir William's mind by remembering, that the first principle of that profession is to undertake the defence of any man or any claim for which the best fee is offered, and that it is esteemed a duty in that profession to use every will and simulate every sympathy for the cause of your client, no matter how black or rotten it may be. For every lawyer on one side of a case there is a lawyer on the other, so that one at least of every two must be brazening lies and cloaking crime; and in turn they must all do so.

As for Erskine, wherein is his claim to apotheosis? He was probably as good a man as it is possible for a lawyer to be; he was also a brilliant "pleader." He pleaded mostly on the side of popular liberty it is true; but his subsequent elevation to the Lord Chancellorship shows that in doing "battle against fraud and injustice" he did not forsake the path of pay and preferment. In the early part of his career he defended the publication of Thomas Paine's 'Age of Reason'—he was paid to do so—while in after years he pleaded vigorously for its suppression and the imprisonment of its publisher, when paid as a Government hack. No, the profession of an advocate is as sordid and hypocritical as the system which makes it profitable and respectable. It is twin with the profession of politics; two pretty handmaids of freedom and justice they are!

And Sir William himself: what a bright and beautiful specimen of political sanctity! Like his "distinguished friend," he speaks and votes on the side of the party that promises him most office and most pay. How long is it since he and the *Times* were bosom friends? When his party was opposed to Home Rule he denounced Mr. Parnell and his followers malignantly and unscrupulously. He accused them of the blackest crimes, and threw them as recklessly into prison as Mr. Balfour now does. He sent police and marines to coerce the poor Skye crofters to pay blackmail to robber landlords. Together with his "distinguished friend" he prosecuted the Social Democrats for doing in London, what he commends Irish Nationalists for doing in Mitchelstown. Verily, they are two political saints worthy of red letters in the calendar of devout liberalism!

Poor Richard Pigott was a born politician; had he been wealthy he would also have been a successful one; he would have made an admirable ambassador or secretary of state. But he was poor, and his poverty maimed his talents, and left traces of honesty in his character which spoiled him. He has committed suicide. If all political sneaks and frauds were to go and do likewise, Mr. Gladstone would have some difficulty in filling his offices when he again comes into power.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

The mill-workers of Dundee have resolved to agitate for a third advance of 5 per cent. on their wages, to take effect on the 15th of March.

The Durham miners are agitating for an advance of 20 per cent., and a mass meeting was held last Saturday, to decide on what steps should be taken to force it.

The Greenock shipyard smiths, who wanted a rise of 10 per cent., have been offered, and they have accepted, 7½ per cent. They resumed work on the 7th of March.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE prison life of Joliet, Ill., appears to be telling upon the nerves of Oscar W. Neebe, imprisoned for fifteen years for his participation in the alleged organisation of the Haymarket "massacre" on May 4th, 1886, in Chicago city. On the 22nd inst. he is reported to have written a letter to Governor Joe Fifer of Illinois, in which he says he knew nothing about the plot which led to the Haymarket affair. He says, further, if the Governor will only pardon him, he will demean himself in future as a good citizen and leave the labour movement alone. It is also reported that Judge Grinnell, who acted as prosecuting attorney in the famous Anarchist trial, has stated his readiness to sign Neebe's pardon-petition if the latter will tell publicly all the ins and outs of the alleged Anarchist conspiracy. So after all, Louis Lingg was right when he said, "I hope I shall be hanged, for prison life might unman me." Neebe has done sterling good action for the good of humanity before his incarceration, but his last step has rendered him worthless to the cause for the future. It may, however, be stated right here that he never understood much about the science and philosophy of Socialism and always believed in the methods and principles of progressive trades unionists.

Most of the big lumber mills in Washington Territory have been closed down on the 22nd inst., by order of the lumber trust. More than fifteen hundred workmen are out of employment in consequence.

Suspended inspector of the Chicago police, the cowardly and infamous John Bonfield, has fired a parting shot at his friend Mayor Roche of Chicago. On the 12th inst. he sent a letter to this worthy saying that he did not desire to draw the city's money during his suspension pending the investigation into his conduct, and that consequently he desired to resign at once. He further wrote that he did not intend to return into the service of the city, even if proved to be innocent. The poor fellow complained that he had been treated with so little gratitude for having done nothing but his duty, and that he was sacrificed by the mayor, who feared to lose the patronage of Anarchists, Socialists, lottery-agents, and gamblers. Gamblers and lottery-agents are powerful persons, it is true; however, they were your best friends, Mr. Bonfield. But it is good to hear that Socialists and Anarchists are so influential in Chicago city as to be able to remove a high police officer, almost an autocrat. It is said John Bonfield will now begin business as manager of a private detective agency, à la Pinkerton's. Captain Schaack has already retired to his landed estates in Wisconsin, resolved henceforth to cultivate cabbages instead of workmen's heads. Jakob Loewenstein, the detective, hopes to be restored to his former position. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

The agitation, little as it is, for the new eight hours day has begun in earnest. On the 22nd inst. mass meetings were held in a number of American cities. The centre of the agitation will be in New York. As regards numbers, the meeting in New York city has been a decided success. The large hall in Cooper Union was filled to overflowing. Colonel Ingersoll, Professor Felix Adler, and sundry other minor stars were advertised to speak, but of course they did not put in an appearance. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labour, made the leading speech, from which it may be learned that, "The demand for eight hours on May 1st, 1890, does not mean a general strike, but a cry to capital to cease its war on labour; that efforts will be made to bring about an amicable settlement of the question with employers, but that it was necessary to have a thorough organisation of working people all over the States, so that employers would be willing to listen to labour's demand." The following resolution was adopted at the meeting:

"Whereas the application of scientific genius to the invention and development of machinery has most marvellously increased the productive capacity of the human race, making it possible to supply all the material wants of man and banish every necessary cause for the poverty of a single human being; whereas in consequence of defective but remediable industrial regulations the application of machinery and the minute subdivision of the processes of industry are continually throwing large numbers of the working class out of employment, visibly swelling the ranks of the permanently unemployed class, and dooming year by year a larger and larger proportion of this vast and rich continent to a fate fruitful of moral, mental, and physical degradation; whereas the existence of an idle class or classes is a standing menace to the Republic and an insult to humanity; therefore be it

"Resolved, That in the light of the foregoing and undeniable facts it becomes our solemn duty to use all means consistent with human dignity to reduce the hours of labour to such a point as would afford to all the opportunity to labour—to earn their daily bread; and be it further

"Resolved, That we in mass meeting assembled do heartily endorse the action of the St. Louis Convention of the American Federation of Labour in fixing the date for the final inauguration of the eight-hour work-day at May 1, 1890; and be it further

"Resolved, That we pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to aid to the full extent of our ability, regardless of all minor considerations, this grand and determined movement of the American people for the eight-hour work-day, and to conquer in spite of all opposition eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will."

I am sorry to say that most of the Social Democrats, headed by editor Sergius E. Shevitsch of the *Volkzeitung*, have joined this movement. It is painful to see them and so able a man as Shevitsch in such company. For the last twenty years they have joined, not heeding the voice of their intellect, every crank movement in America, as the Grangers, the Greenbackers, the Henry George movement, etc. They have to do most of the work, and are also used statuesquely on show days. 'Tis a pity, but it is true. Now what does the whole business amount to? We are to have no general strike. Gompers and his benchmen know well that the places of the strikers would be instantly filled by the out-of-workers. This they will not risk. We are therefore asked to cry out to Capital, "Now gentlemen, look here; we are overworked, we want to work fewer hours. Please be good enough to grant our demand. Look here, we are organised, but we dare not strike; there are too many men out of employment for that. But look at our organisation and be frightened. You are gentlemen after all; you don't mean any harm, of course not; so for the good of the country, show that capital and labour can harmonise." And the lion and the lamb will lie down together in peace—that is, after the lamb has been gobbled up by the lion. Sammy Gompers and Shevitsch, what has become of your shrewdness and smartness? Echo answers—Evaporated into demagogism.

There were 302 failures in the United States during last week, against 183, 163, 208, and 254 in the corresponding weeks of 1888, 1887, 1886, and 1885 respectively.

Newark, N.J., February 27, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE EIGHTEENTH OF MARCH.

THEN said the rich man, urged by fear to flight,  
I covet safety for my children's sake;  
The workman, sword in hand, his life at stake,  
Answered, 'Tis for my children that I fight.<sup>1</sup>  
Full of prophetic fire they stormed the height,  
Then reeling, dazed with freedom, scarce awake,  
Fell back and perished; bidding us retake  
And strongly hold the rock of common right.

Brothers, they fought our battle; yet, O shame!  
We know them not, or spurn their dust with scorn;  
How then shall we make good that glorious claim  
For which they longed amid their lives forlorn?  
Yet when we share their ardour and their aim  
The life they died to bear us will be born.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 23, 1889.

17	Sun.	1754. Madame Roland born. 1848. Irish Flag presented (St. Patrick's Day) to the Provisional Government by Irish patriots in Paris. 1877. Public funeral to George Odger. 1880. Razovsky and Lozinsky (a soldier) hung in Kieff. 1882. Meeting at Grafton Hall, London, to celebrate the Commune and death of the Czar.
18	Mon.	1823. First public meeting in the Rotunda (Dublin), to hear Robert Owen lecture on his proposed "plan for improving the various classes in society." 1849. "Guns go off of themselves" at Berlin: official proclamation afterwards that it was "not a revolution, but a transaction." 1871. Commune of Paris proclaimed. 1876. Ferdinand Freiligrath died. 1878. Trial of Fomicheff and others at Odessa for propaganda in the army; 2 sentenced to prison.
19	Tues.	1796. William Skirving died. 1843. Monster Repeal meeting at Trion. 1848. Insurrection breaks out in Berlin. 1872. Préau de Védel shot as a Commune. 1874. Rochefort, Jourde, Paschal Grousset, Baillère, and two others escape from New Caledonia.
20	Wed.	1828. Henrik Ibsen born. 1886. William Francis Donaghy (Capt. Mackay) sentenced to twelve years. 1875. John Mitchell died.
21	Thur.	1763. W. J. McNevin born. 1832. Goethe died. 1843. Robert Southey died. 1848. Arrest of Meagher, Mitchell, and O'Brien.
22	Fri.	1639. Campanella died. 1641. Trial of Strafford began. 1856. First number of <i>Robert Owen's Millennium Gazette</i> (monthly, 6d.); published until Oct. 1857. 1871. "Men of Order" demonstration in Paris: the red flag raised at Lyons. 1873. Strike ended of 60,000 colliers in South Wales.
23	Sat.	1820. Sir F. Burdett tried for his protest against the Manchester Massacre. 1885. Riel's rebellion breaks out in Manitoba. 1886. Strike riots in Belgium began.

*Hermann Ferdinand Freiligrath.*—Born at Detmold in Westphalia, 17th June, 1810, died at Cannstatt, 18th March, 1876. The most illustrious of Germany's popular poets, he sang in wonderful tunes for the people, and suffered a long exile for the cause of Revolution. At the early age of sixteen, young Freiligrath, whose education had chiefly been at home, was sent to a relative of his, in order to serve there as clerk in a large house of business. He remained with his uncle for five years, learning French and English thoroughly, the knowledge of which languages afterwards made of him the best, the first translator of English and French poetry. From Amsterdam, where he then went, he sent to the *Deutscher Musenalmanach*, edited by Chamisso and Schwab, his first poetical labours, and they at once made his name famous among the literary men of his country. Gutzkow, himself an illustrious writer, called him the German Victor Hugo. The publisher of the works of Goethe and Schiller, Herr von Cotta at Stuttgart, invited the young poet to prepare a volume of his songs, and in 1838, when his first volume appeared, he became tremendously popular. His name was in everyone's mouth; Wolfgang Müller, Matzerath, Pfrius, Hacklander, Simrock, Immermann, at the time Germany's greatest writers, sought his friendship. Freiligrath, no longer a clerk, went to Unkel, a romantic place on the Rhine, there to live and to sing to his heart's content. But it did not last very long; the time was politically a very excited one; great poets, like Herwegh, Prutz, Dingelstedt, were fully engaged in the midst of the storm, and Freiligrath could not long remain inactive; his heart was at one with that of the people, and, in May 1844, he published a series of poems which were intended to form his profession of faith. He sings for freedom and justice, condemns the existing censure, exalts the poor and the oppressed. Formerly he had been very popular chiefly among the literary men of his time, now his popularity grows and grows fast among those classes of society which are traded upon by the politicians of all shades. But the Government of course could not tolerate any longer a man who had so audaciously made front against them, and they were consulting for the prosecution of the poet when he suddenly showed his back to his fatherland and went to Brussels, where he found the Communists Heinzen, Karl Marx, and Burgers. From Switzerland he launched on his native country a new volume, entitled 'Ca ira!' (1846), which rang the alarm-bell calling the German people out to Revolution. After a short stay at London, when the French Revolution of 1848 broke out, immediately followed by similar movements in nearly all European countries, Freiligrath, desiring to be an active soldier of the cause, went back to Germany and settled at Düsseldorf. Aug. 29, 1848, he was arrested, and Oct. 3 his trial for provocation to armed rebellion ended with his acquittal. He now became a member of the staff of the *Neue rheinische Zeitung*, of which Karl Marx was the chief editor, until the paper was suppressed. Freiligrath once more was obliged to leave Germany, and settled definitely in London. In 1852 he was one of the accused of the Communist trial at Coln. He remained at London as director of a Swiss banking house until 1867, when a patriotic donation was offered him from all parts of Germany, and soon afterwards he returned home, devoting all his care to prepare a complete edition of his works. The best edition of his works has been published at Stuttgart, at G. T. Göschen's, under the title of '*Ferdinand Freiligrath's gesammelte Dichtungen*' (6 vols. 8vo, 1877). —V. D.

<sup>1</sup> Lissagaray.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN  
 HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. **Rejected MSS.** only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. **Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. **Business communications** to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I. O'R.—You are right, Gerrald's father was an Irishman.

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 13.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Knights of Labor	SWITZERLAND
Christian Socialist	Denver—Arbitrator	Arbeiterstimme
Die Autonomie	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	PORTUGAL
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Labour Elector	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	GERMANY
Labour Tribune	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Berlin—Volks Tribune
London—Freie Presse	San Francisco—Pacific Union	AUSTRIA
Norwich—Daylight	FRANCE	Wien—Gleichheit
Postal Service Gazette	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	Brunn—Volksfreund
Railway Review	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	ROUMANIA
Social Demokrat	Le Proletariat	Jassy—Muncitorul
Worker's Friend	La Revolte	DENMARK
INDIA	L'Union Internat. des femmes	Social-Demokraten
Bankipore—Behar Herald	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Madras—People's Friend	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Malmö—Arbetet
UNITED STATES	BELGIUM	NORWAY
New York—Der Sozialist	Ghent—Vooruit	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Freiheit	Antwerp—De Werker	WEST INDIES
Volkszeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	Cuba—El Productor
Jewish Volkszeitung	SPAIN	MEXICO
Workmen's Advocate	Seville—La Solidaridad	Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier
Boston—Woman's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista	
Liberty		

### THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

FELLOW-WORKMEN.—No doubt you have often wondered why we Socialists hold in such high honour the men and women who fought and died in Paris eighteen years ago. By the ordinary newspapers, the "reptile press," you are told that they were red-handed ruffians, idle miscreants, abandoned characters. You are told also that the crimes they committed were so monstrous, that shooting down in cold blood thirty-five thousand men, women, and children, unarmed and prisoners, was only a slight punishment compared to what they really deserved. Now, what were they, and what did they do?

They were the people of Paris. Neither the best nor the worst—neither aristocrats nor criminals, those inevitable fruits of inequality—they were the *People*! And what they did was to fight for their freedom, to defend it against aggression, against the mastery of the money-bag. They died for the liberty of labour, of the workers of the world. It was for this they were butchered then; it is for this they are condemned and vilified now.

The Empire which had paralysed France was dead; the "Republic" which had taken its place was a shameful pretence, a treachery. Reactionary, royalist, corrupt, it had betrayed France and tricked her people. Made up of money-lenders, stock-jobbers, and capitalistic parasites, the "Republican" Ministry was more anxious to render property secure than to make real the Republic. To keep their own power over the public purse, they gave up everything—not their own. Afraid of the democracy of Paris and the large towns, they intrigued with the rurals, whom they blinded and misled; with the soldiers of the empire, whom they bribed and flattered. On Paris, the mainstay

of the Republic, they concentrated their hatred. There were the men who dared to think and act for themselves, who dared to set the people above privilege. There the proletariat, the working-class, was alert and resolute, resolved on a true republic, imbued with Socialism.

In order, then, to have an excuse for coercion, and an opportunity for killing off the inconvenient men who would not join in the legal jugglery, the benevolent bourgeois government resolved on provoking a riot. So they tried to seize the cannon of the National Guard, the volunteers of Paris; cannon bought and paid for with the willing pence of the men who had used them during the siege in defending their homes. But, for once, the rulers had reckoned without their host. The "riot" became a revolt. Paris rose, and declaring herself guardian of the Republic, took possession of her own. Panic stricken, her oppressors fled. In a frenzy of fear, the usurping profit-mongers rushed from the city, followed by aristocrats, thieves, and loafers. Paris was left in the hands of her people.

The Commune, the ancient, the immemorial embodiment of popular right, which had again and again saved Paris, France itself in 1792, was proclaimed and its administration organised. Workmen, professional men, shopkeepers, pressed into its service. For the first time there was no thought of classes, the proletariat took its due place in the conduct of affairs. For two months it did so; and for two months the internal control of Paris was administered as never before nor since. For two months there was no crime, no vice, no poverty, and no oppression. "Each for all, All for each," was the rule of life. Many "unfortunates" even, products of the corruption of the empire, threw off at once their dreadful trade, and heroic, self-sacrificing, ennobled, became the devoted nurses of the wounded and the sick.

The privileged classes in all countries were alarmed. If only the example of Paris were to be followed elsewhere! If only the small middle-class of other countries were to fraternise with the workers, and put an end to the living on other men's labour! The misery of the many for the profit of the few, the subjection of labour to capital, and class-control of the means of production must be maintained. So the Governments of Europe looked on while the German Government helped that of Versailles to draw an iron ring round Paris, within which the greatest tragedy of modern times was to be consummated. The soldiers of the Second Empire, picked from those regiments most brutalised by their training, partakers in the atrocities of Africa and Mexico, were hurried back from their German prisons and led against the "rebels." Against enormous odds, under innumerable difficulties, weak and wounded from the recent horrors of the siege, Paris held out stoutly, but at length was beaten down; falling even then by treachery more than by force. Then began a dreadful massacre; women, children, sick and wounded, unarmed men and helpless cripples, felt the fury of outraged respectability, the revenge of shaken monopoly. By the orders of a bourgeois government, at the instance of civilised capitalists, and in order to secure the supremacy of property, deeds of fiendish cruelty were done from which the most barbarian despot might well recoil. The attempt of the mere common people to do without their masters was bloodily punished and put down.

Now, we ask you to examine for yourselves the truth of this story. Take nothing for granted. Come among us, and hear what we have to say for ourselves; you have heard what can be said against us. See which is true; and then if you find us in the right, as you will, join us in working and fighting for the aims of the men of the Commune. They fought and died for the right of the people to live, to work, and to enjoy the fruits of their work. To hold and utilise for the common benefit the land whereon they labour, and the means of labour whereby they live. They saw, as we see, that so long as the land on which we live, the tools wherewith we work, and all the wealth we have produced, and need, are owned and controlled by a class, *we* are owned and controlled by the same class in like measure. They saw, as we see, that so long as we allow our masters, the capitalists, to rule us: so long as we bow to their laws, pay respect to their parliaments and what not, or hope for relief from their justice or their mercy, we shall remain the miserable slaves we are. No! we must Agitate, Educate, Organise. Agitate, that we may stir up our fellows to see their true position. Educate, that we may know why we are robbed and how to end it. Organise, that we may strengthen our hands to take over the land and the means of production, that all may work who can, and all consume who need. Come then, fall in! The ranks are closing up on either side. You should not hesitate long, but throw in your lot with us "For the Freedom of the Peoples and the Brotherhood of Man!"

[It is intended to issue the above article as a leaflet by the Propaganda Committee. Readers are asked for criticism, and might suggest improvements.]

D. J. NICOLL, Secretary of Propaganda Committee.

SOCIALISM IN ROUMANIA.—The Vienna correspondent of the *Daily News* telegraphed on the 5th: The Roumanian Government has sent a circular to all the prefects on the subject of Socialism. Attention is called to the fact that Socialistic propaganda are beginning to spread all over the country.

A large syndicate with a capital of twenty-five million dollars has been formed to combat with the Chicago meat trust. The managers of the new concern will raise their own cattle, slaughter it, and sell the meat directly to the consumer all over the States. As Phil. Armour, the Chicago beef and pork king and leader of the trust, is backed by a capital of about 100 million dollars, the fight between the two trusts promises to become interesting. Good luck to you, gentlemen, it's refreshing to watch thieves fight about the booty.—C.

## SONGS FOR THE CELEBRATION.

THE following revolutionary songs are here reprinted by request. They are those which will be sung by the choir of the Socialist League at South Place on the 16th. The first is written to the old air, "When the King enjoys his own again." "All for the Cause" will be sung to the air composed for it by E. Belfort Bax; copies of the music and words may be obtained at the Hall during the meeting, or at the League offices, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. The other two are too well known to need any direction. The audience will be asked to join heartily in singing the *Marseillaise*.

### WHEN THE PEOPLE HAVE THEIR OWN AGAIN.

THOUGH prating fools in Parliament  
May do their utmost to prevent  
The people's knowing who are who,  
Or finding out what they can do;  
In spite of them all, how'er they may bawl,  
And Wrong defend with might and main,  
The Right it shall win, and the good days begin  
When the people have their own again!  
The Right, etc.

The lawyers all may do their best  
For profit, rent, and interest;  
And parsons also after fees  
May give the coward conscience ease;  
But writ on the wall is the tale of their fall  
Whose pleasure is the people's pain:  
Ere long they'll be gone, and freedom be won  
When the people have their own again!  
Ere long, etc.

We see the promise in the east,  
The dawning day of Freedom's feast;  
And though the despots call it crime  
To hail with joy the coming time,  
Right well do we know how soon they must go,  
And hear their threatening with disdain;  
We know that at length we shall rise in our strength,  
And the people have their own again!  
We know, etc.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

### LA CARMAGNOLE.

QUE faut-il au républicain ?  
Que faut-il au républicain ?  
La liberté du genre humain !  
La liberté du genre humain !  
La pioche dans les cachots,  
L'école dans les châteaux,  
Et la paix aux chaumières.  
Vive le son, vive le son,  
Et la paix aux chaumières  
Vive le son du canon.  
Dansons la carmagnole !  
Vive le son, vive le son,  
Dansons la carmagnole !  
Vive le son du canon !

Que demande un républicain ?  
Que demande un républicain ?  
L'égalité du genre humain !  
L'égalité du genre humain !  
Plus de riche debout,  
Plus de pauvre à genoux,  
Aux fainéants la guerre.  
Vive le son, etc.

Que demande un républicain ?  
Que demande un républicain ?  
Du fer, du plomb, et puis du pain !  
Du fer, du plomb, et puis du pain !  
Du fer pour travailler,  
Du plomb pour se venger,  
Et du pain pour nos frères.  
Vive le son, etc.

Ah ! s'ils avaient le sens commun,  
Ah ! s'ils avaient le sens commun,  
Tous les peuples n'en feraient qu'un,  
Tous les peuples n'en feraient qu'un ;  
Au lieu de s'égorger,  
Ils viendraient tous manger,  
A la même gamelle.  
Vive le son, etc.

Vive la Commune de Paris,  
Vive la Commune de Paris,  
Ses mitrailleuses et ses fusils !  
Ses mitrailleuses et ses fusils !  
La Commune battue,  
N'est pas encore vaincue,  
Elle aura sa revanche.  
Vive le son, etc.

### ALL FOR THE CAUSE.

HEAR a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh,  
When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live, and some to die !

He that dies shall not die lonely, many an one hath gone before,  
He that lives shall bear no burden heavier than the life they bore.

Nothing ancient is their story, e'en but yesterday they bled,  
Youngest they of earth's beloved, last of all the valiant dead.

E'en the tidings we are telling was the tale they had to tell,  
E'en the hope that our hearts cherish, was the hope for which they fell.

In the grave where tyrants thrust them, lies their labour and their pain,  
But undying from their sorrow springeth up the hope again.

Mourn not therefore, nor lament it that the world outlives their life ;  
Voice and vision yet they give us, making strong our hands for strife.

Some had name, and fame, and honour, learn'd they were, and wise and strong ;  
Some were nameless, poor, unlettered, weak in all but grief and wrong.

Named and nameless all live in us ; one and all they lead us yet  
Every pain to count for nothing, every sorrow to forget.

Hearken how they cry, "O happy, happy ye that ye were born  
"In the sad slow night's departing, in the rising of the morn.

"Fair the crown the Cause hath for you, well to die or well to live  
"Through the battle, through the tangle, peace to gain or peace to give."

Ah, it may be ! Oft meseemeth, in the days that yet shall be,  
When no slave of gold abideth 'twixt the breadth of sea to sea,

Oft, when men and maids are merry, ere the sunlight leaves the earth,  
And they bless the day beloved, all too short for all their mirth,

Some shall pause awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old,  
Ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of gold ;

Then 'twixt lips of loved and lover solemn thoughts of us shall rise ;  
We who once were fools and dreamers, then shall be the brave and wise.

There amidst the world new-built shall our earthly deeds abide,  
Though our names be all forgotten, and the tale of how we died.

Life or death then, who shall heed it, what we gain or what we lose ?  
Fair flies life amid the struggle, and the Cause for each shall choose.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### MARSEILLAISE.

YE sons of freedom, wake to glory !  
Hark ! hark ! what myriads bid you rise !  
Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary,  
Behold their tears and hear their cries ;  
Behold their tears and hear their cries.  
Shall hateful tyrants, mischief breeding,  
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,  
Affright and desolate the land,  
Whilst Peace and Liberty lie bleeding ?  
To arms ! to arms ! ye brave !  
The avenging sword unsheath !  
March on ! march on !  
All hearts resolved  
On liberty or death !

See now the dangerous storm is rolling,  
Which tyrant kings confederate raise ;  
The dogs of war let loose are howling,  
And lo ! our fields and cities blaze ;  
And lo ! our fields and cities blaze.  
Shall we basely view the ruin  
While lawless force, with guilty stride,  
Spreads desolation far and wide,  
With crime and blood their hands imbruing ?  
To arms ! etc.

With luxury and pride surrounded,  
The vile, insatiate despots dare—  
Their thirst for pride and power unbounded—  
To mete and vend the light and air ;  
To mete and vend the light and air.  
Like beasts of burden would they load us ;  
Like gods would bid their slaves adore ;  
But man is man, and who is more ?  
Then shall they longer lash and goad us ?  
To arms ! etc.

O Liberty ! can man resign thee,  
Once having felt thy generous flame ?  
Can dungeons, bolts, or bars confine thee,  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame ?  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame ?  
Too long the world has wept bewailing,  
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield ;  
But Freedom is our sword and shield,  
And all their arts are unavailing.

To arms ! etc.

ROUGET DE LISLE.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

'The Quintessence of Socialism.' By Dr. A. SCHÄFFLE. English Translation by BERNARD BOSANQUET, M.A. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London, 1889).

THE little book of the former Austrian Minister of agriculture and commerce in the Hohenwart ministry, has had up to the present date eight successive editions, and its thirty thousand copies have been eagerly read and perused by politicians of all schools and Socialists alike; for some time even it was thought dangerous enough to find its place on the index list of Socialist literature, prohibited in Germany by Bismark's muzzle laws; it has been translated long ago into nearly every European tongue, and now lastly, thanks to Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, it has also been rendered into English. Two or three London publishers have of late endeavoured to put before the English reading public some good foreign publications on matters of social politics and Socialism, which is altogether a sign that a growing interest is beginning to be felt, at last, for this section of scientific speculation; but it may as well be said that in that respect, as in many others, England has yet much more to do than any other country in Europe.

Dr. Schäffle's 'Quintessence' certainly well deserves to be known in England by all those who are engaged in the battle of Socialism, although we do not admit, with M. de Laveleye and Mr. Bosanquet, that it is the "only publication" that explains the scheme of Collectivism and treats it in a scientific manner. Without speaking of Collins, who in order of time at any rate, may be called the first exponent of the Collectivist theory, and of Constantin Pecqueur, Ramon de la Sagra, Louis de Potter, respectively the French, the Spanish, and the Belgian theoreticians of the same doctrine, we must point out that Naquet, in his book 'Religion, Famille, Propriété' (1868), has some good chapters on it, and that Dr. César de Paepe, in his remarkable reports of the International Congresses of Brussels (1868) and of Bale (1869), and more so in his splendid defence of Collectivism, which appeared in *La Liberté* (1869), in answer to Professor Hector Denis's Proudhonian (Mutualist) views of the question of private property, has given a thorough scientific exposition of the question dealt with, some six years afterwards by Dr. Schäffle, the 'Quintessence' having first appeared in 1874 in a German review 'Deutsche Blätter,' for the purpose of laying before a mixed public (consisting largely of theologians) a scientific and yet popular picture of the economic consequences of the newest form of Socialism, and then only, as the preface to the first edition says, it was put in book form in order to reach a wider circle of readers. It is also but fair to state that, following Dr. de Paepe's exposition, several papers, belonging officially or not to the International Working-men's Association, such as *L'Internationale* at Brussels, *L'Égalité* at Geneva, *La Solidarité* at Neuchâtel, *La Fédération* at Barcelona, *Le Travail* and *Le Socialiste* at Paris, *La Réforme Sociale* at Rouen, *Das Demokratische Wochenblatt* (afterwards *Der Volksstaat*) at Leipzig, *La Solidaridad* at Madrid, *l'Egalité* at Naples, *De Werkman* at Amsterdam, and some others, published from 1869 to 1873, on the question then at issue a large amount of literature, most of which was as scientific as Dr. Schäffle's 'Quintessence' itself.

Dr. Schäffle's 'Quintessence' tends to prove that the ultimate aim of the revolutionary Socialist movement is to replace the system of private capital, i.e., the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprises, by a system of collective capital, that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified (social or collective) organisation of national labour, on the basis of collective or common ownership of the means of production by all the members of society. This collective method of production would remove the present competitive system, by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively (socially or co-operatively), as well as the distribution among all of the common produce of all, according to the amount and social ability of the productive labour of each. In other words this amounts to claiming, firstly, collective ownership of the means of production; and secondly, individual or personal ownership of the means of consumption, these only to be acquired by the personal labour of the adult members of society. From a purely Socialistic point of view these claims are evidently legitimate, and in the six first editions of his book Dr. Schäffle has given us a true and adequate description of the Socialist's position, so much so, that for a long time past he himself has been acknowledged as one of the ablest adherents and exponents of Socialism.

Meanwhile, we have to say that this has never been so. It is not as an adept of any revolutionary party whatever that Dr. Schäffle wrote his 'Quintessence,' but as a critic of the history of social evolution, that he merely laid down an exposition of the doctrine of Collectivism. But he does not at all agree with it; on the contrary, in the two last editions of his work he points out that the democratic collective system is entirely in complete antagonism with his own views, and that his 'Quintessence' is not, and never has intended to be, an advocate for democratic Socialism. Nay, he has even done more than this. Pretending to further pursue the critical objections of the 'Quintessence,' he has in reality smashed to pieces his own work by trying to expound the utter impracticability of Socialism in his pamphlet entitled 'Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Socialdemokratie' (1885), (The Hopelessness of Social Democracy), which was followed by two other writings, suggested by the famous "positive social reform" taken in hand by the German Government, namely, 'Der Korporative Hilfskassenzwang' (Compulsory Incorporated Benefit Funds), and 'Die Inkorporation des Hypothekarkredits' (The Incorporation of Mortgage Credit).

Although originally written as a warning to Conservatives, we nevertheless recommend our English comrades to read the 'Quintessence,' which is at any rate the work of a thorough expert in matters of social economy.

VICTOR DAVE.

While we seek honour, we lose liberty.—Lord Bacon.

The total income of the Brechin Mill and Factory Operatives Union since it started is £104, and the expenditure a little over £9. The union consists of 400 female and 1,100 male members.

ANOTHER PROPOSED SYNDICATE.—The Wolverhampton correspondent of the *Daily News* writes: "Another trade syndicate is proposed. The industry now sought to be cornered is the fire-brick trade. Negotiations have been inaugurated amongst the makers in South Staffordshire, East Worcestershire, Leeds, and elsewhere for buying up works and the declaration of a common price list. The required capital of the syndicate is set down at £3,000,000, and Lord Dudley's name is mentioned as chairman. If the proposals should be carried through, it will be a serious matter for the iron trade, for it is proposed to immediately increase prices 5s. per thousand."

## THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

The Yarmouth comrades, assisted by those of Norwich, and Mrs. Schack and H. Davis, of London, will hold a celebration on Sunday the 17th inst.

The annual celebration will be held by the Dublin Socialist Club, at 16, Dawson Street, on Saturday, March 16th, at 8 p.m. All friends invited.

The Edinburgh Branch of the Socialist League will celebrate the anniversary on the 18th inst. For details see local announcements.

An East-end celebration will be held under the auspices of East-end branches of Socialist League and International Clubs, at Cooper's Hall, Commercial Road, E., on Monday, March 18th, at 8 p.m. Speakers—F. Kitz, D. Nicoll, G. Cores, Rochmann, and others; chairman, C. W. Mowbray.

At Norwich on Sunday next, a meeting will be held in Market Place at 11 a.m. A great open-air demonstration will be held in the Market Place at 3 p.m., addressed by Mrs. Schack and H. Davis (London), assisted by branch members. At 8 p.m. same day, lecture in Gordon Hall on "The Commune." On Monday, at 8 p.m., in Gordon Hall, a Commemoration Meeting will be held. Songs, etc., will be sung by the branch choir. Admission, 1d. each.

"Art for art's sake" corresponds to the political formula, Everyone for himself: it may dominate decaying societies for some years; but over a people which rises into new life and to noble aims, it is powerless.—*Mazzini*.

Another strike of cotton operatives has occurred at Blackburn, making the fifth strike within a week. Fifteen hundred looms are now stopped. The cause of all the strikes, with one exception, has been the character of the material, which the operatives allege to be so bad to weave that they will not weave it unless the employers concede an advance of 5 per cent.

A number of labourers in the village of Whaplode, the *Pall Mall* says, have obtained allotments at a rental of £3 10s. per acre. On their petition the Holbeach rural sanitary authority has purchased 13½ acres of grass land at £69 per acre. This body, which is now in treaty for land in two other villages is the first in the eastern counties, it is said, to set the Allotments Act in motion. This is also one of the first instances of the local authority purchasing land outright to let to the labourers. Hitherto all that local bodies appear to have done is to induce owners to let their land in allotments.

Under the Midland system of fog-signalling, fogmen are provided for distant signals only, drivers having to grope their way on towards the home and starting signals, and find them as best they can. The consequences of running past one of the latter signals when at danger might have serious results, but, notwithstanding that that fact is well known to the company, it is prepared to risk it, putting forth the miserable plea—or rather subterfuge—that sufficient men cannot be got to supply all the signals with fogmen. They will ask us next to believe that there is no such thing as the unemployed.—*Railway Review*.

HOW THE INNOCENT ARE PUNISHED BY LAW.—The uninitiated say law is intended to punish the guilty. But we live in an artificial state of society, and are oppressed by artificial law; hence, when even one really guilty person is punished by law, half-a-dozen innocent not unfrequently have to suffer, and sometimes more intensely than the violator of the law. But it cannot be otherwise, since our irrational system makes the wife and children the property of the husband. If the husband places himself within reach of the law, say, assaults a policeman and gets six months, the law not only punishes the offender but also the wife and children who have not offended. Who can rightly estimate the amount of suffering a mother and her children undergo, who have been deprived by the law of the support of the bread-winner? The nincompoops of to-day call this justice, and say the majesty of the law must be respected; but we say there can be no justice between man and man under our present system, and that more iniquity is perpetrated under the name of law than any other. Then away with this rotten social system, and this abominable sham called law!—A. B.

LONDON COMPOSITORS.—At the annual meeting of the London Society of Compositors, held on March 6th, lively discussions took place on the subjects of the London Trades Council and the Trades Unions Parliamentary Committee. The former body was severely handled for its "flunkysm" and "fossilisation"; and concerning the latter, an amendment was moved to reduce the annual grant this year to £5, on the ground of the shortcomings of its secretary, Henry Broadhurst, M.P. Among other things, it was charged against this gentleman that he had received from Mr. Brunner shares in his company to the value of £500, shortly after Broadhurst's now historical tub-thumping in favour of the election of his friend to Parliament. Hence the significance of his silence over the disgraceful conditions of labour at the works of Brunner, Mond, and Co. Ultimately, after much excitement, and appreciation of the remarks of the mover of the amendment, the meeting was adjourned till the 20th, when Mr. Broadhurst is to be invited to attend. We would suggest to the compositors that they should not rest their case against Mr. Broadhurst alone, but pay some attention to the bungling of the Parliamentary Committee over the eight-hour ballot, and their handling of the International Congress last year, as well as their attitude towards the one convened for Paris this summer. They will do well to protest by adopting the amendment, for this Committee have been carrying matters with a high hand lately; but after that, had they not better try if they cannot send better representatives from their own society to the Trades Congress and other bodies?

NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday Mar. 17, at 8.30, C. W. Mowbray, "Objections to Socialism Answered."

ST. GEORGES COFFEE TAVERN, 106 Westminster Bridge Road, S.E.—Monday, March 18, at 8 p.m., J. Blackwell will lecture on "Anarchist-Communism."

SYNAGOGUE PARADE.—A Procession of Jewish Unemployed and Sweaters' Victims will be held on Saturday March 16th, and will proceed to the Great Synagogue, where the Chief Rabbi will deliver a sermon to the unemployed and sweaters' victims. The procession will start, with music, at 12.30 from 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.

BIRKBECK DEBATING SOCIETY, Breams Buildings, E.C.—March 18, at 8 p.m., Mr. J. L. Shadwell will move: "That no scheme of Socialism can really improve the condition of the working classes." Non-members are allowed to be present and take part in the voting, but members only are allowed to take part in the discussion, except by permission of the chairman.

ATHENÆUM, next door to Gower Street underground station.—On Sunday March 17th at 7.30 p.m., Herbert Burrows will lecture on "Social Democracy and Anarchism—a Challenge to Anarchists"; and he asks us to say that he will be very glad to see as many Anarchists as possible present, "so that we may have a friendly discussion."



THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

**Executive.**—That the Socialist League delegates to the Metropolitan Radical Federation be instructed to advise the Radicals to organise a national protest against the closing of Trafalgar Square and the suppression of Free Speech, and the Socialist League will aid them to the best of its ability.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, April 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commune Celebration.**—A Special Practice of the choir will be held on Saturday, March 16th, 6 p.m., at 13, Farringdon Road, before the Celebration.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1889:—Clerkenwell, Leicester, Mitcham, and North London, to February.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

**NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.**—Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, March 19th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; London propaganda. All the speakers and members of the League are specially asked to attend. D. J. NICOLL.

- W. H., 4s. 6d.
- "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.
- The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; J. Presburg, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Parker, 1s.; Seglie, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; and Tilley, 6d. Norwich Branch, 3s. 3d. and 2s.
- Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

REPORTS.

Clerkenwell.—Good meeting on Green Sunday night, addressed by Cores, McCormack, and Parker. In hall, Cores in chair, Brookes continued lecture on "The French Revolution," in which great interest was shown by the audience. Brookes will continue subject on the first Sunday in April.—S. P.

Hammersmith.—Good meeting at Latimer Road Sunday morning. Speakers were Maughan, Dean, Crouch, Lyne, jun., Mrs. Schack, and Toehatti. Choir sang several songs, including new one by a comrade of the branch; 18 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road 7 p.m., speakers, Maughan, Crouch, Catterson Smith, and Mordhurst. At Kelmescott House at 8, Ernest Radford lectured on "The Ethics of Revolt." Many questions and good discussion.

East End.—Good meetings on Sunday at Leman Street, Mowbray, Turner, and Mrs. Lahr were the speakers. Salmon and Ball by Davis and Cores. In Victoria Park, Mowbray, Charles, and Mrs. Schack spoke. *Commonweal* sale slightly increased this week.

Aberdeen.—Good outdoor meeting Saturday night, addressed by Duncan and Aiken. At indoor meeting on 9th, a paper by Dr. Drysdale on "The State Remedy for Poverty" was read and discussed, several members who have never spoken before being so exasperated at the paper that they rose and went for it. At Woodside on the 8th, W. C. Spence, M.A., a local schoolmaster and prominent Liberal, gave lecture answering the question, "Is Socialism Inevitable?" Duncan and Leatham attended to oppose him, but as he answered very heartily in the affirmative, Leatham took up subject where he left it and carried it on a little further.

Edinburgh.—On 3rd in Moulder's Hall, J. Bruce Glasier delivered an effective criticism of the *Scotsman's* article on Morris's lecture on "Equity." He also spoke at open-air meetings here and in Leith. On 5th in Central Halls, L. Mellet lectured on "Woman and Social Progress." He gave a vigorous historical sketch of the social condition of woman, and dealt with her position, present and future. His stirring exhortation resulted in seven women joining our movement. Other lectures for women will be given.

Glasgow.—An excellent days propaganda on Sunday. At 2.30 we held simultaneously two meetings, one on Jail Square and the other a hundred yards away on the Green, Downie, Joe Burgoyne, and Pollock speaking at former, and Glasier and Tim Burgoyne at latter. There was an S.D.F. meeting between us, so that the people could not possibly escape us. At 5 o'clock, Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke at Paisley Road Toll, and at 7 o'clock Joe Burgoyne, Gilbert Pollock, Tim Burgoyne, and McCulloch all spoke at St. George's Cross. Glasier also lectured on "God and the State" in the Secularist Hall at 6.30. Five dozen *Weals* sold.

Norwich.—On Thursday last several comrades went to hear a paper read by the Sheriff of Norwich on "What ought to be the attitude of Christians towards Socialism." W. Moore and Stone took part in discussion. Sunday afternoon, usual open-air meeting in Market Place; fair audience present; speakers, Moiley, Darley, and Poynts. In evening, in Gordon Hall, Adams gave interesting address, Poynts in chair; Mills took part in the discussion.

Yarmouth.—Sunday morning, Ruffold and others held meeting and distributed leaflets at Gorleston. In afternoon, good meeting on Priory Plain; Ruffolds opened by reading "Down with the Socialists!" after which Reynolds spoke, dealing specially with education under Socialism. Very great interest manifested; after meeting, little knots could be seen discussing among themselves.—The Branch has secured a very suitable room for weekly meetings; first meeting Tuesday evening March 19th.—C. R.

IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.—Good discussion was opened here last Sunday on the Local Government Bill, showing its deficiencies. Thomas and Creed, and others took part. Comrade Thomas opens discussion next Sunday on the "Commune of Paris."—M. C.

TOWER HILL.—Taking advantage of Radical demonstration last Sunday afternoon, comrades of the S.D.F. and League occupied a platform and passed a resolution protesting against coercion, but recognising it as the logical outcome of the present system. The speakers were Harding, Hicks, McCormick, and Parker.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Percy Hall, Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road.—Sundays at 8.30. Members asked to attend.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday March 17, at 8.30., D. Nicoll, "The English Revolutionary Movement, 1815-1817; Spa-fields Riots and Derbyshire Insurrection." Sunday 24th, H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then." Sun. 31st, Frank Kitz, A Lecture.

**East London.**—Cosmopolitan Club, Charles Square, Hoxton. Business meeting on Sunday 17th, at 7 sharp. All members requested to attend. At 8.30 F. Kitz will lecture on "Criminal Classes, High and Low."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper-Mall, W. Sunday Mar. 17, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. Thursday 21st, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 22nd, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda. Sun. March 24th, Touzeau Parris.

**Hoxton.**—Comrades desiring to help in the propaganda of the Socialist League in this locality are requested to send their names and addresses to H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Dublin.—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Glasgow (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.—SPECIAL.—Peter Kropotkin will lecture on "The Problems of our Century," in the Waterloo Hall, on Sunday 24th, at 7 o'clock.

Gorleston.—Coffee Tavern, England's Lane. Monday March 18, at 8 p.m., C. Reynolds will lecture on "Why are the Workers Poor?" All welcome.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Thursday and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.—All comrades having books belonging to the Branch are requested to return them at once to the Librarian, W. Moore.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

Yarmouth.—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Tuesdays at 8. March 19, C. Reynolds on "What Socialism Teaches."

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 17.

11.30.....	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball,"	Parker and Cores.
11.30.....	Latimer Road Station.....	The Branch.
11.30.....	Regent's Park .....	Mowbray.
11.30.....	Walham Green, opposite Station .....	The Branch.
11.45.....	Leman Street, Shadwell.....	Nicoll and Turper.
3.30.....	Hyde Park .....	Parker and Mrs. Lahr.
3.30.....	Victoria Park .....	Mowbray, Cores, and Charles.
7.....	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....	Hammersmith Branch.
7.30.....	Broad Street, Soho .....	Nicoll.
7.30.....	Clerkenwell Green .....	Brookes.

TUESDAY 19.

8.....	Fulham—back of Walham Green Church .....	The Branch.
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THURSDAY 21.

8.15.....	Hoxton Church.....	Mowbray and Cores.
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FRIDAY 22.

8.....	Philpot Street, Commercial Road.....	Parker, Cores, and Kitz.
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 167.

SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Liberal victory at Kennington is being received with a flood of self-gratulation by the organs of that side of the game of politics, which is a little trying to the feelings of Socialists, whose victories are yet to come; or to speak more correctly, as well as more hopefully, are still below the surface. Nevertheless, do not let us forget in the first place that it is a protest against open, brutal, undisguised coercion in Ireland, against which we Socialists have protested over and over again whenever we have had an opportunity, as indeed our principles compelled us to do.

In the second place, although it might be possible for the Tories to dish the Gladstonians by themselves bringing in an Irish Compromise, it is not very *probable* that they would make the compromise go far enough to shelve the Home Rule Question for the present; and, in fact, we shall be hampered with this question until the Gladstonians have come in pledged to definite Home Rule. Undoubtedly the Irish agitation has been of service to the cause of Revolution; but it has for the present done about all it can for us, especially since Mr. Parnell has been whitewashed into a very angel of respectability by the proceedings of the Commission.

Besides all this, a brutally Tory government in power, although it brings the Radicals and the Socialists into occasional alliance, and therefore seems to push forward Socialism, has this disadvantage—that it obscures the fact that Socialism is the *only* hope of the workers. Get together some three years hence some of those enthusiastic Radicals who have returned Mr. Beaufoy for Kennington, and ask them how much better off they are for having a Liberal Government in power, and you will have your answer short enough I'll warrant. By all means let the Tories go; they proclaim themselves the enemies of the people, and undoubtedly we must attack them. Now then, let the Liberals, the friends of the people, come in, and let us see what they will do—in all essentials exactly the same as the Tories. Well, then we know where we are, and may expect some of our democratic friends to come to the same knowledge.

The great anti-Coercion meeting at St. James's Hall was doubtless a success, and very enthusiastic; it was, I am told by a friend who was present, wholly a middle-class meeting, as might have been expected. The lesson to be drawn from these facts is encouraging, for they show us how suddenly the public opinion may change about a measure which, to the ordinary public at least, seems revolutionary. I daresay Mr. Morley's speech was more than all that was expected of him, but how much more effective the following speech would have been.

"Ladies and gentlemen, why waste time in going over for the hundredth time what you all know about this matter? I prefer rather to bring a blush of honest pleasure to your cheeks and my own by recalling to you an incident which happened to me about eight years ago, which will show you how much I (and I believe you) have improved since that time. I was standing as candidate for Westminster at the time, and was addressing the electors summoned specially to hear me. I gave them my views on various political matters (for the most part of no importance now), and then followed the heckling; and I answered many questions to the complete satisfaction of the audience. At last a troublesome Irishman in the gallery (I ask your pardon, Mr. Parnell) put me the question, 'How about Home Rule?' I wish I could remember the exact words of my answer, but they have escaped me amongst all the other phrases I have been compelled to concoct and utter since. I can only say that logically, neatly, succinctly, I repudiated Home Rule as an impossibility, a danger, and a disgrace"—(signs of dissent amongst the audience)—"and you cheered me to the echo."

"Now, ladies and gentlemen," he might have gone on to say, "is not this cheering, in view of all the blessings of Home Rule which you now know by heart? In a very few years we have been, so to

say, brought out of a barren wilderness of negation and coercion, into a paradise of goodwill and friendliness with our neighbours"—(great cheers)—"and have found out that they were only asking for that self-government which we claim (but don't get) for ourselves. Now if there were no other countries in the world but Ireland and England (the latter entirely inhabited by happy middle-class people, producing nothing and living on each other, as you probably suppose is the case), I might ask you to disperse at once after having given three cheers for Mr. Parnell,"—(enormous cheering)—"and—those who once put him in prison. But I have recently acquired information, which may perhaps reach you before long, and I wish to say a word or two to you about it."

"I am now (with some reluctance, I must confess) prepared to admit that Home Rule for Ireland is not likely to be the only new and revolutionary measure which we may have to consider in our lifetime. It seems that the happy view of the composition of society in England which I have mentioned just now is not as strictly accurate as we once thought it. In fact it seems probable that we cannot include factory hands at 24s. a-week and farm labourers at 10s. in the middle classes, and that there are a great many of such persons, and also that they are getting it into their heads that as they *make* all, they ought to *have* all"—(groans and hooting)—"Well, well, of course we know how idiotic that is now, just as we knew Home Rule to be idiotic nine years ago: but we may as well make up our minds that ten years hence we shall probably be meeting as we are now, to protest against coercion in England, and to pass resolutions in favour of the communization of the means of production"—(great uproar, amidst which Mr. Morley sat down, after having been heard by one reporter to say, "Well, after all, it sounds as well as the other").

If the *Pall Mall* interviewer is to be believed, Mr. Beaufoy, M.P. has already stripped off his lion's skin. Questioned about Trafalgar Square, he answers: "I do not think the electors had any more sympathy than I had with the extreme view which is prepared to defend the abuse as well as the use of the right." Well, you may ask Mr. Beaufoy what that means. In the next sentence he explains: "All our shopkeepers, at any rate, had a good deal of fellow-feeling with their West-end brethren, who objected very naturally to seeing Trafalgar Square turned into a place of public meeting in permanent session." What our electioneering snob means is clearly that a "respectable" meeting, one held for backing up some form or other of our capitalistic government, shall be allowed; but an unrespectable one, held by men with a real grievance, shall be bludgeoned. Exactly; that is just what we have always expected from the Liberals: "Yes, you may speak if we are quite sure you will say nothing we don't like to hear." Otherwise—well, here is one of those Radical M.P.'s for London whom Sir C. Russell advised the delegates the other day to elect in order to get them back the Square. These be your gods, O Israel!

W. M.

The Broken Hill mines in Australia now pay dividends at the rate of 126 per cent. on the £19-share paid up, and the total amount paid in dividends for the half-year ending 30th November is £192,000. This piece of news appears in the commercial column of a paper which continues to breathe "threatenings and slaughter" for the workers of Australia should they seek to better their condition by such movements as will disturb this dividend and frighten the capitalists away. The free and independent press of honest Scotland has seen fit in its wisdom and prerogative to warn the miners of Australia that if they continue harrassing capital as they were doing during their late strike, they would kill the goose that laid the golden egg. From the above piece of news it is obvious the capitalist is not "the goose."

Why should the workers be such geese? If they lay the golden eggs, why should they be so foolish as to let the "cacklers" who lay none gather them? The voice of the "promoter" receives its "fibre" from the unorganised state of the workers, and the big syndicates of the capitalists must needs be met by bigger and closer combinations of the workers. The battle which is imminent with these two is the



real cause of the increase of the naval and army expenditures of the "Great Powers." The "greatness" of these powers lies in the ignorance of the workers. That is mending; and the suicide of M. Denfert Rochereau, the director of the Comptoir d'Escompte, is as significant to the robbed workers as Pigott's is to the libelled Parnellites.

In commenting on Mr. Cunninghame Graham's speech, a Glasgow editor says "it pains him [Mr. Graham] to find that there are so many poor and helpless people in the United Kingdom side by side with rich and prosperous people." Instead of trying to show why some are "poor and helpless" and others "rich and prosperous," this editor goes on to "whine, put finger in the eye, and sob," "snarl and snap malignant wise, like dog distract or monkey sick," and he writes: "It is not fair, however, to the House of Commons to pour out a flood of trite, though benevolent generalities by the hour together, to the interruption of all other business." Mr. Graham is, I hope, able to appreciate this editor's remark. The business of the gentlemen of the House of Commons is other than the good of the people—nay, it on all points is opposed to the good of the people—and it is not fair to delay these gentlemen in their business. Leave them, Mr. Graham, be fair with them, and take the people's business to another and more efficient tribunal—the people themselves.

Further on, this editor says, "The working classes of the United Kingdom are not so miserable that they would in their despair welcome a Prussian or French invasion. Nor would they gain by becoming foreigners." This editor sees wherein the working classes may be foreigners in their native land! but he cannot see they are foreigners now; and yet there is not a workman but has to pay heavy toll for leave to exist. What worse conditioned could the workers of these islands have been even although Britain had lost all its Continental wars? Would it not have consummated the desire of the workers throughout Europe earlier and more efficiently than it can possibly be done under the present national divisions? The working classes would have ere this realised the meaning of increased votes for the army and navy.

GEORGE McLEAN.

## TRUSTS.

I must . . . call attention to "trusts" and to their importance to Socialism. It is quite the thing for politicians, reformers, and persons who think that they think, to attack "trusts" and "monopolies"; but exactly where "trusts" and "monopolies" begin, and corporations, and the private control of things public, leave off, they do not decide to tell us; or why, if one is so beneficial, the other should be so harmful. Don't be deceived. The principle underlying a trust is just the same as that which underlies a business firm and a corporation; the motive is gain, and selfishness is the keystone of that arch. A trust is no more than several business firms, or several incorporated companies, co-operating under the lead of three or more directors, so that they may buy cheap and sell dear—so that they may limit the supply and create a demand, and control both. Business firms, incorporated companies, syndicates and trusts are all children of different growths, and competition is the mother of them all. Competition is the underlying basis of our trade. Society recognizes that "competition is the life of trade." Well, trusts are the result; for men who can help it will not be compelled to compete—they combine. If children will play with fire they will get burnt. Competition will burn all people who suffer it to rule their exchanges. It is merciful that we be burnt by a quick, rather than be singed, through a long series of years, by a slow fire. Aristotle said to the Greeks: "Trade is incompatible with that dignified life which it is our wish that our citizens should lead, and totally adverse to that generous elevation of mind with which it is our ambition to inspire them." Again, Prof. Richard T. Ely says that: "The ancient Persians held commerce to be a school of lies. Cicero and the Roman philosophers despised commerce, Cicero going so far as to say a merchant could never make anything unless he lied in the most atrocious manner. St. Chrysostom believed it scarcely possible that a man could be at the same time a Christian and a merchant. . . . Commerce originated in robbery, and in early ages it supplied chiefly articles of luxury. Phenicians and Greeks were pirates before they were merchants, and piracy played an important rôle in the development of English commerce in the sixteenth century. . . . Benjamin Franklin said there are three ways for a nation to acquire wealth: 'The first is by war—this is robbery. The second, by commerce, which is, generally, cheating. The third is by agriculture—the only honest way.' The late Horace Greeley used to lament in his *Tribune* the large number of merchants, and hoped that the time would come when ninety-nine men out of a hundred would become real producers."

These old seers understood the principle which actuated those persons who struggled "to buy in a cheap and to sell in a dear market." If it were wrong for a trust to control all the sugar sold within the United States, or all the copper sold in both America and Europe, then it is wrong for the corner grocer to control all the sugar and most of the soap sold within the locality he monopolizes. That the corner grocery-man "gets a corner" upon everything he can, is beyond question—his gratification of selfishness and of monopoly is only limited by his ability to take advantage of his customers. Business, under the laws of competition, has no conscience. "There is no friendship in business—business is business." The difference between the

corner grocery-man and the president of a trust is one of degree, not of principle. Smart business persons have, in all times, combined so as to get advantages over those who do not have the thought and the sense to associate and to protect themselves. The firm widened into the company, the company deepened into the syndicate, and now comes the trust—greater than all, simply because those men in the trust are wider, deeper, and longer than those who are not. The crying "stop thief," by the great little merchants and the little great "anti-monopolists," is merely a trick at blackmail, nothing more. History shows us that no people have ever acted for their own preservation and advancement until they were forced to do it—and even then they did it reluctantly, and made every kind of excuse to their persecutors for having to stand up for equity and correct dealing. "Carlyle, in his history of the French Revolution, mentions that noblemen going to or coming from hunting had a right to, and were in the habit of shooting at men of the working classes to try their aim or empty the barrels of their guns. It seems that these noblemen had a great liking for human game, for Carlyle relates that, a short time previous to the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789, a law was passed limiting at two the number of working-men whom a nobleman might legally shoot when returning from hunting." The privileged classes of our day don't shoot the unincorporated; they simply bind them hand, soul, and foot legally. The sooner our people come to understand that the plan of the government of the United States is not broad, deep, or long enough to protect them in their pursuit of usefulness and happiness, the better it will be for all concerned. The trusts are the most potent agencies in society to-day to awaken our people to a knowledge of where we, as a people, are drifting. The protests and laws against trusts—laws, forsooth, by legislators who are largely the promoters and controllers of the said trusts—even if they were sincere, are as impotent to stop business men from co-operating to do a certain thing for gain, as are the acts of a crowd of children trying to sink a monitor by blowing paper pellets, through a glass tube, against its iron sides. Trusts are a fact. They are the certain steps toward assured Socialism. There is no escape from this end. Trusts are the results of competition, yet with their life competition dies. They attract into their co-operative union, by the assurance of big gain, little work and no risk, or they crush out of existence, all firms, companies, and syndicates which buy and sell the thing or things they deal in; and in this way, they substitute exclusive control for competition. By association and discipline business men are enabled to carry out their purpose, be that purpose good or bad. "Reformers" might learn a lesson from trusts and their management, did they stop long enough from their mad ravings to watch and study. Trusts will finally compel the people to organise for self-preservation, whether they are Socialists or not. The big-brained business men in these big trusts do not wish to know that they are Socialists, and that they, more than any other persons, are forcing upon the people a co-operative commonwealth. That does not matter. Their selfishness is hastening the overthrow of competition as a ruling force in society, as surely as the selfishness of the Southern planter hastened the overthrow of chattel slavery. To the barbarians, electricity is an element of destruction and awe. By thought and method, electricity is controlled, and it becomes a force wonderful, varied and beautiful in its uses. We will yet see that the selfishness in man is a hidden force which, in spite of itself, will give "the open sesame" to the era of inter-dependence in all the affairs of mankind; for, as soon as all the railroads get as thoroughly under one man's control as the telegraph lines now are, and every staple of food, and all the lands are as absolutely managed by trusts as our expressage and money are by companies, then integral co-operation will become a necessity, and big business men will be forced to see that there is more profit, more leisure, more individuality, more liberty, and more pleasure to be had through a plan for construction, systematized and perfected, rather than in trying to advance to a place of safety by methods of "wreckage" and destruction. . . .

Before leaving trusts and their importance as a means to force society to incorporate for self-preservation, I wish to call attention to the fact that every invention, every practical application in chemistry, every rich deposit of natural wealth, and every improvement in machinery, will be, from this time forth, bought up and monopolized by trusts; hence, the inventions and discoveries of our people, instead of being a direct benefit to the masses, will be the certain means of crushing them still further into a state of abject dependency. An army which permits the enemy to capture all its cannon and ammunition is not so helpless as the . . . producers are now, with every product of their skill, thought, and toil immediately seized to empower the few to crush the many. Think of this, friends, and see if there is not an absolute necessity for us to incorporate and to work for self-protection.

ALBERT K. OWEN

in 'Remarks to the Subscribers of the  
*Credit Foncier Company.*'

THAT RED REBEL, MILTON!—Of freedom, the main end of government, which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forego, is it just or reasonable, that most voices against the main end of government should enslave the less number that would be free? More just it is, doubtless, if it come to force, that a less number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, their liberty, than that a greater number, for the pleasure of their baseness, compel a less, most injuriously, to be their fellow-slaves. They who seek nothing but their own just liberty, have always the right to win it and to keep it, whenever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it.—Milton.

## SOME GREETINGS.

At the meeting in South Place Chapel, on Saturday, March 16th, in Celebration of the Anniversary of the Commune of Paris, the following interesting messages and letters were read from various bodies and comrades in this country and on the Continent:—

### DUBLIN SOCIALIST CLUB.

"Irish comrades join in honouring the memory of the martyred dead, and in working for the realisation of the ideals of 1789 and 1871. Vive la Commune!"

### SOCIALIST LEAGUE, GLASGOW.

"Greetings! Hurrah for the Revolution! The red flag will yet wave over Edinburgh Castle, and the march of the workers be heard on the mountains of Lochaber!"

### SOCIALIST LEAGUE, NORWICH.

"Revolutionary greetings! We trust you are having a successful meeting, and are certain that the worker's emancipation is near at hand. Vive la Revolution Sociale!"

### MANCHESTER INTERNATIONAL WORKMEN'S SOCIETY.

"Greetings from Manchester International Workmen's Society. Vive la Commune! Vive la Revolution Sociale!"

### THE LEAGUE OF POPULAR INSTRUCTION, VERVIERS, BELGIUM.

"The League of Popular Instruction fully sympathises with you in your Celebration of the Anniversary of the Paris Commune! Please accept the most cordial expression of our sympathy and international solidarity."

"By order of the League, "PIERRE FLUSE."

### THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF DENMARK.

"Fraternal greetings from the Danish Socialists to the English worker's meeting to celebrate the Anniversary of the Commune of Paris. The heroic fight of the Commune has awakened the oppressed to a consciousness of their rights. A cheer for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

"The General Council of the Danish Social Democracy,  
"KNUDSEN, HÖRDUM, HOLM, WUNBLAD, MEYER, HOLDT, MÖLLER,  
"OLSEN, ANDERSEN, HURUP, JENSEN, and BERG."

### THE SOCIALISTS OF HOLLAND.

"We are with you in celebrating the Anniversary of the Commune of Paris. The Socialists of the whole world are united on the 18th of March; then it is the memory of a triumph. Alas! it endured too short a time! But the blood of our martyrs was and is the seed of the church of the future, wherein there is a place for every one at the dinner of life. The past may tell us how to hold our own triumphantly, after having broken the chains of the slavery which Capitalism has caused."

"One for all and all for one, that shall be our sign, the sign of triumph. This century must not disappear before this triumph is obtained. When every one does his duty we must gain. Therefore, we shall not end our efforts before the aim is achieved for which our French brothers died in 1871—the Emancipation of Labour! Vive la Commune! Vive la République Internationale et Socialiste!"

"In the name of your Dutch comrades,  
"F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS."

### THE CENTRAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF PARIS.

"In my own name and in that of the Central Revolutionary Committee, I send you the expression of our fraternal solidarity, on the occasion of this grand anniversary of the 18th of March, when you are celebrating in unison with us the first victory of the Parisian revolutionary proletariat,—so short a victory and so soon followed by its heroic defeat!—and when we pledge ourselves to avenge that defeat by the next victory of the international revolutionary proletariat."

"In England, as in France, as in all countries where the sufferings of the oppressed excite the popular wrath, where Socialist action and Socialist propaganda are making a breach in the power and privileges of the capitalist class, everywhere in fact where the oppressed, the miserable, and the discontented struggle for their emancipation, for political freedom, and social equality, the Commune erelong shall have its revenge and the Revolution its triumph."

"To you all, friends and Socialists of England, and to you all, who in this struggle against reaction and capitalism, against all bourgeois parties, never yielding, never giving in, are decided to march on without rest or truce until our victory is gained, to you all, in my friends and in my own name, Salut et fraternité!"

"ED. VAILLANT,"  
(Ex-Member of the Commune.)

### THE POLISH SOCIALISTS OF THE SOCIETY "SOLIDARNOSC," AND THE PAPERS 'WALKI KLAS' (THE CLASS WAR), AND 'PRZESDZWIT' (DAWN).

"On this day of glorious commemoration, we join with you in celebrating that memorable event, the Proclamation of the Commune."

"When, after a dreadful war, the people of Paris raised the standard of social readjustment, they proved themselves the indomitable champions of International Revolution; and the fall of the Commune became a disaster for the entire world."

"Nowadays, when the revolutionary party has reformed its battalions in France, when, thanks to your valiant efforts, Socialism rapidly develops itself all over England, and that even among us, in the Slavonic countries, the struggle for emancipation becomes more and more ardent, we may hope that a new Commune shall no longer be beaten by Reaction. On the contrary, upheld by the combined efforts of all peoples, it will be the prologue of the decisive emancipation of the proletariat."

"Vive la République Universelle! Vive la Revolution Sociale!"  
"For the Polish Socialists,  
"STEPHAN LEONOWICZ."

### THE PARISIAN AGGLOMERATION OF THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS, AND THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

"We shall celebrate at the very same hour as you the International Commemoration of the Paris Commune, which shone out on the proletariat of all the world as the sun of hope."

"We send our fraternal greetings to the brave comrades who, taking again in their hands the glorious Chartist movement, struggle with so much energy, and with so much perseverance prepare the proletariat of England for the coming 18th of March of the International Revolution."

"We invite you at the same time to take part in the International Congress which the Socialist Revolutionary Party and the *Chambres Syndicales* of France are preparing for the 14th of July next."

"Vive la Révolution Internationale!"

PAUL LAFARGUE.

### THE POLISH SOCIALISTS OF THE GROUP "POBUDKA."

"Citizens,—We join heartily with you in your demonstration to celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune."

"To the same extent that the proclamation of the Commune has been the dawning hope for the bettering of the lot of humanity, so much also its fall has been felt as the greatest misfortune that has happened up to the present time."

"The defeat of the Commune has resulted in the humiliating treaty of Frankfurt, the enslavement of Alsace and Lorraine for long years to come, the germ of international hatred which paralyses our propaganda for the universal solidarity of all workers; in the disastrous bourgeois republic of France, and the growth of German despotism; it has caused the armed peace, the expenses of which fall on the masses of starving proletarians; and more than all that, it has been followed by the monstrous Franco-Russian alliance, the degradation of all Republican ideals."

"Comrades, Europe makes great strides towards the Revolution. Following the example of their predecessors who struggled for the social and political development of all countries, who fought and perished for the Commune, the Polish revolutionaries will be always found on the spot where the blood of the oppressed flows, shed by the fratricide hand of tyranny. Vive la Revolution Sociale! Vive la Fraternité des peuples! and greetings to all comrades."

"POLANOWSKI."

### THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF GHENT, BELGIUM.

"Dear Comrades,—I have been asked to write you a few lines to be read at your manifestation in honour of the Commune of Paris, which I undertake to do, though I feel that I have not the talent necessary for so great a task."

"Can one imagine any nobler tribute to the Commune of Paris than the imposing spectacle of these popular demonstrations which are held at this time throughout the whole world in honour of the Commune? Do not they clearly show that Paris, whilst fighting for its own emancipation, for its right of self-government in reactionary France, was working at the same time for the emancipation of the workers of the whole world?"

"On the 18th March we celebrate the glorious event of the proclamation of the Commune with enthusiasm and with hope in the future; and during the bloody week of May we shall shed tears of rage and sorrow over the massacre of so many thousands of victims, over the infamous deeds of the reactionaries."

"We have lived, fought, and suffered with Paris, as to-day we join the fight of the great city and hope with her hopes. But do not, comrades, let to-day's fête make us forget the duties of to-morrow. The union of the forces of Labour should be the rallying cry to attain not only the autonomy of a single city, but the triumph of the Proletariat and the reign of Equality."

"To work, comrades! Do not let the 18th March be only the anniversary of the Commune, but a festival in which the people fraternise, preparing themselves to rally round the same flag and to fight for the same principles.—Fraternal greetings,  
"E. ANSELM."

### FROM WILLIAM MORRIS.

"Hammersmith, March 16th, 1889, 3 p.m."

"To the Chairman of the Meeting, Commune Celebration."

"Dear Comrade,—I find, to my extreme vexation and disappointment, that I am unable to leave the house this afternoon, being still lame with rheumatism and gout. I should be obliged if you would excuse me to the assembled comrades."

"I need hardly say that I wish the greatest success to the meeting. The efforts of Socialist propaganda during the last few years have had their effect, which is obvious not only in the organisations of men and women definitely professing Socialism, but also on the whole of society: so that it cannot be doubted that there are vast numbers of persons who are preparing for Socialism, and who at the next crisis will be forced into our ranks. Meantime, in this country at least the masters of society are showing their uneasiness in other ways than the familiar one of mere brutal repression, though they are ready for as much of that as they may think necessary. Many schemes are on foot for removing the discontent which our masters are beginning to feel as a burden on them and a threat also; between the preaching of thrift to day-labourers, and the making the world happy by the aggregation of all fiscal burdens into the single tax; from the Charity Organisation Society to Mr. Henry George,—there are many and many idiotic evasions on foot; all of which have for their basis the improvement of the condition of the poor, at their own expense, for the peace and happiness of their masters."

"While the middle classes are beginning to admit the horror of the miserable life of poverty, they refuse to admit the idiocy of the system that causes it. Make the working classes happy—well and good! But are we to pay for it? Now it seems to me that the Commune of Paris was prepared to answer this question with a simple Yes, and that that is the reason why to-day we once more celebrate their defeat as the herald of the victory which is to be, and as a preparation for it. If there were any amongst the defenders of the Commune who did not understand that its ultimate aim, its reason for existence, was the abolition of class society, its enemies at least understood it well—and wrote their endorsement in the blood of 30,000 men slain after their foul and useless victory."

"I say this is why we celebrate year by year the heroic attempt of the Commune of Paris to lay the foundations of a new society. It is because we are engaged in the same struggle; and it is our special business amidst all the chatter and self-gratulation caused by the kind of schemes I have mentioned, to point out to the workers now awakening to a consciousness of their position that masters and slaves cannot be friends, that of necessity what one gains the other loses; that the only ground on which the workers can meet their masters is that on which the latter shall cast down their privilege of mastership; and that no master-class can be persuaded into this, but must be forced into it, either by the threat of force, or, if it must be, by its action; finally, that the workers must prepare this force by learning to understand their position, and by organising themselves into an irresistible power. This every Socialist must do his utmost to forward conscientiously, or he need hardly call himself a Socialist, since he really falls back into the ranks of those who have not learned the principles of action as he has, and who, being ignorant, can only wait for the impulsion of that force, which it is the Socialists' business to help to fashion for the realisation of the Society of Equality."

"With fraternal greetings to all comrades, and with expression of satisfaction that the S. D. F. and the S. L. are again holding this important celebration in common, I am yours,  
"WILLIAM MORRIS."

Inspector Forster's anxiety to guard South Place Chapel during the Commune Celebration, on Saturday, with a strong force of his biggest boys in blue, has been a godsend to the illegal robbers, who managed two or three very successful hauls in the neighbourhood of Long Lane and Queen's Square. Needless to say, no one has been caught.—F. K.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. B. G.—Will be used.

H. DAVIS.—Crowded out; will be used next week.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 20.

ENGLAND	WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE	BELGIUM
Die Autonomie	Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit
Justice	Investigator	SWITZERLAND
Labour Elector	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Arbeiterstimme
London—Freie Presse	Baecker Zeitung	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	Vorbote	Madrid—El Socialista
Postal Service Gazette	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Barcelona—El Productor
Railway Review	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Sozial Demokrat	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Berlin—Volks Tribune
NEW SOUTH WALES	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	AUSTRIA
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE	Brunn—Volksfreund
INDIA	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	HUNGARY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	Le Proletariat	SWEDEN
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revolte	Malmo—Arbetet
Freiheit	L'Attaque	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Le Pere Peinard	WEST INDIES
Volkzeitung	HOLLAND	Cuba—El Productor
Jewish Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
The Truth		

## THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

### CELEBRATION AT SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE ON SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1889.

FROM year to year these meetings grow in importance and enthusiasm. Last Saturday, the Hall of South Place was packed beyond the doors; every gangway was full, and it was barely possible to move about in any direction. Before 8 o'clock the seats were already more than full, and late comers had to stand where they could.

The proceedings opened with the singing of "When the People have their Own Again" by the Socialist League choir. This was followed by the reading of telegrams and letters received from comrades in the provinces and abroad; these are given in another page.

H. M. Hyndman (chairman) said that this year we should not only think of the event, the anniversary of which we had met to celebrate, but also of that other, the centenary of which would so soon be here. As the one was to the political revolution which led to the emancipation of the bourgeois from obsolete class-laws and oppressive restrictions, so was the other to the Social Revolution which should free the proletariat, and should not only amend but end class-society altogether. It was especially our part to learn from the past; the failures that had been must prepare us for the successes to be. On this one night of the year when we met in absolute accord, with all divergence of ideas and difference of methods forgotten or laid aside, we should promise to resolutely discipline ourselves to be ready for all the dangers and difficulties of the struggle in which we were engaged.

Frank Kitz (S.L.) moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting hopefully recalls the establishment of the Commune of Paris, and expresses its sympathy with the French workers who heroically struggled to abolish class rule, and the cruel capitalist exploitation of man by man; and looks forward with confidence to the early emancipation of labour for which they strove, being determined to employ all means to achieve that end."

He said that he came fresh from a new police outrage upon innocent and unarmed men; used the occurrence to point the moral that passive endurance could not last for ever, that constant successive attacks would at length wear out the patience of the people, who would show their resentment by means that would make the game unprofitable for those who began it. The revolt of Paris was provoked by an invasion of popular right, and from like causes like events would spring. Behind the baton of the policeman was the venal lying of the press, which represented all these things as the outcome of foreign influence. Well! it was true, and we were proud of it, that in us the prejudices had perished which made men hate one another because they were born in different parts of the world. Ours was the really catholic religion that rose above all boundaries, and united all men as brethren. Even the despised "criminal" was recognised by us as a product of the system we fought with, and a rebel against its law. We should open all prisons and cast down all barriers; but that was not enough, we must untiringly educate ourselves and our fellows, that reaction should not be, as always hitherto, the fruit of popular ignorance.

H. Quelch (S.D.F.), in seconding the resolution, said that Paris eighteen years ago seized on power so that she might raise the oppressed of all peoples. This was why the privileged of all peoples joined in exulting over her defeat. He asked what we had done hitherto to follow her example? It was our duty to find and eliminate the causes of her failure and our own; the time was pressing. English workmen were waking up, and adopting our "wild and visionary" schemes. Up to the present they had been "virtuous" for their masters' benefit; the time had come for them to be a little "vicious" for their own, and to get their masters to become "virtuous" on their own account.

A. S. Headingley (S.D.F.) supported the resolution as one who had taken part in the Commune. He described some things which took place under his own eyes while engaged in ambulance duty. How the Versailles fired on the red-cross flag of the Geneva Convention; how they fired on little children going to school. The bestial ferocity shown in the attack on Paris and after its fall had never been surpassed. The murder of Flourens, and the behaviour of Boulanger's troops showed what the temper of the attack was from the beginning. It must not be forgotten that it was an attack, and that Paris fought in self-defence. Looking back on Paris he could not help thinking that next time the people anywhere had to defend themselves, they would think of the treachery and brutal vengeance of the bourgeois, and would fight with less tenderness and more energy.

Peter Kropotkin (Freedom Group) drew attention to this being the eighteenth anniversary of the Commune, and said that since '89 no government in France had lasted more than eighteen or nineteen years. It was almost certain that the government of rascals that now cursed France would have to follow the precedent, and give way to something else. Whatever that was, it would not be parliamentaryism, of which the people was thoroughly tired, not merely of this one government. Events were ripening fast, and who could tell when the Commune should revive itself, this time for ever? The revolution would concern itself with no parties, and he thought that the people would rely less on authority and more "on their own fist." He cited the testimony of Zola, among others, that the present system was tottering to its fall, and urged the workers to note the change which is taking place, and to prepare themselves at a thousand centres; to do the work that lies near to their own hand, and to take that which was requisite for the satisfaction of their own needs. All work, all preaching, will influence the movement; the propaganda must be concentrated nowhere, but spread everywhere. Then the next Commune could not be isolated, and its foes would find no standing ground, the flames would burst up everywhere under their feet, and the international proletariat would free itself.

At this point a collection was taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting, and realised £8 6s. 6d.

The *Carmagnole* was sung by G. Brocher (S.L.), the audience joining heartily in the chorus.

John Burns (S.D.F.) said that this audience, large and enthusiastic as it was, was no gauge of the spread of our ideas. It was not by the count of heads there or anywhere else that it could be judged. He instanced a municipal committee he had that day taken part in; formerly such an occasion would have been one of almost unrestrained enjoyment; this time it had been, apart from the actual work done, mainly occupied in discussing the Commune, its aims and methods. The reaction was quicker than we to see what was coming and how close it was: hence the employment of methods with which we were all familiar. We must untiringly continue to incite and stimulate the workers of the world to follow the example of Paris, and endeavour to realise our ideals in the actuality of daily life.

H. H. Sparling (S.L.) said that we heard now a good deal about the "chawbacons" who made up the bulk of our metropolitan police, as we had heard before of the "brutal rurals" who did so obediently the murderous work to which they set in Paris. It was not enough to defend ourselves where we were attacked; let us carry the war into the ranks of the enemy, by spreading the "poison" of our opinions in the villages, and so cut off the supply of ignorant recruits. Much the same thing applied to the reptile press, and the poor devils compelled to prostitute their pens for daily bread. In this case it was at the



readers we must aim. Create a demand for Socialism among the readers, and the supply of that, as of anything else, would be forthcoming. Everywhere, in season and out of season, we must work. It is not enough to "celebrate" once a-year, or even to subscribe now and then; each must work always, counting no act too small, no sacrifice too great.

R. B. Cunningham Graham, M.P., said that it had been well said that the government of the Commune rose with virtue in the morning and retired with virtue at night. Our government, and every bourgeois government, rose with humbug in the morning, retired with humbug at night, and kept humbug in sight all day. He valued the Commune for the noble example it set for us and all the world; he valued its annual celebration because it brought us all together, and did us incalculable good by that one thing alone. It was for us to take to heart its example and precept, and do our best to carry them into practice. Let us not stone another because he differs with us in method, but do our duty as we saw it, leaving others to do theirs.

The resolution was then put and carried, with one dissident. The meeting then rose to its feet, and, standing uncovered and silent for a few moments in memory of the dead, burst into three rousing cheers for the Social Revolution.

"All for the Cause" was sung by the S.L. Choir, and the "Marseillaise" by the whole audience, and the meeting broke up and dispersed quietly.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### SOMERS TOWN INSTITUTE LITERARY & DEBATING SOCIETY.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the following resolution was passed after one month's discussion by a majority of 5:—"That this meeting is of opinion that Socialism is the *only* thing that can benefit the working-classes, and urges upon the Government the necessity of starting relief works to meet the demands of the unemployed of this great metropolis."—Sir, I remain, yours in earnest,

G. H. THOMAS.  
77, Euston Road, March 11, 1889.

### THE JEWISH PARADE AND LAW-'N'-ORDER.

THE International Working Men's Club, Berner Street, arranged a parade of unemployed and sweaters' victims on Saturday, March 16th, and purposed visiting the Synagogue and engaging the attention of Dr. Hermann Adler and his congregation of well-fed *choshens*. Adler may entertain a belief that all will meet on an equality hereafter in a better land, but he and his *clientele* are determined to postpone that meeting until the sweet by-and-bye; so respectable, orthodox Judaism called in the aid of *Christian* defenders of law and order, in the persons of City and Metropolitan police, to keep them from contact with the victims of their greed. The ruffians of the Metropolitan police, aided by a number of spies and roughs, got up a row outside the Club by encouraging boys to stone the members. One, getting an ugly cut, naturally retaliated; the police thereupon forced their way into the Club, kicking the steward, and a brave inspector knocked Mrs. Diemsheitz down and kicked her so as to lame her, using meanwhile the most horrible oaths. Several comrades were arrested on the pretence of having assaulted these wretches, and when in the police-station, a detective seized a poker and beat Diemsheitz about the head with it. When bail was procured, every obstacle was thrown in the way of the men's release. The bail was warned that it was a serious case, and told elegantly not to be fools, and waste their money on a lot of foreigners. Some who tried to see the prisoners were knocked down on the police-station steps, and generally the whole affair was a lesson in law-'n'-order. Bearing in mind the outrages committed by the police at the International Club, Stephen's Mews, a few years back, resulting in one death and many life-long injuries, and seeing every chance of a repetition of that scene when night fell, the police were warned that a defence would be made if any such tactics were resorted to. Preparations were duly made for the defence of the club during the night, but, apparently as the result of the warning, no attempt was made, and the police bullies carefully avoided the neighbourhood. It would be well for all concerned to take note that there is not the slightest intention on the part either of English or foreign Socialists to allow such police outrages to be perpetrated without risk to the perpetrators in future.

F. KITZ.

### TO MANCHESTER FRIENDS.

ALL comrades in and around Manchester desiring to see the cause of Socialism pushed forward, and willing to help in spreading the *Commonweal*, leaflets, pamphlets, and other revolutionary literature, or assisting in a paste-pot brigade, are asked to meet comrade W. Wess on Thursday night, at the International Working-men's Club, 122, Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street; or to communicate with him at 31, Brompton Street, Cheetham, Manchester. Those sympathisers who cannot take the risk of doing active work, can greatly assist by subscribing, through the secretary of the Socialist League, towards leaflet distribution fund, of which there is a great lack here.

Eds.

The object of life is to be happy, the place to be happy is here, the time to be happy is now, and the way to be happy is to make others happy.—*Colonel Ingersoll*.

Gabriel Dumont, who was Louis Riel's lieutenant during the Canadian half-breed rebellion, has been pardoned by the Canadian Government. He is on his way back to his tribe mates.

There is no truth—shall we say no honour?—in public life. Men seem to seek Parliamentary honours in the pursuit of their personal ambition. If the cause they were elected to serve can be advanced in conjunction with their own interests, they will aid it; if it cannot, it must go to the wall. Public life is all a struggle for personal distinction, and in the struggle principle is at a discount.—*Reynolds*.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 30, 1889.

24	Sun.	1794. Hébert and Anacharsis Clootz guillotined. 1871. The Commune proclaimed at Toulouse and Narbonne, and red flag hoisted at Marseilles.
25	Mon.	1812. Alexander Herzen born. 1879. Attempted execution of General Drenteln, chief of gendarmes at St. Petersburg, by Mirsky.
26	Tues.	1848. Insurrection at Madrid. 1869. Memorial meeting for Ernest Jones in Trafalgar Square. 1871. Election of the Commune at Paris.
27	Wed.	1820. Trial ends of Hunt and others for their conduct at Peterloo. 1875. Edgar Quinet died.
28	Thur.	1757. Damiens executed. 1893. Twelve members of the "Irish Patriotic Brotherhood" sentenced—ten of them to ten years, and the others to seven and five years each—"for conspiring to overthrow the Queen's authority in Ireland and to murder various owners of land." 1884. Socialist Congress at Roubaix, France.
29	Fri.	1855. Giovanni Dianori attempts life of Napoleon III. 1872. Agricultural Labourers' Union formed. 1875. John Martin died. 1879. Lock-out at Pimlico army-clothing factory. 1884. Riots at Cincinnati. 1887. Attempt on Alexander III. by an officer.
30	Sat.	1135. Maimonides born. 1870. Negro Suffrage in the United States. 1881. Arrest of John Most and committal for trial; seizure of <i>Freiheit</i> plant, etc. 1882. Execution of procurator Strielnikoff in Odessa by Khalturin and Jevlakoff, by order of the Executive Committee, for cruel and treacherous treatment of political prisoners.

*William Skirving*.—Born at Liberton, near Edinburgh, about 1750; died March 19, 1796. Son of a farmer, he was educated for the Burgher Secession Church. After finishing his course at Edinburgh University, he studied divinity under the celebrated Professor John Brown of Haddington. He, however, gave up his intention toward the ministry—which was probably less due all along to his own desires than to the wish of his, like that of every well-conducted Scotch family, to see their son "wag his paw in a pulpit"—and became a tutor in the family of Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield. Tutoring, however, was evidently not his line, and he ultimately settled as a farmer in Kinross-shire, and married a Miss Alexander of Kirkcaldy, with whom he obtained the small estate of Strathruddie in Fifeshire, which afterwards furnished him with a nickname. He was very fond of agriculture, of which he made a special study, and on which he published "The Husbandman's Assistant," and other treatises; he even stood, very nearly with success, for the Chair of Agriculture in Edinburgh University.

His studies and publications brought him to Edinburgh in 1792, where he enrolled himself among the Friends of the People, soon becoming secretary (unpaid) to their General Association. The first convention met in December 1792, Skirving acting as secretary. So also he did to the second, which assembled in May 1793. The policy of the Pitt administration was now in full swing, and it was highly dangerous to utter anywhere a liberal sentiment, political or social. Skirving knew his conduct to be narrowly watched, and that his prominent position among the Friends of the People could not fail sooner or later to place him in the hands of the authorities, and he was not surprised, therefore, that the first pretext was taken for his arrest. In July a General Meeting was held at the Berean Meeting-house, Dundee, at which an address was adopted, of which Skirving did not approve, although, as he said afterwards, it was "merely the strong effusion of honest hearts, alarmed by the measures of those in administration, judging the constitution in the utmost danger, and catching at the first ground of alarm which presented themselves to their view." It was printed and issued, judged to be "seditious and inflammatory," he was thrown into prison, his house searched and his papers seized. Muir and Fyshe Palmer followed, but were tried first: Muir on August 30 was transported for fourteen years, and Palmer on September 13 for seven. Skirving, meanwhile, let out on very heavy bail, continued to discharge his duties as secretary, and in that capacity signed an outspoken address adopted by the General Convention at Edinburgh in October (Oct. 29—Nov. 6), which said that "this society is determined to adhere to the original principles of its institution." On the 19th November the General Convention again met, at Convention Hall (Mason's Lodge), Blackfriars Wynd. At the fifth day's sitting (Nov. 23) the name of the Convention was changed to "the British Convention of the Delegates of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments"; the vote was unanimous, the delegates rising and clasping hands as they gave it. A few days afterwards, the Convention was addressed by Butler and Rowan, as delegates from the United Irishmen. In following Butler, Gerrald used words that remain true to-day as then: "As soon as the alarm-bell was rung, the Opposition joined the Ministers. *Party is ever a bird of prey*, and the people its banquet." On Thursday December 5, the Lord Provost and magistrates of the city broke in upon and dispersed the Convention. Skirving, who was present at the meeting, thought this only applied to the British Convention, and tried to revive the old "General" Convention. To that end they repaired the same evening to a house in Flesh-Market Close, at the head of the Canongate, outside the jurisdiction of the city magistrates, and there held a meeting and appointed a committee to "report, with all convenient speed, on the means to be adopted for making a spirited resentment of the illegal proceedings of this day." Next morning (6th) they met in a loft or workshop in Lady Lawson's Yard, on the south side of the Crosscauseway, but were speedily dispersed by the Sheriff-Substitute of the county, who came with a large force of constables, etc. Another attempt was made by Skirving, who called a meeting, by advertisement in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, for the 10th, at a house belonging to him, formerly called the Cockpit, in or near the Grassmarket. But the house was taken possession of by the Town Guard, himself arrested, and his papers again seized. Kept in prison for some weeks, and let out for another while on heavy bail, he was brought to trial January 6, 1794. The "trial" lasted two days, and ended in a verdict of fourteen years' transportation—a foregone conclusion, ordered from London, as in Gerrald's case. On May 1, 1794, he sailed in the "Surprise" from St. Helen's, and reached Port Jackson on October 25. Here he took a farm, which he called New Strathruddie, and settled down to his old pursuit; but the hardships he met with, together with those endured in the living hell of the convict-ship, were too much for him. He was attacked by dysentery, and left his farm to obtain medical assistance; but rather than alarm his friends, he delayed proper care too long, and the attack proved fatal. He was emphatically what his friends called him, "A tried patriot and an honest man." Not brilliant and widely read, like Muir and Gerrald, but of good natural parts, sound sense, unflinching courage, and unblemished integrity.—S.

If not any man of a million has a right to govern me, then the million men have no right to govern me. A millions times nothing is only nothing.—W. H. R.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

All the boilermakers and shipbuilders on the Clyde, except one Dumbarton firm, have joined the Clyde Employers' Association.

The Bessemer departments of the Barrow Steel Company struck on the 11th of March for an advance in wages. They resumed work on the 13th, pending an arbitration.

The caulkers at Caird and Co.'s, Greenock, have struck for an advance, and the fitter's helpers at Russell and Co.'s also come out for an increase of halfpenny per hour. The latter demand has been satisfactorily met.

**DUNFERMLINE MILLWORKERS.**—The strike for an advance of 10 per cent., or better yarn, still continues. Crowded meetings of the girls on strike are held daily, and some pigottry friends of the girls are dissatisfied because they listen to addresses from the Socialists.

**BELFAST MILLWORKERS.**—A strike for an advance in wages originated in York Street Mills on the 11th of March. This is the largest spinning mill in the country, and 2,500 persons are affected. The movement spread rapidly to the other mills, and on the 13th of March 3,000 hands were out of employment.

**RAILWAYMEN.**—Shunters at Crewe (L.N.W.R.) get 25s. for 72 hours a week, and they have 3s. 2d. a month stopped for "clubs." On the Hull and Hornsea branches of the N.E.R., there are signalmen employed at 12s., 13s., and 14s. a-week. The other week a Midland carter received 2s. 5d. for 12 hours overtime, and last Christmas the G.W.R. porters at Paddington for 12 hours overtime got 1s. 11d.!

Messrs. Merry and Cuninghame, coalmasters, were summoned before the Kilmarnock Sheriff Court, last week, for payment of some unpaid wages which arose from the pithead-man deducting, as tare, 2½ cwt. from tubs which only weighed 2½ cwt. The case was settled out of court. This appears to be the same firm that we had to comment severely upon in this column at the close of 1887 for importing Poles into their steel works at Glengarnock.

**TINPLATE TRADE.**—Much excitement is created in tinplate circles throughout Wales by a proposal on the part of tinplate consumers in America to buy up all the Welsh tinplate works. The price mentioned is £5,000 for each mill. The alleged principal object of the scheme is to do away with the middleman, who, it is said, at present derive the most profit from the trade. The advantage expected from the formation of the "tinplate ring" is that the market and the production would be completely controlled, and prices regulated in accordance with the ideas of the producer rather than of the consumer.

**HOLMES STRIKE.**—The strike at Holmes still continues. Warrants have been issued to remove the men out of employer's houses. The works employ 150 miners, and about 25 "scabs" have been got to work. All the Mineral Oil Companies have agreed to combine and assist the Holmes Company to defeat their workers, either by contributing supplies of shale or by a money payment in proportion to the output. At a meeting of the men on March 13th, Mr. Wilson, the union secretary, said he did not mean to abide by the conditions imposed upon him when liberated from jail, as he found them illegal. He advised the men to go out and picket. It was agreed to make provision for the coming evictions.

**GLASGOW TRADES COUNCIL.**—At a meeting on March 13th the delegate of the tobacco-pipe trade stated that their association had greatly increased its membership since the new year in Glasgow and throughout Scotland generally, and that in Glasgow a demand made for improved wages had been conceded. It was also reported that the engineers had on Saturday asked for a rise of 3d. per hour, and that they had received several favourable replies. On the motion of our comrade T. Burgoyne a resolution was unanimously carried thanking Messrs. Cunningham Graham and Conybeare for "the noble action taken by them in advocating the rights of labour in the Commons on the evening of 6th March,"—apparently treating with contempt the silence of their "labour representatives," or the speech that was worse than silence of Master Charles Fenwick, M.P.

**MINERS' CONFERENCE.**—A conference of miners' delegates from all parts of the country will be held at Birmingham on 26th March, when the principal business will be "to consider the advisability or otherwise of asking and demanding another advance in wages of 10 per cent." In October last a conference of the miners of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and North Wales, was held in Manchester, and as a result an advance of 10 per cent. in wages was secured, and in other parts of the kingdom increases in some cases of more than 10 per cent. were obtained. Now that the price of coal has been advanced, it is desired to ascertain the feeling of the different districts as to an agitation for higher wages. Some communications have been made with the different districts by circular, and it is found there is a general disposition to seek the advance.

### PLEASE TAKE NOTE!

How is it that the *Commonweal* does not publish more news from the Branches? Because the editor is not omniscient, and the local secretaries forget that he depends upon them for news. Hint: Let us know what you're doing.

How is it that not all that is sent is inserted? Because branch secretaries forget that the editor has less than a thousand hands, and often mix things so that it would mean entirely re-writing their letters before they could be of use. Hint: Keep reports separate from announcements, and news from both. Write briefly, plainly, and on one side of the paper.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—A Public Meeting, to further the objects of the above Society, will be held at Claremont Hall, Penton Street, Pentonville, N., on Tuesday March 26, at 8 p.m., to be addressed by Annie Besant, H. A. Barker, Herbert Burrows, W. A. Chambers, C. Graham, M.P., T. Shore, jun., and others.

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB,** Kay Street, Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.—A course of Four Lectures on "Socialism and Practical Politics," will be given by members of the Fabian Society, on Sunday evenings at 8.30 p.m. March 24th (Rev. S. D. Headlam in the chair), Sidney Webb, "The Failure of Radicalism," 21st, George Bernard Shaw, "The True Radical Policy," April 7th, Graham Wallas, "Practical Land Nationalisation," 14th, William Clarke, "Practical Socialism."

## WHY ARE THOUSANDS BORN TO PERISH?

FROM 'KING LABOUR'S SONG BOOK.'

WHY are thousands born to perish  
For the want of daily bread,  
When the earth is one broad table  
With the richest luxuries spread?  
Has humanity been fashioned  
From a pure and baser clay;  
That to feast 'mid mirth and plenty,  
This to starve and pass away?

Who dare claim the unclimbed mountain,  
With its scattered wealth around;  
Or the rich and teeming valley,  
Where abundance may be found?  
There are none so blindly daring—  
Lost to honour, lost to shame!  
Then to God and earth and nature  
Be the never-ending blame.

Yet beware whom thou art blaming;  
Look around with steadfast eyes  
On the countless wealth ungathered  
From the rivers, earth, and skies!  
Seek the cause among thy neighbours,  
Let the truth be bravely told,  
That humanity is worthless  
To the heart enslaved by gold.

JOHN BEDFORD LENO.

### SOCRATES AND SWEATING.

THE "Sweating Committee" has now issued a second Report, but we do not find, says the *Pall Mall*, that it supplies that little historical introduction upon the origin of the sweating system for which some of us fondly looked. Perhaps the Lords believe that the "sweating system" was a slow and gradual evolution; and indeed upon sound theoretic principles this ought to be the case. Historically, however, it is not the case. The sweating system sprang fully developed from the human brain—deliberately invented at one blow. And the inventor was—Socrates. If any man should doubt this, let him look up the passage in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. He will there find how Aristarchus when he sat with Socrates was depressed and absent-minded. Well he might be, since (like others in later days) he could get no rents from his property, and had a numerous family looking to him for support. Socrates enquired the reason of his gloom, and Aristarchus explained that he was in great perplexity: "For since the city has been disturbed, many having fled to the Piræus, there have come together to me both sisters and nieces and cousins left behind, in such numbers that there are in the house fourteen who are free born; but we receive nothing from our land, for the enemies have possession of it, nor from our houses, for there has arisen a scarcity of inhabitants in the city; but no one buys our furniture, nor is it possible to borrow from any quarter." Socrates asked: "Concerning both garments of men and women, and vests and cloaks and mantles, do those with you know how to make none of these things?" "Nay, all of them, as I believe." Socrates then pointed out how these fourteen female relatives might be set down to make garments of men and women, and vests and cloaks and mantles, and how Aristarchus might dispose of these articles at a profit, and how he would in that case cease to look unlovingly upon his relatives, who would no longer be a burden to him, and they would cease to look unlovingly upon him as an unwilling protector. "By the gods," said Aristarchus, "you seem, Socrates, to me to speak so well that hitherto I did not permit myself to borrow money, knowing that when I had spent what I might have received, I should not be able to repay it, but now I seem to myself able to venture doing it for the means for the commencement of my undertakings." And so Aristarchus went home greatly comforted, and became the first sweater. His methods were precisely those of his nineteenth century successor, for as Xenophon explains, in regard to the workers, "they, labouring, did dine, and when they had finished their labours they supped; . . . and the women loved him as a guardian, and he loved them as useful to him. But in the end, coming to Socrates, he related to him with delight both these things, and that they blamed him alone in the house of eating, being idle." The case, we perceive, is complete and typical; the workshop is domestic, the meals are taken in the workshop, the trade is in ready-made clothing. We cannot but regret that Xenophon has left untold the further history of Aristarchus. Did he retire upon a competence, or did he enlarge his business? Did suitors beguile away from him those profitable ladies, his sisters and cousins and nieces? Was his example largely imitated, and did prices fall in consequence? All these questions are beyond the elucidation of any committee of enquiry; but one thing remains clear: Aristarchus, the Athenian, was the first sweater, and Socrates taught him the trade.

SO DIFFERENT HERE.—Indian agents who have had the opportunity to study the red man's domestic life say that neither male nor female are capable of feeling the sentiment of love. A buck marries to have a slave; a squaw to have a lodge. It is only amongst highly-civilised people, like our own bourgeois, that real love-matches take place.

**NATURAL RIGHTS.**—Man from his very nature is a gregarious animal; there is no instance in nature of savage solitary man; society is necessary for his preservation and the continuance of the human race; therefore no right can be properly termed a natural right, which is not also a social right; or, in other words, the rights of society are natural rights. If, therefore, any man, or class of men, claim privileges as natural rights, inconsistent with the well-being, and even existence of the society, or political state, of which he is a member, such claim is to be utterly rejected, as not being properly a claim of a natural right; or if of a natural right in a solitary state of nature (such a state being supposed to exist), certainly not a claim of right to be admitted by the society of which he is a member; because it tends directly to the destruction of the society, and all claim of presumed right must yield to the paramount claim of real social right, the preservation of the state.—*Duigenan*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, April 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1889:—Clerkenwell, Leicester, Mitcham, and North London, to February.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### CHILDREN'S PARTY.

Between 40 and 50 children sat down to an excellent tea on the 12th inst., at 13, Farringdon Road. Comrade Radford afterwards entertained the youngsters with a magic lantern; then followed games and a distribution of toys. Altogether both young and old spent an enjoyable evening, the party breaking up about 11 o'clock. List of subscriptions:—Cantwell (Propaganda Committee), 2s. 4d.; E. W., 2s.; S. B., 2s. 6d.; W. M., 2s. 6d.; J. A. Morris, 2s.; H. B. T., 2s.; R. C. S., 1s.; May Morris, 6s.; Mrs. Schack, 3s.; Mrs. Gostling, 2s. 6d.; M. J. Edwards, 1s. 6d.; W. H., 4s. 6d.; and Touzeau Parris, 2s. 6d. Total received, £1 14s. 4d. Doll received from Miss C. Hills.

S. GROSER.

### REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—Good meetings held at Leman and Philpot Streets last Sunday. All papers sold.—A good meeting was addressed at Victoria Park by Charles and Hicks on Sunday afternoon.—Good meeting on Sunday morning at Regent's Park; Mainwaring and Cores spoke. Fair sale of *Weal*, and 1s. 1d. collected.—At Hyde Park, comrade Furlong (S.D.F.), Mrs. Lahr, Culwick (S.D.F.), Mainwaring, Cantwell, McCormick, and J. Williams (S.D.F.) spoke to a very large meeting, which lasted 3 hours 20 minutes. *Commonweal* sold out, 'Chants' ditto, and a large quantity of pamphlets. Collected 4s.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—A packed meeting at Percy Hall listened on Sunday evening to Cunningham Graham on the "Condition of Chainmakers at Cradley." Interesting lecture; 7s. collected.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green church, Crouch and Green spoke to a good audience. Sunday morning, Crouch had a good audience opposite Railway Station, and in the evening an excellent audience was addressed by Smith, Lynes, jun., and Groser.—S. B. G.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—A very good meeting held at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Dean, Catterson Smith, Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., and Maughan; choir also sang. 27 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road at 7 p.m., a very good meeting; speakers were Bullock, Dean, Lynes, jun., Mordhurst, and Maughan; choir sang. Fair sale of *Weal*. At Kelmscott House, our comrade Beasley lectured on "The Nationalisation of Railways." Brisk discussion.—M.

**ABERDEEN.**—Large and enthusiastic meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, addressed by Duncan and Leatham, while Aiken pushed literature vigorously. At indoor meeting, on 11th, Duncan read essay from Morris's "Hopes and Fears for Art."

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday, at 2.30, we held a meeting on the Green, when Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke to a large crowd from the new stool made for the Branch by Tim Burgoyne. At 5.30, Pollock, Joe Burgoyne, and Glasier spoke at Paisley Road Toll. After the meeting was over, a smart-looking religious lady, dressed in silk, confided to the speakers that they were all of their father, the devil! At 7 o'clock, the same speakers spoke at St. George's Cross, much interest being manifested by a good audience in their exposition of Socialism. *Commonweal* sold out.

**NORWICH.**—Comrades Davis and Mrs. Schack arrived here on Saturday; enjoyable evening spent in Gordon Hall. On Sunday the Branch held a great demonstration in Market Place at 3 p.m., addressed by Poynts, who acted as chairman. The resolution was proposed by Darley and spoken to by Mrs. Schack, and carried with two dissentients. Good sale of papers, and good collection. Davis could not speak at this meeting, as he missed the train at Cantley, on his return from Yarmouth, and was compelled to tramp to Lingwood in order to catch the 5.28 train. Another meeting was, therefore, announced in Market Place for the evening. At 7.30 a good meeting was held, addressed by Poynts and Davis; good impression made. At Gordon Hall, at 8, addresses were delivered to an attentive audience by comrades Davis and Shack on the Paris Commune, assisted in a most able manner by comrade Houghton, who pointed out the usefulness of the Paris insurrection, and at the same time explained its errors. This meeting was commenced by singing "No Master." During the evening comrade Poynts rendered a recitation, and the meeting was brought to a close by singing the "Marseillaise."—H. DAVIS.

**YARMOUTH.**—Very successful meeting, Sunday morning, in celebration of the Paris Commune. Mrs. Schack and H. Davis gave good addresses, and were listened to with marked attention. *Commonweal* sold fairly well, and 5s. collected to defray expenses. In afternoon Reynolds and Ruffold held good meeting. On Monday night Reynolds lectured at Gorleston on "Why are the workers poor?" On Tuesday evening, at the "Three Fishes," North Howard Street, a paper was read by Reynolds on "What Socialism Teaches."—C. R.

**IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.**—Discussion took place on Sunday upon the Commune of Paris, opened by Thomas; slight opposition, which was easily answered. Creed proposed the resolution printed in *Commonweal*, which was seconded by Bishop, and caused a lively discussion. An amendment to it leaving out the first line, was defeated by two, and the motion was carried.—M. C.

**CLUB AUTONOMIE.** Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—A Commune Celebration was held on Sunday evening at the above club. Speeches were delivered in English, French, and German to an enthusiastic audience, the English speakers being Harragan, Withington, and Samuels.

**DUBLIN.**—The anniversary of the Commune was celebrated by the Dublin Socialist Club at the rooms, 16, Dawson Street, on Saturday, March 16th. There was a large attendance. Addresses were delivered by King, Conlon, Russell, O'Connor, and others.

**COMMUNE CELEBRATION.**—At Cooper's Hall, Commercial Road, E., on Monday, March 18th, a very successful celebration was held. The platform was decorated with red flags and mottoes in English and Hebrew. The speeches in Yiddish, German, and English were enthusiastically received. The East End branch of the Socialist League, International Working-men's Club, Morgenroethe Club, and Limehouse branch of S.D.F. co-operated.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Percy Hall, Percy St., Tottenham Court Rd.—Sunday March 24, at 8.30, J. Hunter Watts, "Socialism."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday March 24, at 8.30., H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then." Sun. 31st, Frank Kitz, A Lecture.

**East London.**—Cosmopolitan Club, 30 Charles Square, Hoxton. The next meeting of members will be held on Sunday March 24th, at 7.15 p.m. Members should turn up punctual; very important business.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Mar. 24, at 8 p.m., a lecture by Touzeau Parris, "How we gain Knowledge." Thursday 28th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 29th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda. Sunday March 31st, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "Work and its Reward."

**Hoxton.**—Comrades desiring to help in the propaganda of the Socialist League in this locality are requested to send their names and addresses to H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.—SPECIAL—Peter Kropotkin will lecture on "The Problems of our Century," in the Waterloo Hall, on Sunday 24th, at 7 o'clock; Cunningham Graham will preside. Peter Kropotkin will meet members of the Branch on Sunday at 3 o'clock.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall; at 8 p.m., a lecture. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SATURDAY 23.

8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Cores, Hicks, and Mowbray.

SUNDAY 24.

11.30 ..... Hackney—Gibraltar Walk ..... Cores, Hicks, and Davis.

11.30 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... The Branch.

11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... North London Branch.

11.30 ..... Walham Green, opposite Station ..... The Branch.

11.45 ..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Mowbray and Turner.

3.30 ..... Hyde Park ..... Parker and Mrs. Lahr.

3.30 ..... Victoria Park ..... Mowbray, Cores, and Charles.

7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch.

7.30 ..... Broad Street, Soho ..... Nicoll.

7.30 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Brookea.

TUESDAY 26.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

THURSDAY 28.

8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... Mowbray and Cores.

FRIDAY 29.

8 ..... Philpot Street, Commercial Road ..... Mowbray and Cores.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 2.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

**NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB,** 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday March 24, at 8.30, G. Standring, "Does Royalty Pay?"

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

IF Socialists retain any illusion as to the apparent defeat of Matthews and Warren (which was so loudly crowed over by a part of the Radical press) having any influence over the conduct of the police to the people, the brutality on 16th inst. will surely have swept such illusion away. It is not easy to imagine a worse case of arbitrary and cowardly violence than that which was perpetrated on our comrades of Berner Street, reproducing some of the worst features of Bloody Sunday, such as the beating of prisoners in the police-cell. Furthermore, is it probable that such things are done by the police out of the pure cussedness of the individual? That would be absurd to suppose; the authorities expect their men to behave in this manner, such deeds are practically, not condoned, but approved of. It is assumed that every poor man must be treated as an enemy of that society which is undoubtedly his enemy. And if he adds revolutionary ideas to his poverty—well!!

I can imagine a smug orderly well-fed military-looking higher officer of the police talking to some *refined* gentleman, and saying to him, "Well, my dear sir, you don't know the London rough; you can do nothing with him unless you knock him about; and as to who are roughs, why in such places as Berner Street the whole population are roughs. You must just let us act, my dear sir, and don't pay any attention to any outcry that a parcel of poor Jews may make. They can't do you any harm; the native roughs are quite inclined to fall upon them, and some day it will have to be done." And the refined gentleman would go away thinking it was all right, slumming being now out of fashion again. But if he could only bring his mind to bear upon so dull a subject, he might see that it is somewhat dangerous that it should have become an understood thing amongst the poor that the police are their natural enemies. "Those whom the gods will destroy they blind," says the ancient proverb.

The London County Council has made a very false step in closing the doors of its committee rooms on the public. This is going the way of the Board of Works. Why, it is exactly these committees that it is important for the public to know all about, that they may detect the first germs of corruption, criticise short-comings, discover incompetency, and encourage administrative qualities where they exist. It is very little use the public being admitted to the mere parade-days of the Council if it is to be excluded from its business meetings. This hole-and-corner resolution was passed owing to the laziness of the Progressives on the Council, who, one would have thought, might at least have been present on such an occasion. Or what explanation have they to offer?

The government have not been leading a happy life lately. The opposition have been working their victory in the Parnell Commission for all it is worth, and it has proved rather remunerative. However, one need neither affect to feel special moral reprobation, and still less surprise. Morally they are in a bad position, because they have been found out; that is all. For the rest, though they are cornered as to matters of detail, they have a good defence to put forward in the lump which should be accepted by the other side if they were not so steeped in hypocrisy.

For, after all, what is their business? The defence of property; the defence of the brigandage of the classes. We must at once get out of our heads that they have *anything* else to do. So what these Tory robber-chiefs or thief-syndicate have to say to their Liberal attackers is simply: "You know the interests which we have to defend, and how paramount they are; *you* in the enthusiasm of playing the party game have made a false step, and (no doubt without intending it) have attacked the rights of property, and have let loose upon us a crowd of ignorant Irish peasants, who don't know what they want, though they know that we (and you) keep them poor. They are headed by an ambitious, astute, and satisfactorily short-sighted politician, Mr. Parnell. So now it is our business to try and cure your blunder, if it be not incurable; and the only way to do that, as

you yourselves will one day find out, is to use all our resources of force and fraud, and set ourselves stiffly to say 'No' to any claims that could be brought against us, whatever humanity or justice there might be in them.

"And as to all this pother you are making about our using our advantages in the shape of prisons and spies and rapscallion magistrates, really it is very unconstitutional of you, when you *know* that any and every government would use the same instruments whenever it thought it necessary. Why didn't we have a State prosecution against Parnell and his gang? Why, because we thought it would be such a breakdown if we failed, as we feared we might; and we thought that if we carried it on under cover of the *Times*, that at all events some of the dirt might stick, and that we might have gone about bragging that we *could* have prosecuted had we pleased. However, you will see, the time will come when a Liberal Government will have to do just the same sort of thing, when these damned Socialists begin to make a little head, perhaps. And how will *you* like it then? No, my friends, remember that passage of holy writ, and do as you would be done by."

But if the Government are rather hard set on by their declared enemies, they can't be said to help themselves much. Just as there is a fate on the Liberals to push on questions which they had much better have left alone, like the agrarian question in Ireland, so there is a fate on the Tories to discredit their party by saying the very worst that they possibly can for themselves. Lord Salisbury, *e.g.*, made a most unaccountable blunder in his hint that perhaps after all the forged letters were not so very much forged. Real generosity is not to be expected from politicians on any occasion, but a little simulation of it would help them wonderfully sometimes, and on this occasion a little "frankness" of this sort might almost have retrieved the position for the Tories. It is lucky that reactionaries are such fools.

Neither should a man in his position have begun by using the words "calumnies and falsehoods." Says the proverb, "Don't speak of a rope in the house of a man whose father was hanged." And the parliamentary history of the last few days has done something towards putting some of the said "calumnies and falsehoods" into a different category, that of facts.

As to the rest of his speech, it was in the main, if properly read, an eloquent plea for revolution, under cover of a defence of law and order; for what it practically said was this: "Granted that the Irish have grievances against us, that the prison system is bad, that men are being put in prison for making political speeches of a certain tenour; yet is it not all law? Did not you, the English democracy, allow these laws to be made? If you want them altered go to parliament and get them altered." Behind all which there was a kind of gleeful chuckle, Don't you wish you may! For of course Lord Salisbury's true complaint is that his opponents have used the really effective weapons of boycotting and the Plan in the teeth of constitutionalism, and he very naturally "says you haven't played fair."

All this may be damaging argument for a debate, in which pure constitutionalism is to be assumed. But we may almost hope that pure constitutionalism is getting played out, and that the democracy will have the wits to see that if a change is good, it is good against the law, and that those who try to uphold the law against it are simply the enemies of the human race. Meantime it is encouraging to think that the great Liberal party, with Mr. Gladstone at its head, are accused of egging on people in Ireland to break the law wholesale, and that as a matter of fact it cannot rebut the accusation.

But we must not be too sanguine; it is only in Ireland that the Liberals like law-breaking as an instrument for law-mending. Doubtless the time will come when they will have to face the same trouble in England. The Irish question once shelved, the question of labour and capital which is involved in many side issues in the Irish matter will lie bare and obvious before them, and what will they do

then? How, for instance, will a Liberal Government treat a no-rent manifesto in London? And why should a labourer be fined for wanting to sleep under a roof in London any more than in Tipperary? Will you say, the Irish cottar has laboured on his land, and has got just enough to keep himself and can pay no rent. True, but has not the English labourer done the same? Yet Lord! What a set of evasions the politicians will have to use to point out the essential difference between the two! And how easy it will be to clap Socialists into jail for doing the sort of thing that O'Brien has been doing and over whose fate the Liberals have been so indignant. W. M.

We are informed by a lady friend that a poor sewing-woman was lately employed by a clergyman's wife to make underclothing at a starvation price; for instance, for a night-dress sewn entirely by hand she received 1s., and was offered 9d., which latter price she refused. Any one who understands what work there is in hand-sewn linen, will appreciate this preposterous price—perhaps the pious lady threw in religion as a make-weight. The friend who told us the story said that she herself employed the woman to do some sewing for her, and on offering her what she considered a moderate price, the poor soul was so much taken off her guard with surprise, that instead of taking it without a word she exclaimed at the enormity of the pay, which was twice as much as her other patronesses would have paid her. And, indeed, it is not the poorer folk that beat down prices from sheer necessity, but often ladies and gentlemen from mere self-complacency at their power of bargain-making, and who, with all their cultivation and sensibilities, have got no nearer to justice and right dealing than this—beating down prices in the smaller industries with one hand, and with the other perhaps subscribing to a Mansion House Fund or a Dog's Home.

The lately published prospectus of the "Bellite Explosive" Company (Limited), gives far more prominence to the advantages this new explosive possesses in warfare than to those which recommend it as useful in mining operations. The company are confident of the greatest success; every scrap of news that points towards warfare, in whatsoever part of the world, will, one must think, cause directors and shareholders to rub their hands in glee over the newspapers at their comfortable breakfast-tables. It is nothing new, this trading and speculating in warfare—any more than is the trading on and coining human miseries of all sorts—but every fresh announcement of the sort, frank and impudent and brutal, renews one's disgust at the social order which endures, approves, and applauds the rage for money-making (without personal labour) at whatever cost to others.

Here we have more of the same sort. In a recent issue the *Star* says: "It is believed that a new industry is about to be started by the Birmingham Small Arms Company (Limited), who have lately fitted up a branch for the manufacture of drawn steel shells, the company having secured two War Office contracts which will keep them busy for the remainder of the year." M. M.

## THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE.

In making our claims for the changes in Society which we believe would set labour free and thus bring about a new Society, we Socialists are satisfied with demanding what we think necessary for that Society to form itself, which we are sure it is getting ready to do; this we think better than putting forward elaborate utopian schemes for the future. We assert that monopoly must come to an end, and that those who can use the means of the production of wealth should have all opportunity of doing so, without being forced to surrender a great part of the wealth which they have created, to an irresponsible owner of the necessities to production; and we have faith in the regenerative qualities of this elementary piece of honesty, and believe that the world thus set free will enter on a new cycle of progress. We are prepared to face whatever drawbacks may accompany this new development with equanimity, being convinced that it will at any rate be a great gain to have got rid of a system which has at last become nearly all drawbacks. The extinction of the disabilities of an effete system of production will not, we are convinced, destroy the gains which the world has already won, but will, on the contrary, make those gains available to the whole population instead of confining their enjoyment to a few. In short, considering the present condition of the world, we have come to the conclusion that the function of the reformers now alive is not so much prophecy as action. It is our business to use the means ready to our hands to remedy the immediate evils which oppress us; to the coming generations we must leave the task of safeguarding and of using the freedom which our efforts shall have won them.

Nevertheless, we do partly know the direction which the development of the world will take in the immediate future; the evolution of past history teaches us that. We know that the world cannot go back on its footsteps, and that men will develop swiftly both bodily and mentally in the new Society; we know that men in general will feel the obligations of Society much more than the later generations have done, that the necessity for co-operation in production and life in general will be more consciously felt than it has been; that the comparative ease of life which the freeing of labour will bring about will give all men more leisure and time for thought; that crime will be rarer because there will not be the same temptation to it; that increased ease of life and education combined will tend to free us

from disease of body and mind. In short, that the world cannot take a step forward in justice, honesty, and kindness, without a corresponding gain in all the material conditions of life.

And besides what we know, a knowledge without which we should not take the trouble to agitate for a change in the basis of Society, we cannot help guessing at a great deal which we cannot know; and again, this guessing, these hopes, or if you will, these dreams for the future, make many a man a Socialist whom sober reason deduced from science and political economy and the selection of the fittest would not move at all. They put a man in a fit frame of mind to study the reasons for his hope; give him courage to wade through studies, which, as the Arab king said of arithmetic, would otherwise be too dull for the mind of man to think of.

There are, in fact, two groups of mind with whom Social Revolutionists like other people have to deal, the analytical and the constructive. Belonging to the latter group myself, I am fully conscious of the dangers which we incur, and still more perhaps of the pleasures which we lose, and am, I hope, duly grateful to the more analytical minds for their setting of us straight when our yearning for action leads us astray, and I am also, I confess, somewhat envious of the beatitude of their dreamy contemplation of the perfection of some favourite theory; a happiness which we who use our eyes more than our reasoning powers, for noting what is going on in the world, seldom or ever enjoy.

However, as they would and do call our instinctive vision dreaming, and as they almost always, at least in their own estimation, have the better of us in argument when we meet in friendly battle, I must be careful what I say of them, and so will for the present at least only deal with the visionaries or *practical people*. And one thing I must confess from the beginning, which is that the visions of us visionary or practical people differ largely from each other, and that we are not much interested in each others visions; whereas the theories of the analysts differ little from each other, and they are hugely interested in each others theories—in the way that a butcher is interested in an ox—to wit, for cutting up.

So I will not attempt to compare my visions with those of other Socialists, but will simply talk to you of some of my own, and let you make the comparison yourselves, those of you who are visionaries, or let you unassisted by me criticise them, those of you who are analytically given. In short, I am going to give you a chapter of confessions. I want to tell you what it is I desire of the Society of the Future, just as if I were going to be reborn into it; I daresay that you will find some of my visions strange enough.

One reason which will make some of you think them strange is a sad and shameful one. I have always belonged to the well-to-do classes, and was born into luxury, so that necessarily I ask much more of the future than many of you do; and the first of all my visions, and that which colours all my others, is of a day when that misunderstanding will no longer be possible; when the words poor and rich, though they will still be found in our dictionaries, will have lost their old meaning; which will have to be explained with care by great men of the analytical kind, spending much time and many words over the job, and not succeeding in the end in making people do more than pretend to understand them.

Well now, to begin with, I am bound to suppose that the realisation of Socialism will tend to make men happy. What is it then makes people happy? Free and full life and the consciousness of life. Or, if you will, the pleasurable exercise of our energies, and the enjoyment of the rest which that exercise or expenditure of energy makes necessary to us. I think that is happiness for all, and covers all difference of capacity and temperament from the most energetic to the laziest.

Now, whatever interferes with that freedom and fulness of life, under whatever specious guise it may come, is an evil; is something to be got rid of as speedily as possible. It ought not to be endured by reasonable men who naturally wish to be happy.

Here you see is an admission on my part, which I suspect indicates the unscientific mind. It proposes the exercise of free will on the part of men, which the latest scientists deny the possibility of, I believe; but don't be afraid, I am not going into argument on the matter of free will and predestination; I am only going to assert that if individual men are the creatures of their surrounding conditions, as indeed I think they are, it must be the business of man as a social animal, or of Society, if you will, to make the surroundings which make the individual man what he is. Man must and does create the conditions under which he lives; let him be conscious of that, and create them wisely.

Has he done so hitherto? He has tried to do so, I think, but with only moderate success, at any rate at times. However, the results of that moderate success he is proud of, and he calls it *civilisation*. Now, there has been amongst people of different minds abundant discussion as to whether civilisation is a good thing or an evil. Our friend Bax in his very able article on the subject, did, I think, really put the matter on its true footing when he pointed out that as a step to something better, civilisation was a good, but as an achievement it was an evil. In that sense I declare myself an enemy of civilisation; nay, since this is to be a chapter of confessions, I must tell you that my *special* leading motive as a Socialist is hatred of civilisation: my ideal of the new Society would not be satisfied unless that Society destroyed civilisation.

For if happiness be the pleasurable exercise of our energies and the enjoyment of necessary rest, it seems to me that civilisation, looked at



from the static point of view, as Bax phrases it, tends to deny us both these good things, and thereby tends to reduce man to a machine without a will; to deprive him gradually of all the functions of an animal and the pleasure of fulfilling them, except the most elementary ones. The scientific ideal of the future of man would appear to be an intellectual paunch, nourished by circumstances over which he has no control, and without the faculty of communicating the results of his intelligence to his brother-paunches.

Therefore my ideal of the Society of the future is first of all the freedom and cultivation of the individual will, which civilisation ignores, or even denies the existence of; the shaking off the slavish dependence, not on other men, but on artificial systems made to save men manly trouble and responsibility: and in order that this will may be vigorous in us, I demand a free and unfettered animal life for man first of all: I demand the utter extinction of all asceticism. If we feel the least degradation in being amorous, or merry, or hungry, or sleepy, we are so far bad animals, and therefore miserable men. And you know civilisation *does* bid us to be ashamed of all these moods and deeds, and as far as she can, begs us to conceal them, and where possible to get other people to do them for us. In fact, it seems to me that civilisation may almost be defined as a system arranged for ensuring the vicarious exercise of human energies for a minority of privileged persons.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 6, 1889.

31	Sun.	1867. Fight at Kilclooney Wood; O'Neill Crowley killed. 1882. N. Soukhanoff shot in Kronstadt for being a member of the Executive Committee and a very influential propagandist among his fellow naval officers. 1883. Sentries posted at new Law Courts, Somerset House, etc., hitherto unguarded. 1887. Three persons hanged for the attempt on the Czar of the 13th.
1	Mon.	1282. Sicilian Vespers. 1815. Bismarck born. 1820. Radical disturbances in Glasgow. 1826. First number of the <i>Ass: or, Weekly Beast of Burden</i> , London, Id. 1848. Republican attempted invasion of Belgium. 1871. M. Thiers proclaims war against the Commune. 1872. F. D. Maurice died. 1878. Greek insurrection. 1878. First issue of <i>La Science politique</i> , Paris, monthly review by Emile Acollas.
2	Tues.	1793. Great slave-trade debate. 1794. Trial at Lancaster of Thos. Walker, William Paul, Samuel Jackson, James Cheetham, Oliver Pearsall, Benjamin Booth, and Joseph Collier, for "a conspiracy to overthrow the constitution and government, and to aid and assist the French (being the king's enemies) in case they should invade this kindgom." 1840. Emile Zola born. 1865. Richard Cobden died. 1871. Versailles open fire on Paris. 1878. Lord Leitrim executed.
3	Wed.	1854. Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker tried for aiding runaway slaves. 1871. Gustave Flourens killed. 1882. Khal-tourin and Jevlakoff hanged in Odessa for killing Strielnikoff.
4	Thur.	1774. Oliver Goldsmith died. 1871. Revolt at Limoges: Duval and other Communards taken prisoners at Paris and murdered. 1871. Paris Commune abolishes State endowments of the Church.
5	Fri.	1794. Danton and Desmoulins guillotined. 1814. Napoleon banished to Elba. 1820. Battle of Bonnybridge. 1865. De Laveleye born.
6	Sat.	1593. John Greenwood and Henry Barrow hung at Tyburn for issuing seditious books. 1669. Jean Jacques Rousseau born. 1780. Commons vote that influence of the king should be diminished. 1809. Arrest of Sir Francis Burdett. 1887. Attempt on Alexander III.

Khaltourin was one of the most remarkable figures of the Russian movement from 1873 to 1882. Besides being known as author of two important terrorist deeds—death of procurator Strielnikoff and the explosion at the Winter Palace in Feb. 17th, 1880—he was certainly the most successful and popular leader of the St. Petersburg working-men. A cabinet-maker by trade, with the reputation of being the best polisher in the capital, he enjoyed confidence and popularity among a very large number of comrade workers. He joined the Social Revolutionary party in 1873, and worked well in it up to 1879, when he offered to the Executive Committee of the terrorist party to blow up the Winter Palace. He had tried almost all ways, open and secret, of propaganda and organisation in the Socialist cause, but always at the end of all his efforts met such obstacles in *politics* and *police*, that he finally decided on *regicide*. He was the originator of the first exclusively working-men's revolutionary organisation, the "Northern Workmen's Union," and also of the journal written, managed, and printed exclusively by workmen. This journal was printed in a special secret printing office, which also was founded by Khaltourin under such difficulties and troubles as are known only in Russia. All these results of enormous efforts of several years were hindered and destroyed by ever-watchful spies and policemen. After the unsuccessful attempt to blow up the Winter Palace, which failure Khaltourin himself ascribed to insufficient quantity of dynamite (120 lbs.) being stored in the basement, the police failed to discover his whereabouts until he appeared after nearly two years in Odessa, and heroically executed the order of his party, destroying the miserable life of a trained scoundrel and executioner, Strielnikoff. This important official had almost unlimited power over all political prisoners in South Russian prisons, and used against them all means of moral torture and physical hardship known to the modern inquisitors. At last the revolutionary party was tired of him and condemned him. Khaltourin with his assistant found him sitting upon one of the benches on a boulevard of Odessa, and shot him in the broad light of day. Khaltourin was arrested merely through the mistake of some mechanics passing by, who took him for a thief, and afterwards regretted bitterly that they had assisted the police in capturing him.—TCU.

It would be an unsound fancy and self-contradictory to expect that things which have never yet been done, can be done except by means which have never yet been tried.—Lord Bacon.

SOCIALISM versus INDIVIDUALISM IN LEICESTER.

THE second series of the Fabian lectures dealing with the organisation of society has now come to an end. They have been much relished. Graham Wallas's appeal at the end of his lecture was one of the most pathetic and eloquent we ever heard. Annie Besant was accompanied by Herbert Burrows and Rev. Stewart Headlam. All available sitting-room was occupied, galleries, platform, and all. The applause was loud and frequent. Headlam spoke in response to calls from audience; and Herbert Burrows being invited to follow, with an astonishing verbal rapidity and logical acumen, put the gist of the social problem inside twenty minutes. Hubert Bland succeeded in getting the Radical "dander ris." Indeed, the Radicals were the only people to square accounts with on this occasion, the Individualists having for some mysterious reason quitted the field. The Individualist lectures have alternated with the Socialist ones, and have been exceedingly lively. Mr. Frederick Millar, of the Liberty and Property Defence League, has a style and vocabulary that were much admired by some of us, though his abuse is apt at first to throw argumentation off its guard. Stale inanities, filthy literature, thieves, fools, and brats, are among some of the terms that Mr. Millar intended to pass for argument. He ended his discourse with a fine Rule Britannia outburst. Being ironically congratulated on his Jingoism, and on his being a fitting instrument of the society of aristocratic and plutocratic parasites and perpetual pensioners he represented, there came a challenge on the right of the word "perpetual," during which the Labour Emancipation League's leaflet, "The Liberty and Property Defence League, who and what are they?" was quoted to the audience and handed up to Mr. Millar, who hurled an abusive epithet at it, and refusing to touch it blew it to the ground. This the audience resented, and the lecturer was hissed.

Next came Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe, who at least kept us in good humour. Some of his paradoxical utterances left us wondering whether he could be in earnest. Liberty was so defined as to make no difference between it and Tyranny. Liberty included "liberty to do evil"; liberty of a strong man to knock a weak one down and rifle his pockets. As certain of the audience remarked afterwards, this kind of liberty involves slavery of the knocked down and rifled, and is too prevalent already. Mr. Donisthorpe threw himself unconsciously into the arms of Socialism by declaring that "Individualists accept the doctrine of Anarchy." He showed his ignorance of the Anarchic doctrine by stating that he was unaware that Anarchists advocated communisation of the means of production. The impression of the lecture and discussion on many of us was that Donisthorpe was recklessly inconsistent, like a man who feels his case is somehow bad. We feel that he didn't do justice even to his own side.

Lastly came Mr. Alfred Milnes, M.A., who, though highly embittered against Socialism, showed himself the most reasonable of the Individualist lecturers. He played straight into our hands by asking, "How could there be such a thing as a contract except where the parties are equal?" There is no bargain, said he, where the advantage is all on one side, and where a man can say to another man, "Both of us shall observe as much as I please." Lecturer was asked whether this was not just the case between the capitalist and the labourer? He did not answer. Quoted the Abolitionist's saying to slave-owners, "Show us from God your authority for holding your slaves." Was again asked could not we put this test of authority to the landlord about his land? Did not answer. Thought in cases of "Adulteration of food," State interference could be "excused"; as also in cases "where all are agreed on something, but none dare begin it." Resented anybody interfering with him to regulate how many hours a day he should work. "If A is forcing B to work eight hours, then jump on A," said the lecturer. Was asked by one of audience, "Supposing A's working fourteen hours resulted in B only getting six hours, should we not jump on A, or call on him to partly support B?" Lecturer was much concerned with the threatened break-up of the family institution by Socialists, and alleged that it was a Socialist proposal to "nationalise woman." It turned out in discussion that such proposals were only on paper, and belonged to the Utopian epoch.

The way it strikes a Socialist is, that all along the Individualists have done their best to conceal their views that no readjustment whatever of the ethical basis of property is necessary. Cases trivial and superficial, such as the opening of free libraries sans consultation of the assumed objecting minority, have been kept well in the foreground; but the giant grievances—the fundamental injustices inseparable from the private ownership of land and capital—these have been ignored in every lecture, and conveniently let slide if brought up in the discussions. Not a word in criticism of rings and corners; not a word about the unemployed, or the status of the crofter, cottier, and agricultural labourer. No, no! *Laissez-faire! Laissez-faire* for the benefit of landlord and factory-lord; and *Laissez-faire* too, in consequence, your own condition. We have nothing to propose by way of amelioration—no positive proposals whatever to remedy any evils arising from the present relations of capitalists and labourers. And we implore you not to be so wicked as to interfere in any way with things as they are, except it be to reverse the whole current of political events these many years past, that have been alas! so tyrannical to poor us, and so favourable every way to you. But, no again! All this legislation has *not* been favourable to you. It is a delusion, and you would be better back in the old days of the unmitigated play of capitalistic conditions. It need hardly be said this view does not agree with the Radicals here, who are consequently repelled by Individualism, however slow they may be in joining the ranks of Socialism.

THOMAS BARCLAY.

Says the Rochester (U.S.) *Chronicle*: "Over some of our schools such an inscription as this might truthfully be placed: 'All children are alike; if not, they must be made so. It is not our business to inform, inspire, enkindle, but to cram. Never mind perception, relation, analogies, the ordinary sequence of ideas, and the development of aptitudes. It is detached facts that we are after. Education means not the drawing out, but the filling up.'"

JOHN SWINTON.—All friends of the labour cause everywhere will be glad to hear of the renewed health of John Swinton. We see from an exchange that the operation on his eye has been entirely successful, and he has thus been enabled to resume literary work. He lost the hard-won result of a toiling life over the bright strong labour-paper, which left such a gap when it fell, but it is now said that recent events have placed him above pressing anxiety either in the present or future. Rumour speaks of a book soon to be printed, containing the varied reminiscences of his long and crowded life.—S.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. B. G.—In type, but crowded out.  
REGINALD A. BECKETT.—Will be used.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 27.

ENGLAND	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	BRITAIN
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Ghent—Vooruit
Labour Elector	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Antwerp—De Werker
Labour Tribune	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Liege—L'Avenir
Leicester—Countryman	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Arbeiterstimme
London—Freie Presse	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco—Pacific Union	Seville—La Solidaridad
Postal Service Gazette		Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	FRANCE	Barcelona—El Productor
INDIA	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Madras—People's Friend	Le Proletariat	Porto—A Revolucao Social
UNITED STATES	La Revolte	GERMANY
New York—Der Sozialist	L'Attaque	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Freiheit	HOLLAND	DENMARK
Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Backer Zeitung	ITALY	SWEDEN
Workmen's Advocate	Turin—Il Muratore	Malmo—Arbetet
The Truth	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Milan—Il Fascio Operario	
Chicago (Ill)—Verbote	Corato—Il Comune	

GROWING RESPECTABLE.

OUR movement has reached a stage at which we are confronted with a new and unexpected danger. We are growing respectable in the eyes of the world! The sweets of popularity are being tasted by some of us whose names a little while ago were a stink in the nostrils of respectability. "What foolish words have I uttered, that they applaud me?" said the Roman orator whose speech was interrupted by the applause of his hearers. Without any undue indulgence in the cynic vein, we must critically examine ourselves and our methods of propaganda if we find that commendation-pence are awarded us by those from whom hitherto we have received more kicks than halfpence. During the last eight years many men have passed through our ranks who as recruits promised to be of great service to the cause of Socialism; but one by one they grew weary of the abuse that was heaped upon them, of the sneers of their fellow-workmen in the factory or at the bench, of the social ostracism to which they were condemned if they happened to belong to "the classes," and they dropped out of the movement, one, if not more, into the obscurity of the House of Commons; others to turn to account as party-hacks their trick of talk; and the rest to drift aimlessly through existence on the dead sea mis-called Life. The dust lies already on their names. We will not disturb it; but let us take heed lest elated with our successes at the polling-booth, gratified even with the stint of praise we get from those who speak fair of us now they fear us, we sink into the insignificance of the pigwiggins who wage a puny warfare on the field of party politics. Useful work may be done, and is being done, by Socialists upon Vestries, Board of Guardians, and School Boards; and even the dry bones of the House of Commons might be stirred by the presence of one or two of our less vigorous speakers whose presence could be spared

from the more important arena of the street or the market-place. But our comrades who have been placed in these positions of trust will abuse that trust if they forget that they are only touching the fringe of the question when they claim that public works should be initiated to relieve distress, that education should be free, that members of Parliament should be paid and election expenses defrayed by the State, if they forget for one hour that they are revolutionary Socialists, pledged to the overthrow of class dominion and of the hideous slavery called wagedom which results from the private ownership of the means of production. We must not forget that the praise of us in the columns of the capitalist press is conceded, not from sympathy with our aims, but because those aims are forgotten, as it is hoped we shall forget them if our steps can be turned aside from the rough road of the social-revolutionist into the pleasant paths of public office and popular favour. "Only fools and flunkeys admitted here" is written over the portals of respectability; and depend on it, if the janitor passes any of us, it is because we have servilely disguised our opinions or have foolishly lost our faith in the future. We cease to be revolutionists when we grow respectable in the eyes of the multitude, for they respect only the accomplished fact, not those who war against present facts, present systems. The social revolution accomplished, everyone will respect it; we, or our memories, will be admitted respectable; but, living or dead, living soul or dead carcass, till then we belong to the rabble. We can only masquerade, or worse, as respectabilities. "The beggars" was the term applied to those who rid the Netherlands of the Spanish yoke, but that term of contempt came to be accepted as a title of honour. So be it with us. We belong to the rabble. None so poor, none so degraded, none so oppressed, but may enlist under our banner, certain that his oppressor will be stricken down, the source of his poverty and his degradation removed, and that banner carried at last to victory full and final. We have as yet scarce entered on the conflict. The heat of the day, the burden of the fight, has yet to be borne. Amenities are still exchanged between the combatants, because the fury of battle has not been aroused, as it will be excited as soon as our attacks upon the exploiting classes grow more vigorous, as soon as they perceive that their privilege to lead pleasant, easy lives at the cost of the misery and degradation of the masses is in serious peril. It is, perhaps, a reproach to us that these courtesies are still possible, that our enemies speak any good thing concerning us. Countless thousands of our fellow-men and fellow-women are being done to death, are dying daily, victims of the brutal system to which they are subjected. Is it a time to parley with the foe? Is it so great a thing that we are admitted into council with him to debate and discuss how many more victims must be sacrificed to his greed of rule, his lust of gold? It is well to get some mitigation of the terrible penalties imposed by the rich upon the poor because they are poor and helpless, though to do so we temporise to the extent of making use of the legislative machine to serve our own purposes and frustrate those for which it was devised. But we must be guilty of no such compromise of principle as that which would earn for us a clear title to respect from society as constituted to-day, for only the successful thief, the exploiter of labour, commands general respect, while contumely is heaped upon those who have been robbed of health, of manhood, of education, of the right to earn their own bread, of everything that makes life human—robbed, too, by the very classes that sneer at those they have wronged as "the scum," the mob, "the rabble." Better the hatred than the respect of such people, and without doubt we shall earn that hatred if we ourselves continue to hate injustice and love right. "Woe unto you [Socialists] when all men shall speak well of you."

J. HUNTER WATTS.

THE GOVERNMENT OF MILLIONAIRES.

"Le roi est mort. Vive le roi! Commonplace, fat Grover Cleveland has stepped down from his exalted position to make room for still more commonplace—if that be possible—Benjamin Harrison, the would-be descendant from Major Harrison of rebel fame, and also from Pocahontas, the lovely Indian maid, kidnapped from her native home by the cheating Virginians. Talk about the possibility of mediocrity reigning all supreme under Socialism! Well, if I thought it possible that people like Grover and Ben might be leading stars in any Socialistic community, however small, in the future, I should cease toiling for my ideal, and rather hang myself at once. Why, indeed, these gentry are the very personification of mediocrity and "decent respectability"! Grandpa's son Ben Harrison and his partner in the game of politics, Levi Morton, arrived some days ago in good health in Washington. By the way, it's curious to see the tribes Levi and Benjamin working in harmony. Grover entertained his successor in right royal style, and industrious workmen had everything prepared for the coronation. However, Jupiter Pluvius spoiled the show. It rained all day on the glorious 4th of March. In his speech from the throne—commonly known under the title Inauguration Oration—Ben showed that he understands the value of speeches prepared carefully by political sharps. Words, words, platitudes and sentences which no intelligent human being can either interpret or understand,—that is the impression the document made upon any person of average faculties of comprehension. He said practically next to nothing, but needed an ocean of articulation to effect that. Of course, protection of our native industries is going to be strictly adhered to by our new administration. In reviewing a century's changes, Ben tells us that "the masses of our people are better fed, clothed, and housed than their fathers were. The facilities for popular education have been vastly enlarged and more generally diffused. The virtues of courage and patriotism have given recent proof of their continued presence and increasing power in the hearts and over the lives of our people. The influences of religion have been multiplied and strength-

ened. The sweet offices of charity have greatly increased. The virtue of temperance is held in higher estimation."

Naturally we must be thankful indeed that to-day we can wear more shoddy clothes than a hundred years ago; that we can buy cheaper boots—boots with paper soles and rotten uppers. The jerry-builder, it must be confessed, is also a very needful person, and oleomargarine surely is easily digestible food for a workman's stomach. Who would dare to say that it is not very gratifying to know that in our days we have a greater opportunity to get our heads crammed with all sorts of nonsense. The sentence about "the virtues of courage," etc., is brilliant indeed, especially when we remember that the war for the preservation of the union was fought by 83 per cent. foreigners, and that the genuine Yankee was generally first at meal times but severely missed as soon as the enemy was seen approaching. *A propos* "sweet offices of charity," how long is it ago that bread buttered with strychnine was advocated to be given to tramps by generous and kind-hearted Americans? Not before the floods, I guess. Refreshing it is to read that

"we have not attained an ideal condition. Not all of our people are happy and prosperous; not all of them are virtuous and law-abiding. But, on the whole, the opportunities offered to the individual to secure the comforts of life are better than are found elsewhere, and largely better than they were here one hundred years ago."

The Anarchists high and low also come in for a little straight talking, at which I suppose both camps will snap their fingers:

"Those who use unlawful methods, if moved by no higher motive than the selfishness that prompts them, may well stop and enquire what is to be the end of this. An unlawful expedient cannot become a permanent condition of government. If the educated and influential classes in a community either practise or connive at the systematic violation of laws that seem to them to cross their convenience, what can they expect when the lesson that convenience or a supposed class interest is a sufficient cause for lawlessness has been well learned by the ignorant classes? A community where law is the rule of conduct, and where courts, not mobs, execute the penalties, is the only attractive field for business investments and honest labour."

The new administration is a good one. It meets with my full approval. It is essentially an administration of, for, and through millionaires. What's more to be desired in this best of all good countries? The Senate is at present composed of seventy-six senators, none of which owns less than a million. In the biographies of the cabinet officers we generally find the following significant paragraph: "After . . . he devoted himself principally to railroad enterprises and other financial ventures, in which he has been highly successful." Doesn't that read nice? So eminently respectable and genteel! Let us for illustration's sake take two well-known men in the cabinet, known not only in America, but also equally well known in Europe—Levi P. Morton, late of New York, London, and Paris, banker and (speculator, now Vice-President of the Union and President of the Senate; and John Wanamaker, late exploiter of Philadelphia, and sweater of Berlin, Germany. For a patriotic cabinet, two pretty international characters, aren't they? Both men owe their present positions to the boodle they have subscribed to the Republican campaign fund, and the facts I am about to relate I have taken from capitalistic papers. First, Levi P. Morton. The capitalistic paper in question begins an article on Plutocracy Personified by saying:

"Levi P. Morton is no doubt personally as good as most others of his type, if not better. It is the type that is objectionable in public office, a type that has grown into prominence since the war, with the increase of individual wealth and the assertion of the power of money in politics. It represents the most dangerous element in public life—the plutocratic element. It judges men not by their principles, but by their price. It regards public office as an article of merchandise, to be bought and sold the same as dry-goods or railroad shares. The strongest political argument it can offer is a thumping check."

It then goes on to relate how Morton used all his official positions and those of his friends to further the interests of his banking-houses in New York, London, and Paris. At the conclusion of the article, the paper gives a list of the monies spent by Morton since 1872 to achieve his ends:

1872. Grant, President	... D.50,000	1881. Carr, Sec. of State	... D.5,000
1873. Mayer, Sec. of State	... 5,000	1882. Folger, Governor	... 20,000
1874. Dix, Governor	... 50,000	1883. Carr, Sec. of State	... 5,000
1875. Steward, Sec. of State	15,000	1884. Blaine, President	... 75,000
1876. Hayes, President	... 50,000	1885. Davenport, Governor	... 10,000
1876. Morton, Congress (defeated)	75,000	1885. Morton, U.S. Senate (def.)	50,000
1877. Churchill, Sec. of State	5,000	1886. Daniels, Court of Appeals	5,000
1878. Morton, Congress (elected)	125,000	1887. Grant, Sec. of State	... 10,000
1879. Cornell, Governor	... 50,000	1887. Morton, U.S. Senate (def.)	100,000
1880. Garfield, President	... 250,000	1888. Harrison, President, and	
1880. Morton, Congress (elected)	150,000	Morton, Vice-President	400,000
1880. Collected	... 700,000	1888. Collected	... 550,000

Amounting in total to 2,755,000 dollars, or considerably over half a million sterling.

John Wanamaker is a man of similar calibre. Both men started life as poor boys, and are in consequence "self-made," thereby relieving the Lord of a great deal of responsibility. Wanamaker is the Whiteley of Philadelphia. He believes in protecting American labour, but has most of his work done abroad, principally in Berlin. A reporter of a capitalistic paper visited his German establishment. In the busy season he employs there several hundred women at cloak-making. The work is done by contract, vulgarly called "sweating." The girls earn from about 3s. to 15s. a-week for eight months. The reporter goes on to say:

"The girls make no secret of the fact that it would be impossible for them to live without the assistance of a friend—a "bridegroom," they call him. He helps them to buy clothes, takes them to beer and music gardens occasionally, and pays their rent in the idle season. Scarcely a girl who does not live at home with her parents but is dependent on assistance of this kind. If she does not get it she is considered unfortunate by her associates."

Wanamaker during the last election contributed about £80,000 to the Republican campaign fund.

I might go on *ad infinitum* in these revelations about a republican government, but the foregoing will suffice to show what a delusion "popular government" indeed is.

Newark, N.J., March 13, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Kay Street, Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.—A course of Four Lectures on "Socialism and Practical Politics," will be given by members of the Fabian Society, on Sunday evenings at 8.30 p.m. March 31st, George Bernard Shaw, "The True Radical Policy." April 7th, Graham Wallas, "Practical Land Nationalisation." 14th, William Clarke, "Practical Socialism."

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### INTERNATIONALISM.

COMRADE.—Hoping you will find space for the following in next issue of *Commonweal*, I take the liberty to trespass on your time.

I suppose you are aware of the controversy lately carried on by *Justice* against us Germans generally, and the German Social-Democratic party specially. Last week I wrote a letter to our comrade, the editor of *Justice*, containing a general reply against those accusations brought forward against us in *Justice*, asking him to print it, which latter he refused, making the excuse that my letter was too long. This is the reason why I now ask you for the same favour, hoping you will find it possible to comply with my desire.

First of all let me say that I cannot accept the excuse of the editor of *Justice*—viz., "my letter being too long," in the face of the fact that he cuts it down to seven lines and then he finds space for forty-five lines of his own one-sided remarks. I am pretty sure my letter would not have taken up much more space; and I should have thought the editor would have felt it his simple duty of international fraternity and impartiality to reproduce a fair reply against so many unproven assertions and accusations on his part. But now I wish to give my letter to *Justice* in substance, with a few remarks upon the forty-five lines of our comrade in last week's *Justice*.

A few weeks ago the Germans were accused by the editor of *Justice* as being exclusive and *clannish*. This is, at least in my opinion, an assertion against all known facts, and the reverse is the truth. The Germans, as is well known, travel all over the globe, and wherever they go, they mix up with and really dissolve into the native population: so much is this the case, that it is a great trouble to the chauvinistic Government in Germany. The Germans nowhere keep up their nationality; and the best proof for this are the English colonies and the United States; and I myself should not be much surprised if the Germans at present in Cameroon would sooner become niggers than the reverse. These are known facts about the Germans generally, and the same applies to German Socialists. But in the course of time other nations have become so accustomed to this German characteristic that when now a German anywhere asks to have it a little his own way, the general outcry is—O, the Germans want it all their own way.

Now we are again accused of "printing our papers in our own language, which not one out of ten thousand understands." The first is absurd, and the anticipation that we would condemn the French and English if they should take the same course in Germany is simply ridiculous; the other assertion is at least a gross and wilful exaggeration. Out of the whole population of the globe, one out of every fourteen is able to speak German; and if we take the so-called civilised world, one in every five understands and speaks German.

Then we are blamed for confining ourselves to our own national clubs. This is truth and untruth mixed together. As far as England is concerned, the German Socialists have tried their very best to mix up with their English brethren, but have very often been rebuked; whenever they tried to be active, they very often received the reply, "That is foreign," and so of course many of us by and by withdrew and confined ourselves to our own clubs—which, by the way, are very much frequented by English Socialists, and the English Socialistic papers are bought and read by a considerable number of Germans.

The truth is simply this: We Germans are international, but we decline to become English or French, and to obey one-sided orders. Internationalism means respect for each other's liberty and national habits, and not submission of one nation to the other.

But now as to the coming Paris Congress. I shall not say one word pro or con in regard to the animosity between the German Social-Democrats and French Possibilists: I am not at all speaking for a party, I am speaking for myself. When I did not object at the Congress of 1886 against the appointment of the Possibilists to organise the coming Congress, I could not think that they would go so far as to lay down the rules for admission and make a standing order ready, etc.; as far as I know, they were only charged to make preliminary arrangements, and leave the business to be done by the Congress. I am quite sure if the German party had been charged with the same object, they would have confined themselves to procuring a hall, receiving the delegates, etc., and would have left the Congress itself to do the real business. I think we are entitled to have a fair share in all affairs connected with the Congress; and if we shall be fed entirely on English pudding or French cabbage, we decline, for fear of an overloaded stomach; if we are invited to an international dinner, we want at least a dish of our own choice—a dish of Sauerkraut.

Our comrade of *Justice* offers his service to smooth over those differences between the French and Germans, but I think his tone in the whole affair shows that he is very little qualified to do so, because in my opinion all his controversy is nothing else than a good illustration of the proverb—the pot calls the kettle black. We all suffer more or less under a chauvinistic, patriotic education, and the English education is, as far as my knowledge goes, in the first place in this respect, and the result is showing itself in those one-sided remarks in *Justice*.

Concluding, our comrade in *Justice* desires me and others to join him to put a stop to such "petty wire-pulling." I for one shall gladly do so, as soon as I can see that it does not mean, "Put a stop to German wire-pulling and establish English or French." But I must say that in the German demands about the Paris Congress I cannot see any wire-pulling at all.—I am, yours fraternally,

March 16, 1889.

H. RACKOW.

### ANOTHER GREETING.

The following letter from Belgian comrades was received too late to be read at the Commune meeting, or to be inserted in the *Commonweal* of last week:—

Comrades,—In preparing to write you a letter on the subject of the Commune, of March 18th, I see that your commemoration takes place on the 16th of March, i.e., this evening. My letter, therefore, is too late to be read, as it does not leave Belgium before your meeting begins; even a telegram would not arrive in time. Under these circumstances, it only remains for myself and my friends, members of the Socialist Federation of Brussels (Belgium Labour Party) to send you our regrets at our greeting reaching you too late, assuring you that at this very time, while you are celebrating the great proletarian vindication of the 18th of March, we are with you in heart. Others of our Belgian friends will have sent you in time, no doubt, their greetings in the name of all.—Yours heartily,

DR. DE PAEPE.



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## BELGIUM.

In the beginning of the month of May, twenty-seven Belgian Socialists will be tried before the Court of Assize of the province Hainault, at Mons, as "conspirators against the safety of the Belgian State." Our readers will remember that this is the outcome of the last strikes which happened in the mining districts of Charleroi and Mons. The accused are: Alfred Defuisseaux, solicitor; Emile Adant, engineer; Paul Conreur; Leopold Rouhette, painter; Emile Baudoux, miner; Georges Defuisseaux, editor of *La République*; Edouard Laloi; Désiré Marolle, secretary of the co-operative bakery Fraternities; Alexis Ledoux, miner; Alfred Malengret, miner; Hector Conreur, tailor; Louis André, miner; Pierre Mayence, engineer; François Mignon; Joseph Carpent, miner; Fabien Gérard, newsagent; Joseph Rassart, ironworker; Victor Massart, ironworker; Léopold De Borre, agricultural labourer; Henri Hubert, miner; Constant Cochart, miner; Emile Masse, ironworker; François Rothermel, photographer; Emile Auquier, shopkeeper; Jules Urbain, grocer; Nicolas Godard, treasurer of the co-operative society at Frameries; and Charles Moyaux, miner. All the members of the Executive Council of the Republican Socialist Party are included in the prosecution. The Public Prosecutor has already published his indictment against the accused, and we will soon have an opportunity of considering, according to its deserts, that grotesque piece of class justice.

Meanwhile, comrade Ferdinand Pintelon, another of the arrested men during the same last strikes, has been sentenced to one year imprisonment, for "incendiary language."

The quarrymen at strike at Quenast are not likely to resume work before having won their battle. They show an admirable spirit of brotherhood and solidarity, and the Belgian workers generally support their fellow comrades in a most remarkable way. The administrator and owner of the quarries, Urban, having written to the bourgeois papers that his stock was large enough to supply all his wants for another six months, the Executive of the *Parti ouvrier*, to their credit be it said, answered to that piece of impudence by publicly pledging themselves to keep the 2,000 men at strike just as long as it would please Urban. From all parts of the country the workers are helping the quarrymen, by sending money, bread, meat, vegetables, etc., and they will most likely beat the millionaire Urban who wants to subdue them.

## HOLLAND.

On the 16th inst. our comrade Fortuyn, one of the most energetic Socialist propagandists of Holland, stood before the Amsterdam Nupkinses, accused with "inflammatory speech." In December 1888, at a public meeting at Drachten, Fortuyn had told his audience "that it was high time for the workers to resist the existing laws and by some means or other to get rid of them." This was the only sentence in the whole speech objected to by the Public Prosecutor, and for that sentence he asked not less than *eight months'* imprisonment! Comrade Fortuyn at any rate thought the opportunity good to make a Socialist speech in court, and he delivered a splendid discourse, disclosing to the astonished judges the whole revolutionary programme of the working classes. Judgment was deferred.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Last week our Vienna colleague *Gleichheit* (Equality) and our Brünn colleague *Volksfreund* (People's Friend) were again confiscated by the police authorities. Scarcely a fortnight passes away without the suppression of one or more of the Socialist organs in the feudal land of the Hapsburg reactionaries.

At Prague, comrade Joseph Ulrich and Franz Michalek have been sentenced for high treason to six and three years imprisonment with hard labour. Their "crime" merely consisted in the distribution of two Anarchist papers, entitled *Pomsta* and *Revoluce*. Besides, comrades Joseph Gabriel and Johann Bartosch, for not having denounced the action of their two friends, have been sentenced each to *fifteen months'* imprisonment with hard labour!

## SWITZERLAND.

Last Friday, Socialists of all nationalities were assembled at the cemetery of Geneva, in order to assist in the inauguration of the monument erected to the memory of Johann Philip Becker, the veteran revolutionist who, for half a century, struggled in the ranks of the workers for the cause of justice and freedom. The German Deputy, William Liebknecht, made a very impressive speech, retracing Becker's career; Favon, Deputy to the National Swiss Council, following him, urging upon those assembled the necessity of union for international success of the workers' claims; then Hérédier, in the name of the Central Revolutionary Committee of Lyons, paid a tribute of homage to the soldier of the revolutionary cause, and citizen Schrac spoke for the Swiss Socialists. The citizens Viveg, Engell, and Delafontaine replied in the name of Becker's family.

## NORWAY.

Socialism is making good progress in that little land, in spite of the persecutions that our comrades there have to suffer. Their Socialist organs are steadily increasing; a few weeks ago, a new paper defending Anarchist ideas was started at Trondjem. It is entitled *Nye Tid* (New Time).

## POLAND.

The Polish emigration at Paris has started a new monthly review under the title of *Pobudka* (Daybreak Reveille). Comrade L. Mengès acts as manager of the magazine, and its offices are established at the Librairie Kéva, 7, rue Berthelot. The Polish Socialists have never been able to fully grasp the international character of the social revolution: hence they call themselves Polish Nationalists-Socialists, and they believe in what is called the principle of nationalities. They declare the social question to be inseparable from that of the independence of Poland as a nation, and act and write accordingly. Every man and every nation having an indisputable right to exist and to fully develop their natural forces, their aim is to realise that principle in Poland; therefore they first struggle for the political independence of their country from alien yoke, and only afterwards they want to upset the actual economical and social state of things, based on wage-system and private ownership, which course seems to us inconsistent, since political freedom would not alter one jot the economical condition under which the Polish people are now compelled to live their miserable lives, exactly as the national independence of Switzerland and its larger so-called political liberties do not in the very least affect the material welfare of its inhabitants.

V. D.

## ITALY.

The Roman riots of the 8th of February have served the government as a pretext for a ferocious prosecution of all the known Socialists of Italy. In Rome itself, according to *L'Emancipazione*, within ten days after the riots, more than a thousand arrests have been made. About seven hundred of the victims, being provincials, have been brought to their native places, whilst the remaining three hundred have been committed for trial under the double charge of conspiracy against the State, and the organisation of armed bands for the purpose of plunder and destruction. It will be difficult, even to the vile instruments of a corrupt Government, to sustain these charges. At any rate, we have to expect a monster process equal only to the infamous prosecutions of former times in the Papal and the Bourbonic States, or the provinces under Austrian rule.

At Milano, the authorities—acting on the sound principle that prevention is better than cure—made wholesale arrests to prevent a repetition of the Roman riots. From Torino, Genova, Spezia, and other places, nightly domiciliary visits and arrests of many well-known popular leaders are reported. Despite all this, the hunger demonstrations and small riots of the unemployed form an unbroken chain through the whole kingdom. A marked feature in the movement is the agricultural element. The misery among the peasant folk in Sicilia, Romagna, Le Puglie, Mantova, Como, and other provinces, is heartrending, and not conceivable for an English workman. In Como, the agricultural workers (wage-slaves like others in the whole of Italy) threaten a general strike. The authorities have sent soldiery from Milano for the protection of the masters.

Amongst the numerous sentences lately passed against Socialists, there is an infamous piece of class justice which merits record. On March 28th, 1888, a bomb was thrown at the door of the Livorno Cathedral without doing bodily harm to anybody. An Anarchist of that town, Fortunato Gerbi, was suspected and taken into custody. After a prolonged judicial enquiry, during which he was kept in jail, he was brought before a Florence jury who found him guilty. He was sentenced to penal servitude for 11 years, though his guilt was by no means established. He ought to have been tried at Livorno, but so weak was the evidence against him that the public prosecutor did not venture to bring him before a jury of Livorno men, who are well known for their progressive ideas and honesty of judgment. It is rumoured that the authorities, encouraged by their success, will bring four other Livorno Anarchists before the same reactionary tribunal in order to secure a conviction. The Italian government may take a leaf out of Mr. Balfour's book, and get their Anarchists put before the tribunal of Removables specially appointed for the purpose of dispensing class justice.

H. SCH.

## SPAIN.

MADRID.—On Sunday the 17th, the representatives in this city of the Labour Party joined forces with the "Socialist Group of Madrid," and held a very successful meeting in the Felipe theatre. There was some good speaking, which was listened to closely and with applause by the audience, and numerous letters and telegrams of greeting and sympathy were read. Meetings were held also by the Socialists of Malaga, Valencia, Bilbao, and Tarragona, etc.

M. M.

## SOCIALISM IN NORFOLK.

We arrived in the quaint old city of Norwich after a sharp ride of three hours from the great Inferno—London. A large number of comrades of the branch received us at the station, and hand-shaking and hearty greetings followed. On reaching the Gordon Hall, a further muster of comrades were there to receive us, whose eagerness to make us comfortable proved them to have fully imbibed that spirit of brotherhood, so necessary to make good Socialists. After some talk, the comrades rendered some revolutionary songs, and thus we passed a very pleasant evening.

Next morning (Sunday) we went to Yarmouth, comrades Reynolds and Ruffield meeting us at the station, who are certainly to be commended for their earnestness for the Cause. On arriving at Priory Plain, a large audience quickly collected, whose earnest interest in the doctrines we preach was obviously apparent. It was evident, too, that our position has been greatly strengthened by the fight for free speech which took place there last year. We are sure to have a very strong branch here soon, and no doubt when the great struggle between the rich idlers and the poor workers takes place, Yarmouth will be among the first to proclaim the Commune.

Large and enthusiastic meetings were held in Norwich on our return there. The good seed sown in Norwich during the past few years is still bearing fruit, despite the great loss sustained by the return of comrade Mowbray to London. The gap caused thereby, however, is being ably and effectively filled by the energetic members of the branch.

H. DAVIS AND MRS. SCHACK.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, April 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1889:—Clerkenwell and Mitcham, to end of February. Leicester, North London, and East London, to end of March.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Committee meets on Tuesday, April 2nd, for the discussion of important business. Branches are asked to assist the Propaganda Committee in circulating Samuel's leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working-men," by purchasing 500 or a 1,000 copies, as expenses are very heavy. The price per 1,000 will be announced. Orders to be sent to the Secretary of Propaganda Committee, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Jean Armand Byl, 6d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; J. Presburg, 1s.; Blundell, 1s.; R. Turner, 2s.; J. Turner, 1s.; Kitz, 1s.; Kinfel, 1s.; Seglie, 1s.; R. W., 1s.; Nicoll, 1s.; S. Presburg, 1s.; Tilley, 1s.; and Rose, 6d. North London Branch, 2s.; Norwich Branch (Mar. 13th), 3s. 0d. and 2s. 2d.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—In the absence of the lecturer at Percy Hall, Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, last Sunday evening, G. Cores opened a discussion on "Communist Anarchism and the use of Physical Force." A good debate followed, in which Doughty, Humphreys, Parker, and others took part; Mrs. Lahr was in the chair. We are now boycotted by the proprietor of this hall, who fears the respectables who rent the place from time to time, will not continue their patronage if Socialists are tolerated there. Comrades are asked to turn up on Sunday afternoon in order to hear latest arrangements.—W. B. P.

**BROAD STREET.**—A procession marched from Hyde Park here last Sunday evening; Mrs. Lahr and Parker were the speakers. Good meeting.—W. B. P.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, March 24, Mowbray in chair, D. Nicoll lectured on "The English Revolutionary Movement, 1815-17, Spa-field Riots and Derbyshire Insurrection." This lecture was given in place of comrade Sparling's (as advertised) "Luxury now, Necessity then," it being announced with regret that he was confined to his bed on account of illness. Comrade Sparling has promised to lecture at a later period, which will be duly announced. The hall was well filled with very attentive audience. Good meeting on the Green by Mowbray and Brookes.—S. P.

**EAST LONDON.**—A good opening meeting was held at Gibraltar Walk on Sunday morning, which promises to be a most excellent station; Charles and Cores addressed the audience here. In Victoria Park in the afternoon, Davis, Cores, Charles, and Hicks, spoke to a long and successful meeting. Mr. Hoffman, a courteous opponent, took exception to the Anarchistic tendency of the speeches, but was well replied to by Charles and Davis. Next Sunday at 4 p.m., the points raised will be further discussed by comrade Charles and Mr. Hoffman.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting held last Sunday, 11 a.m., at Latimer Road, and we had a large and appreciative audience; speakers were Dean, Crouch, Lyne, sen., and Maughan, assisted by choir; and by the efforts of our comrade Lynes, we sold all our *Commonweal*. We held a good meeting at Weltje Road at 7 p.m.; speakers were Dean, Tarleton, Lyne, sen., and Maughan; choir sang "The Proletariat." Fair sale of *Commonweal*. The comrades in this district (Latimer Road), intend to extend their efforts shortly in the neighbourhood of North Kensington.—G. M.

**HYDE PARK.**—As we are getting crowded into a corner of the park away from the Marble Arch, under the pretext of protecting some new grass sown where we have spoken for 4 years, we made a start on our old ground. Parker opened, and was immediately requested to go to the other side of the park, and after a conference with the two police-inspectors we agreed to use the space pointed out to us, and if we found it unsuitable to take further steps to contest the point; in the meantime we would interview the Office of Works. A good crowd followed us to the spot indicated. Parker opened, and was followed by Mrs. Lahr, Mainwaring, Groser, and Cantwell. *Commonweal* sold out and 1s. 10d. collected. Pamphlets also sold well.—T. C.

**NORTH LONDON.**—At Regent's Park, owing to speaker not appearing till a quarter to one, a rather short meeting was held. 30 *Commonweal* sold and some pamphlets; 1s. 10d. collected.

**ABERDEEN.**—Large and attentive meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, addressed by Aiken and Leatham. Quite a flood of questioning at the close, the meeting being prolonged for three hours. At indoor meeting on 25th, comrade Bateman's rousing pamphlet, "Socialism and Soldiering," read and discussed.

**EDINBURGH.**—Through inadvertence, report of Commune celebration here not sent last week. We had enthusiastic meeting. Two French comrades who fought for the Commune in '71 were present. Usual revolutionary toasts drank, and songs sung. Lebeau sang "La Carmagnole," and Melliet, Davidson, Donaldson, Gilray, and Glasse spoke.

**GLASGOW.**—Kropotkin's meeting on Sunday was a great success. The hall was crowded, 1,500 being present, although admission was by payment at door. Cunningham Graham, M.P., rode thirty miles in the rain from Gartmore to take the chair, and was in capital form—his speech from the chair full of characteristic spirit and epigram. Kropotkin, whose subject was "Problems of our Century: What has been done to solve them, and what remains to do," spoke with remarkable fluency and force. He gave a comprehensive survey of the economic and social changes of the century, and pointed out the manifold evidences of the inevitable approach of a Socialist régime. At the conclusion he answered several questions, his replies being received with great applause. A resolution in favour of Socialism was moved by Downie, seconded by Leo Melliet in an admirable speech, and carried with only few dissentients. Shaw Maxwell then delivered a spirited speech, and Pollock and Glasier also spoke. Several new members joined, and over eight quires of *Commonweal* and nearly six quires of *Freedom* were sold. The meeting was well reported in the local press—an unusual act of grace.

**NORWICH.**—On Monday the 19th inst., we concluded the celebration of the Commune by holding a social meeting in the Gordon Hall; a very enjoyable evening was spent; the chair was taken by comrade Morley; comrade Davis opened with an address, followed by Mrs. Schack, upon "How women can help the Socialist movement." Mrs. Schack made a special appeal to the females present. This was followed by revolutionary songs and recitations, given by members, comrade Davis, and Mrs. Schack—the latter recited in the German language. The Celebration was brought to a close at a very late hour by singing the "Marseillaise," and concluded with three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution.

—On Sunday last, in the morning, a large number of old *Commonweal* were distributed in the surrounding villages. In the afternoon, the usual open-air meeting was held in the Market Place, addressed by comrades Darley and Poynts; our audience was somewhat detracted from the speakers, through one or two individuals raising a discussion on the outskirts of the meeting. In the evening, Poynts lectured in the Gordon Hall to a fair audience—subject, "Slavery"; chair taken by comrade Emery. Several questions asked, and discussion followed; comrades Emery, Adams, and W. Moore took part. Fair sale of *Weal*.

**YARMOUTH.**—A very good meeting held on Priory Plain Sunday afternoon. Ruffold opened the meeting with a few well-chosen remarks, after which Reynolds gave a lengthy address, dealing more especially with the drink question, and religion. The audience very attentive. Sold 16 *Commonweal*, and collected 2s. 7d. Several members joined during past week.—C. R.

**IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.**—Good debate held here last Sunday night on the "Local Government Bill," in which comrades Thomas and Creed took part, besides several others. Comrade Thomas showed the fallacy of representation, and maintained that we ought to do things for ourselves instead of trusting it to others. Creed opens the debate next Sunday on "Organised Labour," comrade Thomas in chair.—M. CREED.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Percy Hall, Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday March 31, at 8.30., Frank Kitz, "The Freiheit Prosecution by the English Government."

**East London.**—Next meeting of members on Sunday March 31st, at 8 p.m., at 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road. Important business. Members attend.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 31st, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "Work and its Reward." Thursday April 4, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 5th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda. Sunday April 7, at 8 p.m., J. Hunter Watts.

**Hoxton.**—Comrades desiring to help in the propaganda of the Socialist League in this locality are requested to send their names and addresses to H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 4½ Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall; at 8 p.m., a lecture by comrade Adams—subject, "True History of the Commune." Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class—subject, "Co-operative Commonwealth." Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Sunday April 7, W. Moore, "Socialism: some of its objections."

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday, comrades Morley and Houghton, of Norwich, will come over and help us; therefore two meetings will be held—in the morning at 11 a.m.; afternoon at 3 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

### SATURDAY 30.

8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... S. Presburg, Cores, and McCormick.

### SUNDAY 31.

11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Davis, Hicks, and Mrs. Schack.  
11.30..... Latimer Road Station ..... The Branch.  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... C. W. Mowbray.  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Parker and Mainwaring.  
11.30..... Walham Green, opposite Station ..... The Branch.  
11.45..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Turner and Mowbray.  
3.30..... Hyde Park ..... Parker, Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr.  
3.30..... Victoria Park ..... McCormick, Hoffman, and Charles.  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch.  
7.30..... Broad Street, Soho ..... Mrs. Lahr and Parker.  
7.30..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Mowbray and Kitz.

### TUESDAY 2.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

### THURSDAY 4.

8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Mrs. Lahr and Charles.  
8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Mrs. Lahr and Cantwell.

### FRIDAY 5.

8 ..... Philpot Street, Commercial Road ..... Charles and McCormick.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F.**, New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.—Sunday March 31, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Equality."

**LIMEHOUSE BRANCH S.D.F.**, 339 Burdett Road, E.—F. Charles lectures at 8 o'clock on Sunday evening, April 7th—subject, "What's to be done during a Revolutionary Period."

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.  
**True and False Society.** By Wm. Morris. . 1d.  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

A SUNDAY CLOSING BILL (second reading) has been passed by a House of Commons which is very susceptible to the voting power of any solid body of the public. M.P.'s know not only that the teetotallers are a large and well-organised set of people, but also that they will go to the poll at election time. Meantime, the said members do not trouble themselves in the least about the real wants and hopes of the mass of the people, and so between carelessness as to the *lives* of the people and anxiety about their *votes*, if these can only be gathered together in formidable proportions, they pass measures like this bill of Mr. Stevenson's, a gross and abominable piece of oppression, a measure fit only for a set of helots, while they allow the public to be poisoned by any and every commercial rascal who finds that in the competitive race for position, water and chemicals are more for his purpose (selling for profit) than the result of properly fermented malt and hops.

John Bright is dead, and the newspapers have been busy heaping up a dung-heap of rotten nonsense over his dead body. The first thing that must strike any thoughtful and dispassionate observer, is that for any public purpose "the Great Tribune" has been dead several years. For the rest, it is fair to say that the man was personally honest always; but so essentially blood bone and soul a middle-class person, that he could not escape from the conventionalities of that class, *i.e.*, from its innate hypocrisy. He was utterly incapable of imagining himself in the position of any one outside the great commercial middle-class; to him that class included all the human reality of society. The upper class was a mere perverse obstruction to the progress of Podsnap; the lower, mere machinery to enable Podsnap to carry on his business. Business and the kind of family affection, and the kind of religion suitable to it, were the whole duty of man, and anything which came in its way was to be sternly swept aside.

In this view of life John Bright was singularly consistent. Some Home Rule Radicals wondered that he should turn anti-Gladstonian in his last days; it would have been wonderful if he had not. For in these later days the Irish Question has begun to look towards revolution, and against that Bright always set his face most determinedly.

It would have argued genius and quickness of wit in Bright, neither of which qualities he ever had, if he could at any time of his life have perceived that he himself was engaged in a war continuous and implacable, the war of commerce. But what he *could* see as war he did genuinely hate; nor did he favour a war, as more dishonest persons of his way of thinking have done, because it was a war of the market, a crime necessary to commerce.

No one who was not in this respect a man of principle, could have assumed the attitude which he did at the time of the Crimean War. Though he was hated bitterly at that time by the Whigs and Tories, he was very popular with the advanced Liberals, and, to do Bright justice, he was no man to seek for popularity from his enemies. Well, this popularity he threw away at the bidding of principle, as he saw it, coolly and deliberately, and became the very outcast of politics. I remember well the fury of hatred against him, which could not have been surpassed if he had proposed to meddle with the property of the rich. The sacramental phrase was, "I should like to hang John Bright."

A middle-class, repentant of having so mauled their true and steady champion, is now heaping fulsome flattery on his unconscious head; and one enthusiast was especially anxious that he should be buried with all the honours in Westminster Abbey. Truly a solace for the dead worth having! To form one of the gang of fools, rogues, and ruffians, whose capacity for pushing themselves into notoriety is expressed in a series of undertaker's lies, whose outward hideousness pollutes the most beautiful building ever raised in England by the hands and hearts of the people. Whatever wrongs we may have against John Bright, we would not revenge ourselves by thus ticketing him fool and dunce.

W. M.

A man has been murdered by London policemen for being "violent." He resisted arrest, and they gave him the "frog's march," under which treatment he died. Of course all respectable people sympathise with the policemen under whose hands it happened, and say, "How sad for them!" Recognising that respectable society is only upheld by the police, they feel, though few of them dare say it frankly, that whoever resists their lawful authority merits any fate, however horrible it be, that his contumacy may bring upon him. Still it cannot be difficult for any ordinarily humane person to see that the "frog's march" is one of those brutalities which only degraded and cowardly ruffians are capable of inflicting on their fellow-men, but which, in proportion to their degradation and cowardice, they delight in inflicting.

As it is the inevitable outcome of their occupation that policemen should be degraded and demoralised, those who employ them, if they make pretence to humanity, should see that there are some limits laid down, within which the lambs of law-'n'-order might be told to restrain their ferocity. The coroner at the inquest on the victim of the "frog's march" said that his treatment was illegal, and seemed under the impression that so much restraint at least on the freedom of action of the police would be salutary. But the Chief of Police, Mr. Matthews, would not have his men hampered "in the exercise of their duty," and "was not prepared to prohibit the 'frog's march.'"

Could not some one suggest to the House of Commons that it do resolve itself into a Committee of Investigation and adjourn to the terrace, there to see Mr. Matthews frog's-marched by four stalwart constables of the A Division, specially selected for tenderness? If Mr. Matthews' nose were skinned by contact with the gravel, and the breath knocked out of him by one or two bumps of his stomach against the ground, it would add an interesting and instructive touch of realism to the scene, and give honourable legislators an idea of how the laws they make are administered.

Henry Broadhurst, Esq., M.P., is to have a banquet of honour at the National Liberal Club. This is, of course, by way of counter-manifesto to the charges made and proved against him; of endorsing his denial of responsibility to the men he used to be supposed to represent; and of adopting him definitely into the Great Liberal Party. That is all right now, so far as it goes, but there may come a time when those who now crowd to get tickets will be even more anxious to explain away their presence on such an occasion. Stranger things have happened.

S.

### JOHN BRIGHT.

"Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? . . . He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour; . . . he that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved."

"He hath said in his heart, I shall not be moved: for I shall never be in adversity. His mouth is full of cursing and deceit and fraud: under his tongue is mischief and vanity. He sitteth in the lurking places of the villages: in the secret places doth he murder the innocent: his eyes are privily set against the poor. He lieth in wait secretly as a lion in his den: he lieth in wait to catch the poor: he doth catch the poor, when he draweth him into his net. He croucheth and humbleth himself, that the poor may fall by his strong ones."

As an infant at my mother's knee I was almost taught to consider but two men dwelling within the four seas of Britain as worthy of love and respect, Richard Cobden and John Bright. We are all doomed to pass our lives picking our path through the painful fragments of shattered idols scattered along our way, and generally come to the conclusion that it is folly to lift any miserable human personality to the position of a pattern, much less to that of a god. We learn by cruel experience to reserve our respect for ideas, and our aid for truth from whatever initiative, being of necessity always on the alert for betrayal in the most trusted quarters. The dangers of hero-worship are strikingly illustrated in the careers of Bright and Cobden. These two have been the stock subjects of adulation during our era for the "women and fools," but when the stern and sober warriors of the

social war are arming for the death-grapple they are in no humour for such chatter as the death of the last of the "free trade twins," has deluged us all with during the past week. This adulation needs a sharp rebuke. "There's mischief in 't," as the playor says.

Bright and Cobden deserve no love, no praise, no imitation. We can allow for their shortcomings, their ignorance, their bigotry, their mistaken ideals. We have no call to join in a hurrah to their honour. They were the avowed champions of the "commercial classes," the people who would wish to turn England into one vast combination of pawn-shop and sweater's den, living on buying and selling, faking up deceitful wares for alluring the eye of the ignorant foreigner, inducing him to purchase what he did not need or ought to have made for himself, while he was cajoled into feeding and clothing the denizens of England as a sort of humble tribute for their condescension in patronising him. In one of the brutal blurring moods of Cobden, he gloated with a sort of fiendish satisfaction upon the pall of death which his cunning schemes had brought upon the handicrafts of many lands, and warned in thunder tones the only too greedy English ears that any thwarting of Cobdenite doctrines would re-awaken the independence of the foreigner. With sickening obstinacy, Bright never tired of proclaiming the British shopocracy as the possessors of all the virtues, supporters of all the rest of Society, and inventors of all human blessings.

At this day there are thousands of homes of the toilers and poverty-ridden victims of commercialism decorated with a portrait of John Bright, looked up to as a sort of shrine or holy grail. Poor fools! There is little salvation in that smug and selfish countenance! The poor and outcast were to John Bright objects of simple toleration and contemptuous pity. He never had a glimmering of the sense of manhood and its paramount rights above the possession of that which moth and rust can corrupt and thieves break through and steal! Yet he was a nominal follower of George Fox, bred of an ancestry which had fought for human freedom and human equality; fought, not by the miserable use of indiscriminate violence, but by patient suffering and persistent refusal to bow down to the dictates of oppression. The fatal malady which corrupted the moral nature of John Bright is the same which has been fatal to his sect, to Jews, to every body of erst time champions for freedom who become themselves enslavers of their fellow-beings. It is more fatal to wrong than to be wronged, to oppress than to be oppressed. The Quakers and Jews who become exploiters of labour, instead of rebukers of authority, necessarily become dabblers in all the sins their ancestors have denounced and tried to eradicate.

John Bright was born in an age when he and his people, instead of living by the sweat of their face, lived by the sweat of the face of others, "putting out money to usury," "taking reward against the innocent"; and the "backbiting" and "doing evil to one's neighbour" follow as the night the day. It is a very pretty phrase, "free trade," having an attractive ring to the uninitiated, especially the word "free," as if it were allied to any real freedom. Ask nine out of ten men what were the earliest energies of John Bright as a legislator directed to in the main, and he will answer, "Why, to free trade, of course." Nothing can be more mistaken. Instead of using his first year in Parliament as an advocate of any species of freedom, John Bright spent that golden age of youthful strength in battling with angry vehemence for bare-faced slavery, just as his co-conspirator Gladstone made his maiden speech as a special pleader for filthy lucre for the sale of his father's slaves (after the fashion of Westminster, taking it as a first duty to look after his own pockets before the slower business of humbugging the yokels begins). Not that Gladstone and Bright had much in common, or were ever in full fellowship. It is interesting to note that Bright's first words in the House of Commons were a rebuke to the "flimsy excuses" of Gladstone, which the latter was assured would not serve him "before the bar of public opinion."

In the twin capitals of modern commercialism, London and New York, it has been a remarkable coincidence that two men of the same name (in fact, really not very distant cousins, had they been of Scotch blood) stood out as champions of labour against the unlimited greed of the plutocrats. In London, Anthony Cooper; in New York, Peter Cooper. It was against the tireless efforts of Anthony Cooper, then known as Lord Ashley, that John Bright first raised his envenomed speech, battling for three years against Lord Ashley's attempts to protect the factory slaves in some small measure. With great complaisance Bright paraded the fact that, at his own factory, the children could earn over a penny an hour and the full-grown men threepence, but as to limiting their toil to eleven hours a-day, why the British Empire would be in danger. At length, in 1846, after Lord Ashley had been partially successful in regard to other legislation, the tribune of the people (and of the factory sweating-masters) was rewarded by defeating the general eleven-hour bill on a close division—only ten majority in a house of four hundred. The division-list tells its own story. Names which have a sinister sound to the ears of English workmen crop up in the majority. A Baring was one of the tellers. Two other Barings are on the roll. Following on after Bright, among others, come Bouverie, Carnegie, Cobden, Drummond, Hope, Hume, Labouchere, Peel, Ricardo, etc., etc., the political economy gradgrinds, and henchmen of the swarms of Scotch, Dutch, and Jewish stockbrokers who have swooped down upon England since the seventeenth century. The broken and degraded remnants of the old English aristocracy, just beginning to recognise that they had sold their noble birthright to Shylock for a very small mess of the pottage of temporary debauchery, now trooped in blind rage into the other lobby; not out of much love for the toiler, but out of hatred for the common despoiler, the money-

grubber. Among the number were also some names dear to English literature—Sheridan, Macaulay, Disraeli, etc. There is food for study in that famous division-list. It is much more significant than the Book of Kings. It should teach the workers that no man can serve both them and Mammon.

John Bright was ever foremost in denouncing distant inequities; always reforming some one's else house. He had a horror of the slavery of other lands; he advocated turning England into one vast slave-shop of the cruellest kind. It was all moral to him as long as every man (who possessed sufficient cunning and hardness of heart) had an equal chance of becoming himself a slave-driver. This was his idea of "freedom of trade." No disturbing fancies ever seemed to float across his vision that there was anything wrong in his being enabled to saunter in ease about Pall Mall upon the cruel confinement and ceaseless industry of factory slaves in Yorkshire or Lancashire. He salved his conscience with the idea that his factory was no worse (perhaps better) than others. Just as his brother factory-lord, Samuel Morley, used to pose as a philanthropist on flinging about bounties which he never earned and about which he never consulted the men who did earn them, so John Bright considered himself a heaven-ordained minister to tell the foolish workmen what to think and what to do.

All the rats of the public press are now beslobbering over John Bright's memory, just as they have denounced him when that was supposed to be their proper cue. What they say of him now is as foolish as what they have said in the past. They regret in one case his falling away from his principles in later years; or exult, on the other hand, that he saw the error of his early ways. As a fact, John Bright never budged from his beaten track. The cackling Kelts who have been dinning our ears of late years with denunciations of the man, were themselves the silly dupes who used to cheer him to the echo in former years when he was as "falsely true" to his present position as of late. It was their inability to understand his real value. He never advocated the rights of man; he never advocated the enfranchisement of toil; he never favoured anything but the most bitter waging of the social war, reserving all his dislike for mere political blood-spilling (which to his jealous eye was waste of powder for the benefit of the aristocrats he hated).

The corrupting cancer of selfish money-grubbing destroys all true morality. The iniquitous business of stealing the product of your fellow-man has to be upheld by unlimited lying, perhaps uncscious in the case of John Bright, but lying all the same. All his life, like all men who have hardened their heart against the poor, his mouth was "full of cursing and deceit and fraud." When Feargus O'Connor dares to utter these truthful words in the House of Commons—

"If he were asked to place his hand upon the men who lived exclusively upon the sinew, marrow, bones, and blood of women and children, if he could group them all in one lump, he would put his hand upon the master manufacturers. If there were ever a body of tyrants which existed in any country, it was the manufacturers of England,"—

as a challenge to John Bright and his mates, the pious "tribune of the people" has not a word of defence, but "croucheth and humbleth himself," gives a cowardly whine about "coarse vituperation," and meanly taunts poor Feargus with his social failure, as if that had anything to do with the issue! But bare-faced lying was also necessary. Only a few years ago John Bright had the audacity to proclaim that in his past career he "was in favour of legislation restricting the labour and guarding the health of children." Listen to the "tribune of the people" "his eyes privily set against the poor," seeking to "murder the innocent" in the "secret places," "to catch the poor" in "his net":

"Messrs. Kennedy and Company were employing upwards of 130 children under thirteen years of age; yet, in a short time, so annoyed were they by the interference of the inspectors appointed under the Act, that they became disgusted, and dismissed from their employment—many other proprietors doing the same—the entire 130 children. So that the only effect of the protective clauses introduced into the Act was to cause the dismissal of these children. He (Mr. Bright) was satisfied that the tendency of legislation such as they had heard advocated there that night was neither convenient for those engaged in trade nor benevolent to those employed, and that they could not follow worse counsel than that suggested by the noble lord (Lord Ashley) and his friends. Nothing could be more fatal to the trade than the course which it was desired to pursue; and nothing could be more fatal, he would add, to their own legislation; for let them press the matter a little tighter than they had done, and the time was not distant when they would be called upon to retrace the whole of their legislation with regard to this question."

It is almost dangerous to give full vent to one's indignation over this utterance. I'm afraid our impulsive friend Othello would blurt out, "He's like a liar gone to burning hell." But to me the man who uttered these shameful, cunning, selfish phrases was nothing, is nothing. He was what nature made him, narrow, sordid, and cunning, ignorant and insolent. He was honest after his feeble light; villainously dishonest after a nobler standard. My indignation is reserved for a section of the aforesaid cackling Kelts whose venal pens bristle all over the despicable newspaper press of London, who are to-day servilely lauding this piece of broken clay; for the five millions of human atoms, "mostly fools," who swallow this dictum as the unanimous utterance of the town (according to Mr. Gladstone); for the degraded nation and the degraded age which allows such men to be our guiding stars. "These be thy gods, O Israel!"

The only excuse for John Bright is sheer ignorance. He may have supposed himself opposed to slavery when he lived upon the enforced labour of others; he may have supposed himself opposed to brutal warfare when his position depended upon organised and universal murder; he may have supposed himself in favour of free agency among workmen when he upheld laws which keep their face to the

grindstone; he may have thought he had given the poor a benefit by "cheaper bread," when he believed in depriving them of all bread except at the supreme pleasure of himself and his fellow task-masters. All I can say is that his ignorance was ethereal. His contempt for the poor (as also his ceaseless venom against Robert Owen and all social reformers) was simply loathsome in a pretended follower of Jesus of Nazareth. Here is his notorious "residuum" speech:—

"I have always been in favour of household suffrage. I believe that the solid and ancient basis of the suffrage is that all persons who are rated to some tax should be admitted to the franchise. There is a small class which it would be much better for themselves if they were not enfranchised, because they have no independence whatsoever, and it would be much better for the constituency also that they should be excluded, and there is no class so much interested in having that small class excluded as the intelligent and honest working-men. I call this class the residuum, which there is in almost every constituency, of almost hopeless poverty and dependence."

Now this man could have had no idea of human rights as originating in humanity. His division line, of course, must come from so-called "property," even among his "honest and intelligent working-men." Property consists in the right to steal the product of other people. To him "honesty" and "intelligence" implied this faculty. Doubtless he was too ignorant to understand this; it was only an instinct. This instinct dominates his whole class. A few weeks ago one of his near relatives (a woman) let out the secret in Kennington. She said the land agitation has caused "property to depreciate." Quite right, my lady. "Property" is likely to depreciate still further; it is like to disappear altogether. Nature knows no reason why you and yours should live by the labour of others. While you are sufficiently cunning, and the mob able to bear your pilferings in patience, all is well. But the over-burdened mule either succumbs or rebels at last.

George Fox made his own suit of leather, as Carlyle has rendered famous. George Fox required no "compromise with sin" to sustain him in a false position. His nominal followers to-day, foul with the disease of usury, play—

"such fantastic tricks before high heaven,  
As make the angels weep."

John Bright was the mouthpiece of these degraded beings. He was not like Gladstone, a scheming politician, ready to take any side, and plotting for applause and power. John Bright was the type of one of those two thieves (land and money) between which, as Bronte O'Brien was fond of repeating, the cause of the workers is crucified. Because John Bright denounced the land robbers, the workers have been fools enough to trust in his saving arm. As a fact, there was nothing noble in Bright's hatred of the landlords. Bright represented the ancient "British" spirit, the real "residuum" of the queer mixed race of England, the stupid, unenlightened, bigoted, grasping, and servile element, which Romans, Angles, Danes, and Normans have rolled over in vain. There was nothing new or true in Bright's vulgar jibe about Disraeli's blood. The miserable Piers de Gaveston called Aymer de Valence "Joseph the Jew." John Bright knew nothing about the "English blood" of himself or of others. There was nothing about him which is associated with the real glory of the Anglo-Norman race. That race is not a race of cheap goods, of smoke-choked slaves, of the fairest island of earth turned into the blighting waste of steam-driven slave-dens. All this will pass away. A new generation will look back upon it all with horror and contempt, and wonder how a deluded people could ever have been wasted by such a social disease as produces such examples of human distortion as John Bright.

"O England, model to thy inward greatness,  
Like little body with a mighty heart,  
What might'st thou do, that honour would thee do,  
Were all thy children kind and natural!"

L. W.

### DUCKS AND FOOLS.

WHEN I was in Iceland, I was told about the habits of the eider ducks, which breed in great quantities in the little islets scattered about the firths there, and also of their treatment. They, of course, get their own living; they are pretty good to eat, but not very good; so they are not allowed to be shot, because they produce valuable down, which can be got at by the following process: They make their nests on the ground in the above-mentioned islets; the duck half strips her breast of the down to line her nest; this down is at once collared from the nest by those who are privileged to do so according to law. Then the duck pulls off the rest of her down, as she is anxious to sit and hatch; comes the legal owner of the down, and takes that also. Then comes the drake and half strips himself; this also the legal owner takes, grumbling because the drake's down is coarser, and also because his game is over; for now the poor devils of ducks would not hatch their eggs unless the drake were allowed to line the nest with all that remains to him. Therefore this time the down is not taken; the eggs are allowed to be hatched, so that in due time they may fulfil the function of their lives, and produce down for others' use. Moral: Ducks are obliged to stand this from Icelanders; but why Englishmen should stand similar usage from Englishmen is a curious question.

W. M.

EVICCTIONS IN LONDON.—A Parliamentary return has been issued, showing the number of warrants issued by justices under the Act 1 and 2 Vict., c. 74, for the recovery of possession of tenements within the metropolitan police district during the two years ended September 30, 1888. The divisions in which the largest number of warrants were issued are as follows: Whitehall, 378; St. James's, 235; Marylebone, 418; Finsbury, 702; Bethnal Green, 100; Whitechapel, 77; Lambeth, 87; Southwark, 281; Hammer-smith, 231; Wandsworth, 99. The total number of warrants was 2,757, and in 187 cases force was required to give effect to the warrant, these cases including 97 in Marylebone, 21 in Holborn, 22 in Bethnal Green, and 22 in Wandsworth. In three cases only was such force resisted—namely, in Marylebone, Finsbury, and Southwark.

### FROM THE SLUMS.

WHAT care they for the lives we live,  
Styed in a single room?  
What thought, men, do these wealthy give  
To all that is our doom?  
What are the pauper lives to which  
Our wants, our wives, condemn?  
Our children's squalor—to the rich,  
What are these things to them?  
Of their æsthetic art they fuss;  
They'd scorn to waste a thought on us.

Their sickly novel's loves and woes  
May wake their cultured sighs;  
Some spaniel or canary shows  
How much their pets they prize;  
We are but human flesh and blood;  
We want—we starve;—what then?  
We are not of their pack or stud;  
Why should they care for men?  
Of racer—pointer, they may fuss;  
They'd scorn to waste a thought on us.

So be it; but we read at last;  
To question Why we dare  
One life is in an alley past,  
One, in a wealthy square;  
Why they to pampered lives are born,  
We, starved lives to endure;  
And if God made us for their scorn,  
Or wills there shall be poor.  
And at our clubs we dare discuss  
Why they must differ so from us.

Why we are low—why they are high,  
We reason all we can,  
Yet fail to find the reason why  
Man differs so from man.  
We've blundered somehow into this,  
Men's common rights forgot;  
Now seems it that 'twere not amiss  
That all should share one lot,  
Should know one equal comfort thus,  
Nor rich nor poor be known to us.

W. C. BENNETT.

### REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 13, 1889.

7	Sun.	1820. G. Klapka born. 1868. T. D'Arcy Magee shot. 1881. Irish Land Bill introduced.
8	Mon.	1801. Revolt at Warsaw. 1832. Co-operative Congress at Huddersfield. 1840. Bronte O'Brien sentenced for sedition. 1848. Trial of Chartist rioters. 1848. Repeal banquet to O'Connell. 1867. Special Commission for trial of Fenians opens at Manchester. 1871. Monument to Ernest Jones unveiled in Ardwick Cemetery, Manchester. 1884. Serious labour-riot in Kidderminster, caused by importing "rat" weavers during a strike.
9	Tues.	1626. Lord Bacon died. 1797. Trial of John Gale Jones for sedition. 1817. Trial of William Edgar for administering unlawful oaths. 1834. Revolt at Lyons. 1869. Massacres at Seraing.
10	Wed.	1784. Viscount Strangford tried for acting criminally and corruptly as a Lord of Parliament, Ireland. 1820. Sir Charles Wolseley and Rev. Joseph Harrison tried for their "seditious" speeches at the Stockport meeting on the previous 28th of July. 1848. The great Chartist Demonstration on Kennington Common. 1883. Trial of the "Invincibles" began at Dublin.
11	Thur.	1814. Napoleon abdicated. 1839. E. Courmet born. 1887. Anti-Coercion Demonstration in Hyde Park; 150,000 present.
12	Fri.	1793. Phillips imprisoned for selling 'Rights of Man.' 1823. Second public meeting in the Rotunda, Dublin, to hear Robert Owen lecture. 1834. Defeat and massacre of the Lyons Socialists. 1858. Trial of Simon Bernard. 1867. The "Erin's Hope" ("Jacmel") sails from New York. 1871. Pierre Leroux died. 1878. Vera Zassulich acquitted of the killing of General Trepoff. 1879. Nihilist address to the Czar. 1885. Eight-hour labour-day demonstration in Hyde Park, held by the S.D.F.
13	Sat.	1593. Henry IV. of France issues the Edict of Nantes. 1812. Luddite riot at Leeds. 1829. Catholic Emancipation Bill passed. 1861. Taking of Fort Sumter begins American Civil War. 1872. Samuel Bamford died. 1886. J. H. Noyes died.

Vera Zassulich.—The acquittal of Vera Zassulich by a Russian jury made an epoch in the history of the Russian movement. General Trepoff (the Sir Charles Warren of St. Petersburg at that time) caused one of the political prisoners who were kept in the House of Detention to be flogged for not having taken his hat off before the General. Other prisoners confined in the walls of the same prison made a riot in their cells in order to prevent the disgraceful operation being performed, but they were beaten by warders till quite exhausted, and Bogoliuboff (the insulted prisoner) was flogged in spite of all that could be done. Outsiders did nothing. Officials, lawyers, authorities, and public men,—all knew what was going on in the prison, and none moved a finger to check the omnipotent Trepoff. But there appears in his office a humble, decently-dressed young girl, and presents him with a petition, accompanied by a revolver-bullet in the dictator's abdomen. Of course she was arrested, imprisoned, and tried; but the jury hated the General so much that they acquitted Vera Zassulich. The police and gendarmes tried to arrest her immediately after acquittal, but her friends and the enthusiastic crowd prevented it from being done, leaving one killed and several wounded on the spot. Vera has been living ever since in Switzerland.—TCH.

CLUB AUTONOME.—Lecture on "Anarchism," by James Harragan, on Sunday April 7th, at 3.45.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HESITATED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMNED IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.*

*Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. H.—Your postcard came to hand too late for insertion of notice.  
H. S. (Manchester).—Report came too late for insertion last week.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 3.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Knights of Labor	SWITZERLAND
Church Reformer	Vorbote	Arbeiterstimme
Justice	Baecker Zeitung	ITALY
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arnie Teufel	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Rome—L'Emancipazione
London—Freie Presse	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operato
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN
Postal Service Gazette	S.F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	San Francisco—Pacific Union	Barcelona—El Productor
Sozial Demokrat	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	PORTUGAL
INDIA		Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	GERMANY
UNITED STATES	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	AUSTRIA
Freiheit	Le Proletariat	Brunn—Volksfreund
Truthseeker	La Revolte	Wien—Gleichheit
Volkzeitung	HOLLAND	DENMARK
Jewish Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Workmen's Advocate	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
United Irishman	Ghent—Voortuit	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker	
Liberty		

### THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE.

(Continued from p. 99.)

Well, but this demand for the extinction of asceticism bears with it another demand; for the extinction of luxury. Does that seem a paradox to you? It ought not to do so. What brings about luxury but a sickly discontent with the simple joys of the lovely earth? What is it but a warping of the natural beauty of things into a perverse ugliness to satisfy the jaded appetite of a man who is ceasing to be a man—a man who will not work, and cannot rest? Shall I tell you what luxury has done for you in modern Europe? It has covered the merry green fields with the hovels of slaves, and blighted the flowers and trees with poisonous gases, and turned the rivers into sewers; till over many parts of Britain the common people have forgotten what a field or a flower is like, and their idea of beauty is a gas-poisoned gin-palace or a tawdry theatre. And civilisation thinks that is all right, and it doesn't heed it; and the rich man practically thinks, 'Tis all right, the common people are used to it now, and so long as they can fill their bellies with the husks that the swine do eat, it is enough. And all for what? To have fine pictures painted, beautiful buildings built, good poems written? O no. Those are the deeds of the ages before luxury, before civilisation. Luxury rather builds clubs in Pall Mall, and upholsters them as though for delicate invalid ladies for the behoof of big whiskered men, that they may lounge there amidst such preposterous effeminacy that the very plushed-breeched funkies that wait upon the loungers are better men than they are. I needn't go further than that: a grand club is the very representative of luxury.

Well, you see I dwell upon that matter of luxury, which is really the sworn foe of pleasure, because I don't want workmen even temporarily to look upon a swell club as a desirable thing. I know how difficult it is for them to look from out of their poverty and squalor to a life of real and manly pleasure; but I ask them to think that the good life of the future will be as little like the life of the present rich as may be: that life of the rich is only the wrong side of their own misery; and surely since it is the cause of the misery, there can be nothing enviable or desirable in it. When our opponents say, as they sometimes do, "How should we be able to procure the luxuries of life in a Socialist society!" answer boldly, we could not do so, and we don't care, for we don't want them and won't have them: and indeed, I feel sure that we cannot if we are all free men together. Free men, I am sure, must lead simple lives and have simple pleasures: and if we shudder away from that necessity now, it is because we are not free men, and have in consequence wrapped up our lives in such a complexity of dependence that we have grown feeble and helpless. But again, what is simplicity? Do you think by chance that I mean a row of yellow-brick, blue-slatted houses, or a phalangstere like an improved Peabody lodging-house; and the dinner-bell ringing one into a row of white basins of broth with a piece of bread cut nice and square by each, with boiler-made tea and ill boiled rice pudding to follow? No; that's the philanthropist's ideal, not mine; and here I only note it to repudiate it, and to say, Vicarious life once more, and therefore no pleasure. No, I say; find out what you yourselves find pleasant, and do it. You won't be alone in your desires; you will get plenty to help you in carrying them out, and you will develop social life in developing your own special tendencies.

So, then, my ideal is first unconstrained life, and next simple and natural life. First you must be free; and next you must learn to take pleasure in all the details of life;—which, indeed, will be necessary for you, because, since others will be free, you will have to do your own work. That is in direct opposition to civilisation, which says, Avoid trouble (which you can only do by making other people live your life for you). I say, Socialists ought to say, Take trouble, and turn your trouble into pleasure: that I shall always hold is the key to a happy life.

Now let us try to use that key to unlock a few of the closed doors of the future: and you must remember, of course, in speaking of the Society of the future, I am taking the indulgence of passing over the transitional period—whatever that may be—that will divide the present from the ideal; which, after all, we must all of us more or less form in our minds when we have once fixed our belief in the regeneration of the world. And first as to the form of the position of people in the new Society—their political position, so to say. Political society as we know it will have come to an end: the relations between man and man will no longer be that of status, or of property. It will no longer be the hierarchical position, the office of the man, that will be considered, as in the Middle Ages, nor his property as now, but his person. Contract enforced by the State will have vanished into the same limbo as the holiness of the nobility of blood. So we shall at one stroke get rid of all that side of artificiality which bids us sacrifice each our own life to the supposed necessity of an institution which is to take care of the troubles of people which may never happen: every case of clashing rights and desires will be dealt with on its own merits—that is, really, and not legally. Private property of course will not exist as a right: there will be such an abundance of all ordinary necessities that between private persons there will be no obvious and immediate exchange necessary; though no one will want to meddle with matters that have as it were grown to such and such an individual—which have become part of his habits, so to say.

Now, as to occupations, we shall clearly not be able to have the same division of labour in them as now: vicarious servant, sewer-emptying, butchering, letter-carrying, boot-black, hair-dressing, and the rest of it, will have come to an end: we shall either make all these occupations agreeable to ourselves in some mood or to some minds, who will take to them voluntarily, or we shall have to let them lapse altogether. A great many fidgetty occupations will come to an end: we shan't put a pattern on a cloth or a twiddle on a jug-handle to sell it, but to make it prettier and to amuse ourselves and others. Whatever rough or inferior wares we make, will be made rough and inferior to perform certain functions of use, and not to sell: as there will be no slaves, there will be no use for wares which none but slaves would need. Machinery will probably to a great extent have served its purpose in allowing the workers to shake off privilege, and will I believe be much curtailed. Possibly the few more important machines will be very much improved, and the host of unimportant ones fall into disuse; and as to many or most of them, people will be able to use them or not as they feel inclined—as, e.g., if we want to go a journey we shall not be compelled to go by railway as we are now, in the interests of property, but may indulge our personal inclinations and travel in a tilted waggon or on the hind-quarters of a donkey.

Again, the aggregation of the population having served its purpose of giving people opportunities of inter-communication and of making the workers feel their solidarity, will also come to an end; and the huge manufacturing districts will be broken up, and nature heal the horrible scars that man's heedless greed and stupid terror have made: for it will no longer be a matter of dire necessity that cotton cloth should be made a fraction of a farthing cheaper this year than last. It will be in our own choice whether we will work an extra half-hour a day more to obtain a clean home and green fields; nor will the starvation or misery of thousands follow some slight caprice in the market for wares not worth making at all. Of course (as I ought to

have said before) there are many ornamental matters which will be made privately in people's leisure hours, as they could easily be: since it is not the making of a real work of art that takes so much ingenuity as the making of a machine for the making of a makeshift. And of course mere cheating and flunky centres like the horrible muck-heap in which we dwell (London, to wit) could be got rid of easier still; and a few pleasant villages on the side of the Thames might mark the place of that preposterous piece of folly once called London.

Now let us use the key to unlock the door of the education of the future. Our present education is purely commercial and political: we are none of us educated to be men, but some to be property-owners, and others to be property-servers. Again I demand the due results of revolution on the basis of non-ascetic simplicity of life. I think here also we must get rid of the fatal division-of-labour system. All people should learn how to swim, and to ride, and to sail a boat on sea or river; such things are not arts, they are merely natural bodily exercises, and should become habitual in the race; and also one or two elementary arts of life, as carpentry or smithying; and most should know how to shoe a horse and shear a sheep and reap a field, and plough it (we should soon drop machinery in agriculture I believe when we were free). Then again there are things like cooking and baking, sewing, and the like, which can be taught to every sensible person in a few hours, and which everybody ought to have at his fingers' ends. All these elementary arts would be once again habitual, as also I suppose would be the arts of reading and writing: as also I suspect would the art of thinking, at present not taught in any school or university that I know of.

Well, armed with these habits and arts, life would lie before the citizen for him to enjoy; for whatever line he might like to take up for the exercise of his energies, he would find the community ready to help him with teaching, opportunities, and material. Nor for my part would I prescribe for him what he should do, being persuaded that the habits which would have given him the capacities of a man would stimulate him to use them; and that the process of the enjoyment of his life would be carried out, not at the expense of his fellow-citizens, but for their benefit. At present, you know, the gains held out as a stimulus to exertion, to all those who are not stimulated by the whip of the threat of death by starvation, are narrow, and are mainly the hope that the successfully energetic man shall be placed in a position where he shall not have to exercise his energies: the boredom of satiety, in short, is the crown of valiant exertion in civilisation. But in a social condition of things, the gains that would lie before the exercise of one's energies would be various and wide indeed; nor do I in the least in the world believe that the possibility of mere personal use would, or indeed could, limit people's endeavour after them; since men would at last have recognised that it was their business to live, and would at once come to the conclusion that life without endeavour is *dull*. Now what direction that endeavour would take, of course I cannot tell you; I can only say that it would be set free from the sordid necessity to work at what doesn't please us, which is the besetting curse of civilisation. The suggestion of a hope I may, however, make, which is of course personal—which is that perhaps mankind will regain their eyesight, which they have at present lost to a great extent. I am not here alluding to what I believe is also a fact, that the number of people of imperfect mechanical sight is increasing, but to what I suppose is connected with that fact—namely, that people have largely ceased to take in mental impressions through the eyes; whereas in times past the eyes were the great feeders of the fancy and imagination. Of course people use their eyes to prevent them from tumbling down stairs or from putting their forks to their noses instead of to their mouths, but there as a rule is an end of the use they are to people. I am in the habit when I go to an exhibition or a picture-gallery of noticing their behaviour there; and as a rule I note that they seem very much bored, and their eyes wander vacantly over the various objects exhibited to them, and odd to say, a strange or unusual thing never attracts them, no doubt because it appeals to their minds chiefly through their eyes; whereas if they came across something which a printed label informs them is something familiar, they become interested and nudge each other. If, *e.g.*, ordinary people go to our National Gallery, the thing which they want to see is the Blenheim Raphael, which, though well done, is a very dull picture, at least to anyone not an artist; and they do this because they have been told that the—h'm! the—the—well, the thief that owned it managed to squeeze an exorbitant sum of money out of the nation for it. While, when Holbein shows them the Danish princess of the sixteenth century yet living on the canvas, the demure half-smile not yet faded from her eyes; when Van Eyck opens a window for them into Bruges of the fourteenth century; when Botticelli shows them Heaven as it lived in the hearts of men before theology was dead, these things produce no impression on them, not so much even as to stimulate their curiosity and make them ask 'what 'tis all about; because these things were done to be looked at, and to make the eyes tell the mind tales of the past, the present, and the future.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

All friends willing to assist in the formation of Branch of the S.L. in Streatham should communicate with J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Kay Street, Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.—Sunday April 7th, at 8.30, Graham Wallas, "Practical Land Nationalisation." 14th, William Clarke, "Practical Socialism."

SOUTH NORWOOD LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 92 Portland Road, South Norwood (3 minutes from Norwood Junction).—On Tuesday April 9th, at 8 p.m., Eleanor Marx Aveling, "A Socialist Programme."

## THE FROG'S MARCH.

THAT Mahoney's death must be attributed to the circumstances attending his removal to the police-station, no sane man can dispute. During this period he was in the keeping of the police, therefore his caretakers (?) must be held responsible for what happened. The jury at the coroner's inquest, however, took quite a different view of the question. One juror was an eye-witness, and as a proof of the close attention with which he watched the case, when asked by the coroner whether the deceased knocked the policemen about "with his feet or hands," his reply was "Oh, anyhow." This very graphic description evidently satisfied the coroner. This intelligent witness also "thought that the man killed himself in his temper," an idea which was corroborated by the still more intelligent coroner, who remarked, "That's what the medical evidence points to." The only wonder is that this most intelligent jury did not bring in a verdict of "Suicide whilst in an unsound state of mind." The sapience of the coroner and the jury was still further manifested when they recommended that the "frog's march" should be discontinued. Superintendent Arnold remarked, "It cannot be discontinued because it is not sanctioned." A juror proposed passing a vote of censure on the police. After a few remarks from the coroner and Arnold, the jury proceeded to give another proof of their supreme wisdom by signing the verdict without adding any censure on the police.

Any one making himself acquainted with the facts of the above case, must feel convinced that justice is no factor of our law-n-order system. All rational minds will hold the four policemen concerned in this case guilty of murder; and a jury, not quite so thick-headed as the one that tried this case, would have brought in a verdict of "Homicide."

Matthews and Monro evidently approve of the "frog's march," and Monro would like to receive suggestions. The only suggestion which could be made is that Matthews, Monro, the coroner, and the jurors in this case should qualify by first going through a process of alcoholisation, then have their heels kicked and their persons generally hustled about, and lastly, be treated to a "frog's march" from Shoreditch Church to the police-station. If they don't commit suicide on the way, they will then be able to speak authoritatively on the merits and demerits of this vexed question. A. B.

## VIGOROUS SPEAKING IN A SCOTTISH PULPIT.

It is not often that the ermined hypocrites who sit upon the judgment seats of our land, receive such a vigorous wiggling as was given them last Monday week by the Rev. David McQueen in the Pleasance United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh—more power to him! Referring to the execution of Jessie King, the baby farmer, for the murder of babies committed to her charge, the reverend castigator said: "Why is mercy so scant in the court here? Because morality is not always on the bench. The sinner has little or no mercy on the erring. If all the justices, sheriffs, and law lords had to undergo an examination in moral character, there would doubtless be several vacancies in Parliament House. A knowledge of the ten commandments is as necessary as an acquaintance with Scottish law. Are all sheriffs pure of heart and clean of hand? I fancy there are some of them who have seldom heard of the seventh commandment." He then condemned in scathing terms the punishment of newsboys with the lash for selling newspapers within the sacred precincts of Waverly station. "The day is coming!" he exclaimed, "when the miserable farce of Justice and Sheriff Court and Court of Session will be trampled and spat upon by an enlightened Christian conscience." Commenting upon a statement made by the Lord Justice Clerk, in reviewing a case where an Aberdeen mill-worker, who had been ruined by a "gentleman of means" under cover of a promise of marriage, had received £300 damages, in which he said "the sheriff had given £300 damages! £300 damages for the ruin of an Aberdeen mill-worker! The thing is ridiculous!" "This," exclaimed the preacher, "happened in Scotland, in a court of justice. The speaker was the Lord Justice Clerk. This is his idea of morality. What should we do? Why, society should hiss him from the bench. We should petition the Queen to send him about his business. If he is a member of a Christian church his name should be erased from the roll. What justice can the poor expect from such a filthy channel? What can innocence hope for when such as sit as her judges are corrupted?" There is some logic as well as humanity in preaching of this stamp. We could do with a deal more of it. J. B. G.

The race dies constantly, not from old age, but dies out from the distemper of poverty and consequent crime.—Rev. Geo. N. Boardman.

In the *Leader*, a Liberal weekly, there are two discussions in progress, one on "Shall we feed School Board children?" and one on "The housing of the poor," in both of which some of our friends might profitably take part. To the last-named our comrade Chatterton contributed a letter in last week's issue.

The Working Men's Club and Institute Union makes the offer to working men and women of a third-class journey to Paris and back, for the Exhibition, and four days' board and lodging, for £2 11s.; or six days for £3 3s. For four days in Paris, with two drives round to see the sights and two days admission to the Exhibition, £3 7s.; or for seven days' stay, three drives, and two days in the Exhibition, £4 13s. The railway tickets are available for 14 days, and any may stay up to that limit for 6s. 6d. per day for lodging at the Hotel Longchamps (close to the Exhibition), a meat breakfast, a substantial meat tea, light, and ordinary attendance. An interpreter will accompany the excursionists. Applications must be made to J. J. Dent, 150, Holborn.

JEWISH CABINET-MAKERS IN MANCHESTER.—On Saturday week a crowded meeting of Manchester Jewish cabinet-makers was held in the International Club, 122 Corporation Street, and was addressed by Messrs. Remond, Harper, Barnes, and Hutchison (S.D.F.) of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Association. Comrade Wess, who presided, referring to the sermon in a neighbouring synagogue of the Delegate Chief Rabbi (Dr. Know-nothing Adler), in which he termed Socialists "blatant, noisy, atheist and anarchist agitators," and advised working men to avoid them, said, "This crowded meeting of Jewish workers serves as a protest against such shamefully libellous misrepresentations of the cause of the workers." He appealed to those present to persevere in the struggle for the emancipation of labour, heedless of any such idle talk and abuse by well-fed representatives of the golden calf. The meeting was very enthusiastic from beginning to end, and resulted in the formation of a branch of the above-named association.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Plumbers are requested to keep from Dundee at present.

The Dundee branch of the Sailor's and Firemen's Union has passed resolutions against working with non-society men.

Some of the firemen on the Severn, Wye, and Severn Bridge Railway are paid at the rate of 2s. 6d. a-day, and their employers wonder they are "discontented."

The dispute at the Ocean Collieries, South Wales, affecting 6,000 men, was settled on March 21st, the men obtaining an advance of 5 per cent. this month, and 7½ per cent. next month.

The wages of iron ore miners in the service of the Cleator Moor Iron Ore Company, Cumberland, have been reduced ¼d. per ton. The men have been agitating for a 10 per cent. advance.

The number of members in the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants at the end of 1888 was 12,080, being a net increase during the year of 1,250 members: this number has been very largely added to this year.

**BELFAST SPINNERS.**—An extensive strike has again broken out in the Ulster spinning trade, the employés of two large mills in Belfast having gone out on Tuesday, 19th ult., for an advance of 5 per cent. Nearly 3,000 operatives are now idle.

**CARPENTERS AND SHIPWRIGHTS.**—The carpenters and shipwrights of Greenock and district have decided upon asking for an increase in wages. The carpenters are just now paid at the rate of 6¼d. per hour, and they wish 7d.; the shipwrights are paid 7d. per hour, and they wish 7½d. and 8d. for old work.

**GREENOCK SAILMAKERS' WAGES.**—The sailmakers of Greenock asked for an advance of a halfpenny per hour on their then rate of wages three months ago, and were granted an advance of a farthing per hour at that time. The masters have now conceded the other farthing, so that the wages are now 6½d. per hour, or 30s. 4½d. per week of 54 hours.

**ROPE AND TWINE SPINNERS.**—At a meeting of Dundee rope and twine spinners lately, a letter was read from the employers offering an advance of 1s. per week, on condition that the men turned out a larger quantity of work. It was stated that this meant an additional day's labour per week, which was considered wholly out of the question. The men resolved to adhere to their demand for an unconditional increase of 2s. per week.

**SYNDICATES AND SOCIALISM.**—*Apropos* of the revival of the idea of a great coal syndicate, Mr. Ellis Lever proposes that the whole of the minerals and collieries in the Kingdom should be acquired and worked by the State. By working mines on the most economical and scientific methods, the price of coal might be reduced. A saving of 1s. per ton in getting coal would result in a profit of £8,000,000 sterling per annum, or 5 per cent. on the capital of 160 millions.

**STRIKE AT HORWICH.**—The labourers employed at the locomotive works at Horwich a few days ago sent in a memorial demanding an advance of wages and threatening to cease work. This was met last week by the discharge of sixty of them. On Monday twenty-one more received notice. A well-attended meeting of the men was held same evening, when it was resolved not to resume work next day. It was arranged that they should meet near the entrance to the works and endeavour to persuade those not present at the meeting to follow their example.

**SAILORS AND FIREMEN.**—A meeting of the Deptford Branch of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union was held in the West Kent Yeoman, Edward Street, lately, when the secretary stated that many members were still unemployed, owing to the unfair manner in which they had been treated by the General Steam Navigation Company, and assured the men that such treatment to faithful servants would not be forgotten by a union that would have power to show that and another company in Scotland that by their combination they could demand a fair wage and obtain it.

**SAILORS' WAGES.**—There seems little doubt that before long the wages of Liverpool sailors will have fallen to the old figure, as shipowners are evidently determined to go on reducing them as long as they can obtain men. Last week another sailing vessel secured a crew at the low rate of £2 15s., and it is stated that an attempt will be made to get crews for two sailing ships at £2 10s. Under the circumstances, the union men will probably be again called out on strike. They assert that owners, unless compelled, will not make any endeavour to forward the interests of their men by giving them a reasonable amount of pay.

**THE COTTON TRADE.**—We learn that there is an agitation in the cotton districts to obtain more holidays in the year. The Power Loom Weavers' Association at Darwen have issued a circular asking the masters to give them an interview on the question. They ask for Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday, and a week in July at the time of the local fair. At Great Harwood, the employers met the operatives demand by an ingenuous attempt to get off one day by counting in a Sunday in the few days they ask for in summer to recoup their strength a little. The deputation declined the offer, saying they would lay the suggestions before a public meeting. At Rochdale also the question has been partly discussed, the yearly meeting of the Trades' Council resolving to "assist the Mayor in arriving at one recognised holiday for the New Year."

**BRICKMAKERS.**—With the prospects of an improvement in the building trade, the operatives engaged in the brickmaking industry in the Birmingham district, numbering about 2,000, have given notice that they require an advance of 9d. per thousand on the common bricks, 1s. 9d. on pressed or front bricks, and 2s. 6d. on quarries. The men contend that they are entitled to the increase, because the masters have advanced the price of bricks; but the employers on the contrary urge that the increase was necessitated by the higher price charged for fuel. The men state that at the present time they are no better off as regards the wages they receive than they were twenty years ago; but this statement, of course, is denied by the masters. While the moulders have made application for the above-mentioned increases, the wheelers have also demanded an additional halfpenny per hour.

**RAILWAY SERVANTS' CONFERENCE.**—The Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants met at Perth the other day. Carlisle moved that that meeting believed that the amalgamation under the English society was impracticable, but that a working agreement between both societies was desirable; regretted that the annual meeting of the English society disapproved of the three first clauses of the working agreement

arrived at at Leeds, but recommended to the Executive Council of the English society the adoption of the remaining clauses, with the view of engendering a spirit of friendship between the two societies. Glasgow Central seconded resolution, which was adopted by 15 to 13. A series of resolutions were unanimously carried in support of an amendment of the Employer's Liability Act, of the establishment of coroner's inquests in Scotland, of labour representation in Parliament, and of the appointment of practical workmen as inspectors of factories and mines.

**MASTER AND MAN.**—The North-Western directors have been dining in a new saloon car while going at a speed of sixty miles an hour, and we are told that there was not the slightest oscillation. If the directors want to find the latter, we would recommend a dinner in a goods guard's van, at—not sixty—but thirty miles an hour. They would discover the difference there was between that place and a saloon; and, having experienced the inconvenience under which a goods guard eats his dinner, they might be led to do something for his comfort in that respect.—*Railway Review*.

**HOW WE ARE GOVERNED.**—It may be remembered that a few weeks ago we announced that a company had been formed for the purpose of placing on the leading thoroughfares omnibuses in which smoking was to be allowed. Subsequently, owing to a police regulation prohibiting smoking in licensed public conveyances, the scheme had to be abandoned. It was thought that the Chief Commissioner of Police would have been in a position to have relaxed the law. But it appears that no such simple and sensible move like this can be done without a special Act of Parliament. As to get even an unopposed Bill through Parliament costs about twelve hundred pounds, the scheme has in the meantime been postponed.—*Whitehall Review*.

**THE FIRST CHANGE.**—It may be objected that a healthy and vigorous man is not oppressed by ten or twelve hours labour a day; and I grant that, if he be well fed, his strength may not be so much exhausted by this exertion as to give him pain. But this is regarding him merely as a working animal. My proposition is, that after ten or twelve hours of muscular exertion a day, continued for six days in the week, the labourer is not in a fit condition for that active exercise of his moral and intellectual faculties which truly constitutes him a rational being. . . The first change, therefore, needed for the improvement of the working classes, is a limitation of the hours of labour, and the dedication of a portion of time daily to the exercise of the mental faculties.—*George Combe*.

The Manchester *Sunday Chronicle* rejoices, or should rejoice, in the possession of a contributor who is not a mere spinner of stale platitudes on things in general. Under the name of "Nunquam," he fills three or four columns with notes that are a refreshing novelty in provincial, or any other, journalism. His attitude may be seen from the concluding one of his notes in a recent number: "On the one side there are Individualism and Competition—leading to a 'great trade' and great miseries. On the other side is justice, without which can come no good, from which can come no evil. On the one hand are ranged all the sages, all the saints, all the martyrs, all the noble manhood and pure womanhood of the world; on the other hand are the tyrant, the robber, the man-slayer, the libertine, the usurer, the slave-driver, the drunkard, and the masquerade. Choose your party, then, my friends, and let us get to the fighting." He is not always at that level, but keeps near enough to it to be a powerful influence for good in a benighted city.

**SOCIALISM IN ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 25th March, Carpenter's essay 'England's Ideal' read and discussed. On the same night Kropotkin lectured under the auspices of the local branch of the Scottish Geographical Society to "a large and fashionable audience." The wirepullers who secured him for the geographers kept him out of our hands; but on the following night a private meeting was held in the Queen's Rooms, when Kropotkin delivered an excellent "talk at large" on Socialism. Though the meeting was advertised in no other way than by simply passing round the word, about 150 persons were present. The audience was respectable to a sickening degree—a large proportion of those present having been manifestly attracted by no higher motive than the desire to hear and see a live prince; but they applauded the points as briskly as if they understood them, and seemed prepared to swallow anything. Webster and Leatham spoke, the former putting in a word for the Branch.—At Castle Street on Saturday night a large and sympathetic meeting was addressed by Duncan and Leatham. Things are looking up for us in Aberdeen. Even the weather has ceased to be hostile to open-air work. Some of our comrades have been martyred to the extent of losing their employment on account of their connection with the Branch: the plot thickens against others. We seem to have reached the second stage.

## DEATH.

**BURROWS.**—March 29th, at 283 Victoria Park Road, London, Mary Hannah, wife of Herbert Burrows, Social Democratic Federation, age 43. American papers please copy.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, April 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1889:—Clerkenwell and Mitcham, to end of February. Leicester, North London, and East London, to end of March.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

**Paris Commune.**—Branches having Subscription Sheets for the Paris Commune are requested to return them at once.

**Defence Fund.**—A meeting of delegates of Metropolitan Working-men's Clubs met last Friday week at the Patriotic Club, Clerkenwell Green, for the



purpose of assisting our comrades of the Berner Street Club, who, after being ill-treated by the police, are now sent for trial on a false charge of assaulting them. A strong Committee was formed for the defence. C. W. Mowbray was appointed secretary and F. Kitz treasurer. An earnest appeal is made for funds to conduct the defence. All remittances to be sent to F. Kitz, treasurer, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### CHILDREN'S PARTY.

Subscriptions received—£1 12s. 10d. Cost of Tea—£2 1s. 8½d. Deficit on same—8s. 10½d. Any subscriptions towards covering this deficit should be sent to Mrs. Grosar, 19, Rigault Road, Fulham.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; Tilley, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mainwaring, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 2s.; and Clapham, 1s. Norwich Branch, 1s. 9d.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

### REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, March 31st, at 8.30 p.m., D. Nicoll in the chair, Frank Kitz lectured on "The *Freiheit* Prosecution by the English Government." Hall filled by visitors and members, who showed great interest in lecture when comrade Kitz referred to the hardships Socialists had to endure when this great movement for humanity in its true sense first began. A good meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green by J. Turner and D. Nicoll, which then adjourned to above hall.—S. P.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting Sunday morning at Latimer Road; speakers were Dean, Lyne, sen., Crouch, Maughan, and Saint. The comrades of this district are doing good work in the neighbourhood. 44 *Commonweal* sold. Good meeting in evening at Weltje Road; speakers were Crouch, Kitchen, Lyne, sen., and Maughan. 9 *Commonweal* sold. The comrades wishing to extend their work have determined to open another open-air station at St. Ann's Road, and will be glad to see friends turning up. In evening, Percival Chubb (Fabian) lectured at Kelmscott House on "Work and its Reward." Several questions and bright debate.—G. M.

**MITCHAM.**—Our last meeting on Sunday morning was enlivened by opposition. Our opponent advised the working-men present, whom he termed "you fellows," to practise thrift, abstention from intoxicating drink, and limitation of families. In this last particular he was not practical enough to indicate the methods. He was answered by Mowbray and Kitz. Our opponent will open the meeting on Fair Green at 11.30 next Sunday morning; 1s. 6d. collected for local propaganda.—K.

**NORTH LONDON.**—In Regent's Park on Sunday morning, meeting addressed by Cantwell, Brooks, Mrs. Lahr, and Samuels. Good meeting in Hyde Park in the afternoon, which lasted four hours. We took our stand on the same place as last Sunday, and had a good crowd and rather lively meeting. Cantwell, Mrs. Lahr, and Brooks spoke, also J. Williams (S.D.F.), who provoked a good discussion; 6s. 11d. collected and good sale of 'Weal'.—T. C.

**VICTORIA PARK.**—Last Sunday, H. Davis took up the debate which had been arranged with Mr. Hoffman on "Anarchism," the comrade who made the arrangement failing to appear. The debate was well conducted, and attracted a good audience, which showed great attention throughout. After a somewhat lengthy meeting, the debate was adjourned to next week. Fair sale of 'Weal'.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 26th ult., meeting for women addressed by Melliet. On 27th, P. Kropotkin met us in Moulder's Hall on his way south; no time to get up a public meeting. On 28th, Glasie read first part of paper on "Mirabeau." On 30th, Christie on "Homes of the Poor." On alternate Thursdays, in 35, George IV. Bridge, we study French Revolution and English Economic History.

**GLASGOW.**—Much enthusiasm was imparted to our members by comrade Kropotkin's visit, which made itself apparent at the very successful outdoor meetings this week. On Saturday afternoon, almost simultaneous with Glasie's departure for Dundee to take part in the free-speech demonstration there, Pollock and Downie started for the mining village of Cambuslang, where they captured a good number of people drawn together by the brass band of a travelling circus opposite. On Sunday morning on Jail Square, good meeting held by Pollock, T. and J. Burgoyne, McCulloch, and Downie. Two other very good meetings were held in the evening: one at Paisley Road Toll at 5 o'clock, the other at St. George's Cross at 6.30. *Commonweal* sold out, as well as a good number of pamphlets. We afterwards adjourned to our rooms, where a pleasant day's campaigning was brought to a close by an agreeable conversation.—S. D.

**LEEDS.**—During the winter months we have had regular Sunday night lectures, all of which have been well attended, and much good has been done to the cause through their agency. With the advent of finer weather we intend doing a vigorous propaganda in our town, and hope to show by our efforts that Leeds is no longer behindhand in the fight. At the quarterly meeting on Sunday last Alfred Mattison was elected Secretary, to whom all communications should be addressed.—A. M.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday morning a large number of back numbers distributed in the country villages. In afternoon, usual open air meeting was held in Market Place, addressed by Poynts, assisted by Reynolds (Yarmouth), who spoke on the fallacy of politics. In the evening, another good meeting in Market Place: Poynts opened, followed by Reynolds, who delivered a capital address; audience listening very attentively until close of the meeting. At Gordon Hall, Adams gave interesting lecture upon "The True History of the Commune," W. Moore in chair; good audience; several questions, and discussion followed; Moore and Mills took part; ably replied to by lecturer. Good sale of *Commonweal* and collections.

**YARMOUTH.**—The meeting here Sunday morning addressed by Reynolds and Morley was well attended. In the afternoon, Ruffold, Morley, and Houghton spoke to an appreciative audience. All the *Commonweal* sold out, and 2s. 2½d. collected. After the meeting, comrades met together at one of the comrades', and a pleasant hour was spent. Our comrades are quickly imbibing the spirit of fraternity and brotherhood.—C. REYNOLDS.

**IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLUB.**—A debate was held here Sunday evening, when Creed opened on "Organised Labour," Thomas in chair. Lively discussion, several strangers present, one from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. By the wish of the audience, the further discussion was adjourned till next Sunday, when Khill will open, and Creed reply. The new ideas are surely and steadily gaining ground here, and we are very hopeful as to future results.—C.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—The Nottingham Socialist Club, which meets at Old Street, St. Ann's Street, opened the summer season on Sunday with a good meeting in the Great Market Place. Comrades Peacock and Rook spoke; 1s. 4d. was collected for club funds, and the *Commonweal* sold out.—R. P.

A GRAND CONCERT will be held in the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday, April 14th, for the benefit of comrade WESS, who has been out of work for a long time. The following comrades will sing and recite during the evening: W. Morris, Mrs. Taylor, Wm. Blundell, W. B. Parker, Mrs. Blundell, J. Turner, D. Nicoll, J. Presburg, Miss Morgan, McCormick, and others. ADMISSION BY PROGRAMME, 6d.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Percy Hall, Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30: Sunday April 7. Members are requested to turn up to a special business meeting at 7 p.m. sharp. At 8.30, lecture by C. Mowbray, "The Socialist Movement in Norfolk." Sunday 14th, No lecture, owing to concert on behalf of comrade Wess.

**East London.**—A business meeting will be held on Saturday 6th April, at 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road. Members, attend.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 7, at 8 p.m., J. Hunter Watts, A lecture. Sunday 14th, Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Leasehold Emancipation: a Warning." Thursday April 11, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 12th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda.

**Hoxton.**—Comrades desiring to help in the propaganda of the Socialist League in this locality are requested to send their names and addresses to H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

**Wimbledon and Merton.**—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall; at 8.15 p.m., lecture in Gordon Hall—W. Moore "Socialism, some of its Objections." Sunday 14th, lecture by A. T. Sutton. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class—subject, 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. The *Commonweal* can be purchased of Mr. Houes, newsagent, George Street.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

### SATURDAY 6.

8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Brooks

### SUNDAY 7.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lyne, Dean, Maughan  
11.30 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mrs. Schack  
11.30 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... The Branch  
11.30 ..... Hammersmith—St. Ann's Road ..... Crouch and Saint  
11.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch  
11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll and Mainwaring  
11.30 ..... Walham Green, opposite Station ..... The Branch  
11.45 ..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Mowbray  
3.30 ..... Hyde Park ..... Nicoll, Parker, and Mrs. Lahr  
3.30 ..... Victoria Park ..... Debate: Davis v. Hoffman  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Kitz and Samuels  
7.30 ..... Broad Street, Soho ..... Brooks and Nicoll  
7.30 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... The Branch

### TUESDAY 9.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

### THURSDAY 11.

8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... Mowbray and Cores  
8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Nicoll and Mrs. Lahr

### FRIDAY 12.

8 ..... Philpot Street, Commercial Road ..... Charles

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m. Sunday: Waterside Gate, Duthie Park, 3 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

LIMEHOUSE BRANCH S.D.F., 339 Burdett Road, E.—F. Charles lectures at 8 o'clock on Sunday evening, April 7th—subject, "What's to be done during a Revolutionary Period."

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"Rabelais and the Church," F. Audiger; "Taxes," A. Veber; "The Socialism of Blanqui," B. Malon; "Hours of Labour," P. Argyriades; "Positive Politics," H. Aimel; "Socialism among Inferior Beings," J. Sagnol; "Instruction and Socialism," N. Tesseyre; "Socialism in Hungary," B. Malon; "The Referendum," Rittinghausen and de Laveleye; "Poetry," E. Herbel; "Anthology," George, V. Hugo, Lange; "Social Movement," A. Weber, J. Sagnol; "Bibliography," J. Sagnol; "Obituary," G. Havet.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

"CIVILISATION" is happy again, for Stanley is alive and successful and is "coming home." Meantime, since there have been several persons hanged for murder during the last few months, we may well ask whether when he comes home Stanley will be put upon his trial for the capital offence? Or if not, wherein his hanging men because they refused to serve him at the risk of their lives differs from murder? This is, indeed, a short way with breach of contract, which no doubt many rich people at home would like to take if they durst.

As some of our readers may not have seen former notes and articles in the *Commonweal* on this subject, we may as well explain to them in a few words how it is that Stanley is the enemy of workmen in Great Britain as well as of the natives in Africa. His mission is "to open up Africa;" that is, to establish regular trade with the people of the interior of that vast continent. Now this trade the natives do *not* want, and resist as much as they can. They do not want trousers, rum, bibles (printed by scab labour), or cotton cloth scientifically weighted with sulphate of barytes; and, in point of fact, the bargain in our trade with them would be, that we should take from them what we want and give them what they do not; which they understand and consequently will only admit the trade if it is *forced* on them. This as we see, Mr. Stanley (and the whole British nation, which clearly approves of his hanging his hirelings for refusing to go on with him) is quite prepared to do. Therefore, he is clearly the enemy of the natives of Africa.

But is he the friend of the natives of England? Will he not render a service to them by "opening up Africa," by getting fresh trade whereby to employ the workmen here? Some workmen uninstructed in the truths of Socialism may believe this, but we Socialists *know* that it is false. If the position of the labourers in England is a good one, it *may* be a good thing to supplant African barbarians by English labourers; if it is not, it only spreads the evil which we are suffering from here, and by that process helps to perpetuate it. And this is *all* the good which this piracy can get for the English workman. There will be gains indeed from the plunder of Africa, but those gains will fall to the capitalists and their middlemen and led captains; they will be called "profits," and will be sweated out of the workmen, English and African, who will be enslaved by this march of civilisation.

English workmen, therefore, should know that this man is the friend of their enemies and the enemy of their friends. The friend of the capitalist who lives by robbing the workman of the results of his toil, and therefore by that very act is his enemy; the enemy of the barbarian who lives by the labour of his hands, and is therefore the brother of the English *workman*. It is to be hoped then that if, unfortunately, Stanley reaches England safely, the workmen of this country will make some demonstration against him, and so clear themselves of participation in his crimes.

"As there is some probability that during the current year the trustees of the British Museum may be induced to throw their institution open on Sundays, the Parliamentary friends of Sunday opening think it better not to raise the question by means of a direct motion, but have, it is said, decided to bring it forward on the Estimates."—*Pall Mall*.

This is a curious instance of the kind of hold that the people has upon its own property and over its servants. We are to sneak behind the possible goodwill of the trustees, instead of claiming our rights straightforwardly. "*Their* institution" too!!! O yes, it is but too clear that it isn't *ours*. Britons never never never *will* be slaves! Won't they?

Last week the House of Commons managed to spare a little time from the consideration of the difference between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee, to the consideration of the position of the poor in our big towns. Mr. Broadhurst, who was once poor and is now rich, was the initiator of the discussion, which to say the truth might just as well, for all the good it could do, have been held in a middle-class

discussion-forum. For, indeed, the habitual discussion of tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee does not educate men to consider the great tragedy of life in the lower classes. Besides, from the nature of their position, the loyal members of that House *must* shut their eyes to the causes of the misery which now and again in the course of years they deem it politic to talk about.

For truly what *is* the disease, the mere symptoms of which Mr. Broadhurst (who was poor and is now rich) called their attention to? What is the disease, but these very gentlemen themselves and the life that they live of sweating the poor for their own aggrandisement? When that proprietary class, which (and which only) they represent, is got rid of, the symptoms will no longer be there for us to deal with. When the rich are gone there will no longer be any poor. That is the one truth that our rulers have got to learn. But can they learn it? That is more than doubtful. The rich class exists, it is a living and active organism, and it is difficult or perhaps impossible for that which exists to realise non-existence.

Also, of course, it is the business of these gentlemen to insist on the necessity for their existence, nay the impossibility of their extinction. Their song chanted in various tones is always, "As it *was* in the beginning, is now, and ever *shall* be, world without end. Amen"—or hurrah!

Under these circumstances it is not wonderful that the debate was languid to the last degree, and that the pretence of having anything to say about such a subject was not even decently kept up, and that none of the party leaders had a word to say on the subject, so that even as "political birdlime" it was but a failure.

But consider what a condemnation of the whole of our political system! The condition of the poor (*i.e.*, of almost the whole of the working classes) in our big towns. What a subject! Surely a six nights debate on it is not too much to consider it in; surely all the big bucks of both parties will be in their places eager to claim their share in dealing with the most, nay, the only important matter of the day. The Irish will forget Home Rule, for they also have big towns in Ireland; the Tories will try to show the advantages of a benevolent demi-semi despotism; the Liberals that the franchise will educate even a sweated tailor to claim his rights; the Radicals will make a sudden leap towards Socialism, and the whole country will hang breathless on their deliberations.

Alas! none of that happened. The condition of the poor is not "practical politics." Their votes, when they have any, can be got at even when they are left to starve. So what does it matter? Indeed, what everybody in this wretched fag end of a debate, or conversation, really said was, "*Who cares?*" Yes indeed, who, if the workers themselves do not?

That is an old and hackneyed pass-word of Cobbett's, but is always good and necessarily true: "House of Commons—Den of Thieves."  
W. M.

The *Star* is really improving. Of course, like all papers and men without definite clear principles to regulate and guide their conduct, it wavers and wanders a good deal, contradicting itself in lamentable fashion every other while. But the general tendency is good, and, in despite of occasional lapses into the old pathways, and burstings out of the old Adam, shows that the lessons of the time are being learnt by its conductors, and that they recognise "which way the cat is jumping." To us the semi-socialism they sometimes talk may seem particularly small beer, as indeed it is; but, remembering the impossibility of even that in an ordinary daily a short while ago, and the rarity of it even now, one may look upon it with some complacency as a sign of the times, and take it as a warning that our work is bearing fruit.

The extremes to which the vacillation of the *Star* carry it were wel



shown by its having a strong "Socialist" article one night, and the very next going in for the following toadyish and reactionary nonsense:

"The dinner to Mr. Broadhurst at the National Liberal Club, and Sir William Harcourt's sincere eulogy, are an appropriate acknowledgment of his services to the better kind of Liberalism. There is no defter trade-unionist member in the House of Commons than Mr. Broadhurst. His tact, his industry, his knowledge of detail, are quite unrivalled in their way. He has done the class to which he belongs a service which they would be the first to recognise. No better pilot of a workman's bill in the House exists; no quicker eye for a dodge; no safer judgment. Mr. Broadhurst is not a great popular tribune, and does not pretend to be; but he does the people's detail work with never-failing skill."

An unfortunate feature about Mr. Broadhurst, as the *Star* has ample means of knowing, is that he does not confine his "quick eye for a dodge" to its appropriate sphere, the House of Dodgers, but brings it into active operation among the less guileful trades unionists. This they are now finding out, as the recent decisions of the London Compositors and Amalgamated Engineers testify; and one might think it rather impudent in a merely political-party paper rushing in at such a time to defend him against his fellows in this way. But of course the real significance of it is, as we said, that Mr. Broadhurst is now definitely received into the bosom of the Great Liberal Party. S.

The philanthropic capitalist is busy with his schemes for elevating mankind. Those who doubt this statement are respectfully referred to two prospectuses, which I have before me, and which I intend to comment upon. The first is that of the company for promoting the distribution and sale of the Bellite Explosive. Don't be frightened; this company is not started by revolutionists of any description. The board of directors consists of two noble lords, one capitalist, a J.P., and a major-general. So that no doubt can be entertained by even the most incredulous person of its complete respectability.

This explosive is, according to the prospectus, of a remarkable and even unique description. While it is more powerful than dynamite, it possesses other qualities which give it a high reputation, the most curious being that it will not go off except under very extreme provocation. It cannot be made to explode by friction nor by shock nor pressure. You may expose it to the electric spark or to the lightning flash, but it won't go off. You may put it in fire, and it will burn away like ordinary fuel. The only thing that will explode it is a detonating cap, and it is therefore absolutely safe. Then bellite can be used in shells, which may be fired without any risk. So to bayonets that bend and guns that burst, the Government will be able to add additional strength to their warlike resources by shells that won't go off.

But the Bellite Company is likely to find a formidable rival, from the warlike standpoint, in the Snyder Dynamite Projectile Company, Limited. Mr. F. H. Snyder, a supreme genius, who adds to his skill as an inventor the further recommendation of being a member of the Peace Society, has discovered a method of using dynamite in shells. With the prospectus is sent a number of press notices which laud the new projectile to the skies for its many admirable qualities. The *Times* declares that "a single shell of this description, striking the side of the most solid ironclad in existence, would send her to the bottom." The *Admiralty and Horse Guards' Gazette*, Feb. 2nd, '89, tells us "that a 20-pounder gun planting a couple of shells into a column of men would kill outright a large number, while those left would be literally paralysed from the awful concussion, and placed *hors de combat*." The prospectus points out that the havoc created by a Snyder projectile in a town, fort, or camp would be "simply incalculable." I have a faint recollection of the yell of horror which arose from the capitalist press when some desperate men exploded dynamite in London—without doing very much harm to anybody. I can also remember the heavy sentences inflicted on these men, and which they are still suffering, for committing these "crimes." It is surely rather comical to find these very papers speculating with complacent serenity upon the probable slaughter, often of non-combatants, which would follow the advent of one of these projectiles in "town, fort, or camp." Truly middle-class morality and humanity would be funny, if it were not so hideously hypocritical.

Not only does the capitalist press praise these new methods of wholesale slaughter to the skies; but the capitalist public rushes to buy the shares of the principal explosive companies, which pay a dividend of 15 per cent. These shares in all cases are at a high premium, as will be seen from the following quotations: Noble Explosives Co. £10 shares now fetch £25; New Explosives Co.'s £3 shares, about £4 10s.; E. C. Powder £3 shares, about £5 5s. Really the benevolence of five per-cent. philanthropists who invest their savings in model dwellings for the poor must be a subject for wonder, when we consider what high dividends they are renouncing by not investing their cash in *some explosive company*. Still we must ask our capitalist friends to clear their minds of cant, and before shrieking against the desperate deeds of men driven to frenzy by tyrannical injustice, to spare a little of their superfluous indignation for the people who in their greed of unearned increment invest their money in providing explosive infernal machines for the wholesale murder of the human race. D. N.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—A social gathering of members and sympathisers will take place at 28 Grays Inn Road (14 doors from Holborn) on Sunday April 21st, at 6 p.m., to discuss the position and best means of promoting the interests of the Society. Admission free. Tea, coffee, and cake provided.

## THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE.

(Concluded from p. 109.)

Or again, in times past, when what is (I suppose as a joke) called the Educational Department at South Kensington was more or less mixed up with the Art Department, I have followed up a group through the wonders of the drift of the art of past days, and perceived that their eyes never steadied once on any of these things, but that they brightened up at once when they came across a glass case in which the constituent parts of an analysed beef-steak were neatly arranged and labelled, and that their eyes devoured little pinches of nothing in particular, with a trusting faith in the analyst which I confess I could not share, as it seemed to me that it would require a quite superhuman honesty in him not to snatch up a few pinches of road-dust or ashes and make them do duty for the recondite substances which his toil had brought to light in that familiar object. In literature you will find the same thing going on, and that those authors who appeal to our eyes to take in mental impressions are relegated by our most "intellectual" critics to a second place at least: to pass by Homer and Beowulf and Chaucer, you will find the "truly intellectual" man elevating mere rhetorical word-spinners and hunters of introspection above such masters of life as Scott and Dickens, who tell their tales to our senses and leave them alone to moralise the tale so told.

Now I have dwelt at some length on this matter of the eyesight, because to my mind it is the most obvious sign of the march of civilisation towards the intellectual-paunch stage of existence which I have deprecated already; and also because I feel sure that no special claim need be made for the art and literature of the future: healthy bodily conditions, a sound and all round development of the senses, joined to the due social ethics which the destruction of all slavery will give us, will, I am convinced, as a matter of course give us the due art and literature, whatever that due may turn out to be. Only, if I may prophesy ever so little, I should say that both art and literature, and especially art, will appeal to the senses directly, just as the art of the past has done. You see you will no longer be able to have novels relating the troubles of a middle-class couple in their struggle towards social uselessness, because the material for such literary treasures will have passed away. On the other hand the genuine tales of history will still be with us, and will, one might well hope, then be told in a cheerfuller strain than is now possible. Nor for my part can I doubt that art will appeal to the senses of men now grown healthy; which means that architecture and the kindred arts will again flourish amongst us as in the days before civilisation. Civilisation renders these arts impossible, because its politics and ethics force us to live in a grimy disorderly uncomfortable world, a world that offends the senses at every turn: that necessity reacts on the senses again, and forces us unconsciously to blunt their keenness. A man who notices the external forms of things much nowadays must suffer in South Lancashire or London, must live in a state of perpetual combat and anger; and he really must try to blunt his sensibility, or he will go mad, or kill some obnoxious person and be hanged for it; and this of course means that people will gradually get to be born without this inconvenient sensibility. On the other hand, let this irrational compulsion be removed from us, and the senses will grow again to their due and normal fulness and demand expression of the pleasure which their exercise gives us, which in short means art and literature at once sensuous and human.

Well, now I will try to draw these discursive remarks to a head, and give you a more concise and complete idea of the society into which I would like to be reborn.

It is a society which does not know the meaning of the words rich and poor, or the rights of property, or law or legality, or nationality: a society which has no consciousness of being governed; in which equality of condition is a matter of course, and in which no man is rewarded for having served the community by having the power given him to injure it.

It is a society conscious of a wish to keep life simple, to forego some of the power over nature won by past ages in order to be more human and less mechanical, and willing to sacrifice something to this end. It would be divided into small communities varying much within the limits allowed by due social ethics, but without rivalry between each other, looking with abhorrence at the idea of a holy race.

Being determined to be free, and therefore contented with a life not only simpler but even rougher than the life of slave-owners, division of labour would be habitually limited: men (and women too, of course) would do their work and take their pleasure in their own persons, and not vicariously: the social bond would be habitually and instinctively felt, so that there would be no need to be always asserting it by set forms: the family of blood-relationship would melt into that of the community and of humanity. The pleasures of such a society would be founded on the free exercise of the senses and passions of a healthy human animal, so far as this did not injure the other individuals of the community and so offend against social unity: no one would be ashamed of humanity or ask for anything better than its due development.

But from this healthy freedom would spring up the pleasures of intellectual development, which the men of civilisation so foolishly try to separate from sensuous life, and to glorify at its expense. Men would follow knowledge and the creation of beauty for their own sakes, and not for the enslavement of their fellows, and they would be rewarded by finding their most necessary work grow interesting and beautiful under their hands without their being conscious of it. The

man who felt keenest the pleasure of lying on the hill-side under a rushen hut among the sheep on a summer night, would be no less fit for the enjoyment of the great communal hall with all its splendours of arch and column, and vault and tracery. Nor would he who took to heart the piping of the wind and washing of the waves as he sat at the helm of the fishing-boat, be deadened to the beauty of art-made music. It is workmen only and not pedants who can produce real vigorous art.

And amidst this pleasing labour, and the rest that went with it, would disappear from the earth's face all the traces of the past slavery. Being no longer driven to death by anxiety and fear, we should have time to avoid disgracing the earth with filth and squalor, and accidental ugliness would disappear along with that which was the mere birth of fantastic perversity. The utterly base doctrine, as Carlyle has it, that this world is a cockney nightmare, would be known no more.

But perhaps you may think that Society being thus happy and at peace, its very success would lead it to corruption once more? Yes, that might be if men were not watchful and valiant; but we have begun by saying that they would be free, and free men are bound to be responsible, and that means that they shall be watchful and valiant. The world will be the world still, I do not deny it; but such men as I have been thinking of will surely be fitter to meet its troubles than the dwellers in our present muddle of authority and unconscious revolt.

Or again, some may say such a condition of things might lead indeed to happiness but also to stagnation. Well, to my mind that would be a contradiction in terms, if indeed we agree that happiness is caused by the pleasurable exercise of our faculties. And yet suppose the worst, and that the world did rest after so many troubles—where would be the harm? I remember, after having been ill once, how pleasant it was to lie on my bed without pain or fever, doing nothing but watching the sunbeams and listening to the sounds of life outside; and might not the great world of men, if it once deliver itself from the delirious struggle for life amidst dishonesty, rest for a little after the long fever and be none the worse for it?

Anyhow, I am sure it would be the better for getting rid of its fever, whatever came of it; and sure also that the simplicity of life I have spoken of, which some would call stagnation, would give real life to the great mass of mankind, and to them at least would be a well-spring of happiness. It would raise them at once to a higher level of life, until the world began to be peopled, not with commonplace people, but with honest folk not sharply conscious of their superiority as "intellectual" persons now are, but self-respecting and respecting the personality of others, because they would feel themselves useful and happy, that is alive.

And as for the superior people, if such a world were not good enough for them I am sorry, but am driven to ask them how they manage to get on with the present one, which is worse. I am afraid they would have to answer, we like it better because it *is* worse, and, therefore, relatively we are better.

Alas! my friends, these are the fools who are our masters now. The masters of fools then, you say? Yes, so it is; let us cease to be fools then, and they will be our masters no longer. Believe me, that will be worth trying for, whatever may come afterwards.

Take this for the last word of my dream of what is to be—the test of our being fools no longer will be that we shall no longer have masters.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### BRITISH PLUCK.

THE *Labour Tribune*, "organ of the miners and bolt forgers," after describing an elaborate model dwelling-house fitted up by German coal-masters for their miners, comments in the following strain:—

"This paternal interest in, and oversight of their workpeople is very interesting, and would be admirable were it not that, as every one knows who has studied the Continental relations of Capital and Labour, the manliness of the workpeople is bartered away. Compared with the Englishman, who would probably decline to be catered for in this fashion, the miner on the Continent is a mere slave. The wants of the men are provided for in the same spirit and for the same reason as the colliery-horses are well stalled and well fed. And with a good stall and sufficient food they are expected to be content like any other animal. Resistance to authority or rebellion against grievances is a crime which must be sternly quelled and severely punished, as every Continental strike is sufficient to show. Perhaps we are rather insular in our notions, but of the two we would rather be justly than generously treated, and we have no wish to transplant this feature of German life."

It would be interesting to know whether manliness is an especially English attribute, and of which the British worker has a monopoly. Opposite the paragraph quoted is an account of the cheating and grinding of the Cradley Heath chainmakers, and of the terrible infant mortality amidst them, written presumably by the author of the note about English manliness, and he consoles himself with the reflection that—

"We should hardly be surprised if the Cradley people themselves regard this massacre of the innocents as one of the least of their troubles, seeing that every fresh arrival means one more mouth to be fed and one more difficulty added in the way of getting a living. And when the tiny sufferer pines away and leaves such an inhospitable world, it is hardly to be wondered at if the parents find a much too ready consolation in the thought that the bairn is 'better off,' while the struggle for its parents has become, at least, a trifle lighter."

It is depressing to find a labour paper waving the Union Jack in this fashion, and thanking their stars that they are not as other men, especially unmanly Germans, instead of recognising the international solidarity of Labour.

F. K.

He that will not have new remedies will have new evils.—Lord Bacon.

### BURIED ALIVE.

THE heady odours o'er the lands  
Make drunk young lovers as they wend;  
I saw a man with horny hands  
Li to a tenebrous hole descend.  
The heavens dazzle; luscious June  
Her sap of gladness doth distil;  
Bees honey make and hum in tune—  
The man is in his black hole still!

How good a thing is idleness!  
The lizards whisper, "Let us sleep!"  
The mellow airs, with a caress,  
Over the languid senses creep.—  
The man's hand did a lantern shield—  
Dermice and rabbits with a will  
Make merry in the clover-field—  
The man is in his black hole still!

Schoolboys should hie on such a day  
To gambol 'neath the forest trees;  
The workshop windows all the way  
Stand open to the summer breeze.  
What does he, hidden from the light?  
Oh, in the sun, upon the hill,  
The ant-heaps are a pleasant sight!—  
The man is in his black hole still!

The cricket doth his rattle spring,  
Night falls, and all is hushed in rest,  
With head ensconced beneath her wing,  
The sparrow sleeps in her warm nest.  
But is not his long day's work sped?  
The stars of eve come forth until  
Heaven's vault is all irradiated—  
The man is in his black hole still!

He comes! On what funereal ground  
Abideth this black man accurst?  
Denser than the shades night casts around  
The solid darkness he has burst.  
O miner! to a graveyard here  
Thy hard lot binds thee, to thy ill;  
Coffined in life or on the bier,  
The man is in his black hole still!

EUGENE POTTIER  
(Translated by LAURA LAFARGUE).

### REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 20, 1889.

14	Sun.	1794. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Chalk Farm. 1832. First number of <i>The Crisis: or, the Change from Error to Truth and Happiness</i> , edited by Robert Owen. 1834. Massacres of the rue Transnonain, Paris. 1849. Hungary proclaimed a free State. 1865. Abraham Lincoln assassinated. 1879. Solovieff's attempt upon the Czar.
15	Mon.	1836. George Engel born. 1840. Repeal Association founded. 1881. Murder by law of A. T. Jeliaboff, S. L. Perofskaja, N. Kilbalehich, T. Mikhayloff, N. Rissakoff. 1882. Mine discovered under Moscow Cathedral.
16	Tues.	1790. Benjamin Franklin died. 1871. Hyde Park demonstration of fraternity with the Commune. 1878. Strike of 80,000 cotton operatives in Lancashire. 1886. Karakatoff's attempt upon Alexander III.
17	Wed.	1560. Philip Melancthon died. 1790. John Frith tried for high treason. 1858. Acquittal of Dr. Simon Bernard of conspiring to kill Louis Napoleon. 1876. Fenian prisoners escape in the <i>Catalpa</i> from Western Australia. 1884. Bradlaugh and Hyndman debate on Socialism in St. James's Hall. 1885. Murder of Colombian rebels.
18	Thur.	1775. American War of Independence began. 1817. Trial of James Harrison for sedition. 1824. Byron died.
19	Fri.	1772. Ricardo born. 1775. Battle of Lexington. 1823. Robert Owen's third lecture in the Rotunda, Dublin. 1843. Limerick monster meeting; 120,000 present. 1882. Charles Darwin died.
20	Sat.	1653. Cromwell dissolved the Rump Parliament.

'*The Crisis*.'—The first number of *The Crisis; or, the Change from Error and Misery to Truth and Happiness* was published April 14, 1832. It was edited by Robert Owen until Oct. 27 (No. 34), when Robert Dale Owen was joined with him; they carried it on thus to April 20, 1833. On April 27 that year, the subtitle was changed to "The National Co-operative, Trades Union, and Equitable Labour Exchange Gazette." No editor's name appears, but it is known to have been the Rev. J. G. Smith. On April 12, 1834, the words "Equitable Labour Exchange" have dropped out, and it so continues to the end, August 23, 1834, when *The Crisis* was discontinued, to make way for the *New Moral World*, edited by Robert Owen, and the *Shepherd*, edited by the Rev. J. G. Smith.—S.

THE WOLVES AND THE JACKALS.—The *Detroit Free Press* gives a fable that, reading Landlord and Capitalist for Wolf and Jackal, just about hits the mark: A pack of Wolves having assembled to take action in the matter of reforming the morals of the Jackals, the Lion was asked to preside. "I'll do anything to accommodate," he replied, "but it seems to me that the Wolves are as much in need of reform as the Jackals." "No doubt of it," said the leader of the pack, "but if we pitch into the failings of others we distract attention from our own." And it was therefore *Resolved*, That the Jackals must reform, or the power of the law be invoked. MORAL.—We see it every day.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HATED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. B. (Manchester), and others.—Please note that reports cannot possibly be inserted if they reach us later than first post Tuesday.

X. A.—Write to the secretary of our Branch there; he will tell you all about it.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 10.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY	SPAIN
Justice	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Seville—La Solidaridad
Labour Elector	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Wien—Gleichheit	Barcelona—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	HUNGARY	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Postal Service Gazette	San Jose—Pacific Union	ROMANIA	
Railway Review	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Jassy—Muncitorul	
Social Demokrat	PARIS—L'Egalite (daily)	SOCIAL-DEMOKRATEN	
Unity	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	
INDIA	Le Proletariat	Malmo—Arbetet	
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revolte	WEST INDIES	
Madras—People's Friend	Le Coup de Feu	Cuba—El Productor	
UNITED STATES	Pobadka		
New York—Der Sozialist	HOLLAND		
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen		
Truthseeker	BELOM		
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit		
Jewish Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND		
Workmen's Advocate	Arbeiterstimme		
The Truth	ITALY		
Boston—Woman's Journal	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia		
Investigator	Turin—Il Muratore		
Chicago—Knights of Labor			

### CULTURE TO THE RESCUE.

THE question, "Is life worth living?" which could hardly be raised in any age but ours, continues to receive amplification at the hands of its original propounder, Mr. W. H. Mallock. In an article on "The Scientific Basis of Optimism" in the *Fortnightly Review* for January he delivers himself of the following creditable utterances:

"No one would wish to speak flippantly—or at all events no sane man can think lightly—of the importance of giving to all a sufficiency of daily bread. But however we realise that starvation and privation are miseries, it does not follow—indeed we know it not to be true—that a light heart goes with a full stomach. Or suppose us to conceive that in the future it would come to do so, and that men would be completely happy when they all had enough to eat, would this be a consummation calculated to raise our enthusiasm, or move our souls with a solemn zeal to work for it? Would any human being who was capable of anything that has ever been called a high conception of life, feel any pleasure in the thought of a Humanity 'shut up in infinite content,' when once it has secured itself three meals a-day, and smiling every morning a self-satisfied smile at the universe, its huge lips shining with fried eggs and bacon?"

There is something very irritating in the cool impudence with which this full-fed philosopher argues the advisability of all people having the common necessities of life; but we are apt to forget that this is only self-evident to Socialists. "It does not follow," however, "that a light heart goes with a full stomach." Perhaps Mr. Mallock has never had an opportunity of trying whether it goes with an empty one. Our contention of course is that without the satisfaction of bodily needs it is impossible to realise any social ideals whatever; and that

consequently it is useless to strive for any desired improvement until this foundation be laid. Then, and then only, shall we see if light heartedness or any other desirable quality can be successfully cultivated on a large scale. The next point is that even supposing material satisfaction would produce social contentment, refined ladies and gentlemen with philanthropic tendencies would be unable to "work for it," owing to the "conception of life" involved not being sufficiently high to "move their souls with solemn zeal." Putting aside altogether the elementary question of mere justice in the apportionment of wealth to work, the sacrifice of the highbred and delicate enjoyments of Mr. Mallock and his circle to the vulgar claims of popular hunger is too impious to be thought of. Yet, to show that it is possible, even for persons whose interest in art is perhaps as deep as that of Mr. Mallock himself, I quote the following lines, which have always particularly struck me, from the pamphlet entitled 'Useful Work *versus* Useless Toil':

"If the cripple and the starveling disappear from our streets, if the earth nourish us all alike, if the sun shine for all of us alike, if to one and all of us the glorious drama of the earth—day and night, summer and winter—can be presented as a thing to understand and love, we can afford to wait awhile till we are purified from the shame of the past corruption, and till art arises again amongst people freed from the terror of the slave and the shame of the robber."

This Mallock is he who used to invite Laurence Gronlund to dinner, and try to coax him out of the impregnable fortress of Marxian economics. This is what he gets in return ('Danton in the French Revolution'):

"If he were perfectly frank he would say: 'Life is not worth living to any but an aristocracy. An aristocracy implies an exclusive class, implies that the mass of men be kept down. Then let them be kept down, for it is better that life be enjoyed by some than that it be enjoyed by none.' This is a sentiment so selfish as to be satanic, and it is false."

The cynical pessimism here stripped naked is very thinly veiled indeed in the whole passage I have quoted from Mallock; it is clearly shown in the last line, which is simply brutal. This horrible image is, however, valuable as showing the real nature of that delicacy and refinement which these superior people are so disinterestedly anxiously to preserve.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

### THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

EVEN the distant East is showing signs of awakening. Revolutionary thought is developing itself even there. Knowing what government in India is, we recognise in the Indian National Congress a party working on as progressive lines as the paternal government which administers the affairs of our Oriental brethren will permit under their benign rule. 'Tis true, there is nothing very alarming in their modest programme; but, in it, the elective principle is demanded. This Congress, be it remembered, is only in its infancy; the meeting at Allahabad is only its fourth. Its first meeting at Bombay was attended by 80 delegates, the second at Calcutta by 400, the next at Madras by 600, and the last by 1,500. Evidently the people of India perceive in this body the nucleus of an organisation through which they could make their wants and grievances known. The movement is essentially middle-class, having the support of nine-tenths of that element, "regardless of creed and race differences." No wonder that some timid and ignorant people are clamouring for its suppression. Such demands, however, can have but one effect, viz., increasing its popularity. Already the numerical strength of the association is 70,000; 70,000 men struggling to throw off some of the heavier and more oppressive burdens which British domination has imposed upon them. With the increasing spread of education, and as each successive Congress meets, we may expect to see a development of thought which in course of time must find expression in the endorsement of Socialistic principles. Then the Indian National Congress will have struck on the only lines on which the conditions of life of each and all of the numerous peoples of India can be altered for their mutual advantage.

A. B.

LOUIS KOSSUTH DYING.—News from Turin states that Louis Kossuth, the famous Hungarian patriot, who has been living there for a long time past, and has nearly completed his 84th year, is dying.

THE STRIKE AT MARSEILLES.—The strike which took place on the 1st among the men employed by the different shipping companies at Marseilles, and in which over a thousand are concerned, still continues. No agreement appears probable at present. There has been no disturbance, despite the provocative efforts of the enemy.

At the fourth annual festival of the Dundee and District Mill and Factory Operatives' Union the other week, after tea, there was a good deal of praise given to the Rev. Mr. Williamson, the "factory-worker's friend." This gentleman has fought well for his proteges and done yeoman service in their cause, so that no one will grudge him any praise he may be given; but in one of the speeches a suggestive line occurs. His "aim was to see every family in that city earning 15s. per week (applause)." Now, when that is the "aim" or ideal, imagination recoils from picturing what the present reality must be.

VICTORIA PARK DEBATE.—The debate which has been carried on in Victoria Park between H. Davis and Mr. Hoffman the last few Sundays, has attracted a good deal of attention. The orderly and courteous manner in which it has been conducted, is not its least important feature as a piece of propaganda. Both speakers were listened to with marked attention, and the points on either side were well taken up by the audience. Our friend, Mr. Hoffman, it is only fair to say, met our comrade in the most fraternal spirit, while strongly disagreeing with the Anarchist theory as laid down by Davis. The following were the points raised in this debate:—1. Can organisation exist without government? 2. Is some central authority necessary, either national or local? 3. Must the rule of the majority always prevail? 4. What would be the result of the abolition of all prescriptive law? 5. How far has law aided and fostered what is known as the sweating system? 6. Would the rule of the physically strongest prevail under Anarchy? 7. Are the police force an accidental factor of the present conditions, or are they a necessary corollary of the present system of private property and misery?



## SCOTCH NOTES.

No sensible Scotchman can be a patriot nowadays. He may love the hills and glens of Scotland, but they are no more his glens and mountains than are the Hindu Koosh or the plains of Timbuctoo. Of course he can peep at them over a hedge, or squint at them through a railway carriage window, just as he can look at the crags and peaks of the moon through a telescope.

I used to be a bit of a patriot myself. I enrolled myself a volunteer and joined lustily in singing "God save the Queen," with the view of defending my country from foreign invaders, when I heard that the Russians were marching upon Constantinople. I have since discovered that I have no country at all; and so far as the land of Scotland is concerned, I might as well be a Russian or a Turk. The only privilege a man has in being a Scotchman, is the privilege of fighting for landlords abroad and voting for them at home. There are some Scotchmen, however, who appear to esteem this privilege vastly.

I was present a week or so ago at a Liberal demonstration in a country town. The enthusiasm with which Lord Rosebery's name was received simply staggered me. Lord Rosebery I know as a man who makes politics a recreation and horse-racing a business. When Munro Ferguson, M.P., "of Novar," stepped upon the platform, the working-men waved their hats and caps, and cheered him as vociferously as if he had just returned from butchering a few thousands of Arabs or niggers, or from marrying the daughter of an American millionaire. So far as I know Mr. Ferguson has done neither, and what on earth they cheered him for, except that he was a landlord, I cannot conceive.

When Irishmen cheer like mad about William O'Brien, John Dillon, and Michael Davitt, there is some reason and method in their madness. These men have done something, or at any rate are endeavouring to do something for Irishmen; but when Scotchmen cheer Lord Rosebery and Munro Ferguson, two robber landlords who cloak their plunder in the hypocritical garb of Liberalism, then we are perplexed indeed.

A weekly paper recently took a plebescite on the question as to who was the greatest living Scotchman—Lord Rosebery was returned at the head of the poll! Again I say no sensible Scotchman can be a patriot.

Lord Rosebery the greatest living Scotchman! Who, then, is the greatest dead Scotchman? I have always had a vague dread that it will some day be proved that Robert Burns was an Irishman.

It has already been proved, I believe, that Wallace was a Welshman, or something of that kind; and if Burns is taken from us, no great democratic Scotchman will be left us—except perhaps Rob Roy. Rob Roy was a cattle-stealer and an outlaw. He stole cattle from rich landlords who had plundered the people; and he defied the laws made by rich landlords to protect their plunder. Thus in a humble way he was a pioneer of modern scientific Socialism. Would that we had a Rob Roy nowadays in Scotland!

The Dundee *People's Journal* and the *Scottish Leader* are both generous in admitting into their columns letters in favour of Socialism. In the former, comrade Leatham of Aberdeen is writing a series of articles on the labour question from a Socialist standpoint.

Henry George's forthcoming lecture tour in Scotland is of some interest to Socialists. For the man himself we can have neither admiration or respect: his betrayal of our brave comrades, the Chicago martyrs, being one of the basest episodes in modern political campaigning. We have no need, however, to vindicate their memory by tracking him down with accusation and denunciation—their fame will burn through the night of years as bright and imperishable as the stars. They were heroes; he is a politician.

There is no reason why Socialists should display hostility towards the propagation of his land-nationalisation scheme. It is true the scheme itself—especially since it has been cut down and polished round to pass through the mesh of practical politics—is a reactionary one; but none the less the assertion of the principle upon which it is based—the right of the people to the land, and its necessary attack upon landlordism and plunder—in a measure makes for Socialism.

If there were any likelihood of Mr. George's "single-tax" proposal, or any other scheme of mere fiscal reform, directing the attention of thoughtful and earnest people from the great problem of the destruction of class privilege and mastership in every form, Socialists might reasonably regard the advocacy of such measures with disfavour. But there is none: Socialism is already an immensely preponderating force in Scotland, and the minor momentum of land-nationalisation may impel but cannot retard it.

The Land Restoration League was founded in Glasgow by Henry George almost contemporaneously with the formation of the Scottish Land and Labour League by Andreas Scheu and a few other Socialists. The Land and Labour League was then a very small body—a dozen or so; the Land Restoration League had 2,000 names upon its roll in the

course of a few weeks. For a while it appeared as if the Land Restoration League was going to become a formidable political party, likely, indeed, to soon rival the historic Liberal and Tory parties. But it did not. The formation of branches of the Social-Democratic Federation and Socialist League in Glasgow about a year afterwards drew from it a large number of its most useful and enthusiastic members. Since then the number of Socialists has greatly increased, while the Land Restorers—especially after the defeat of their candidates at the general election of 1885—have diminished.

In fact the Land Restorers immediately exhibited a tendency to arrange themselves into three classes,—those who thought land restoration was enough; those who thought it was not enough; and those who thought it was rather more than enough. The first of these have stuck to their four-shillings-in-the-pound-tax-upon-landlords theory of complete economic salvation; the second have become Socialists; while the last have reverted to mere political Radicalism. A not inconsiderable number, it is true, belong to neither of these groups, but regard land restoration as a step merely towards Socialism; these latter opportunists form undoubtedly the ablest, and probably the most numerous portion of those who still prefer to style themselves land restorers. Anyhow, if Henry George takes means to ascertain the position and strength of the movement which he founded, he will discover that Socialism has seriously thinned the ranks of his followers in Scotland; and of those that answer to the call of his voice there will be few of any account who are not much more Socialists than land restorers.

Let, then, Mr. George preach. His propaganda, so far as it goes, will at least stir up the soil for us. Where his ploughshare goes, there our hands shall sow, and there also our hands shall reap.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

COMRADE,—I have been greatly pleased with a novel feature in *L'Egalité*, a Parisian paper, which I should be glad to see copied by the *Commonweal*. I refer to the "Tribune Socialiste." In the columns which carry this title, Socialists of all schools are allowed to freely discuss their theories, and the result is that much instructive and interesting reading is provided for the whole body of subscribers. I feel sure that if you introduced a Socialist Free Tribune into the *Commonweal*, you would secure a great many new contributors in the form of correspondents, and would afford an opportunity to the latest converts to Socialism to thoroughly understand our principles. Interesting as are the orthodox articles in the *Commonweal* and *Justice*, I feel confident that there is a large body of Socialists who, like myself, would like as a change to read letters written in the language of the workshop and the street by comrades who are seeking to know the why and wherefore of Socialism and Anarchism. Moreover, I hold that the friendly discussion of our differences of opinion as Communists, Anarchists, and Social Democrats, is decidedly useful to the common cause of the emancipation of labour.

Whilst writing, and having in view the recent decided tendency of the Socialist League towards Communist-Anarchism, I would draw the attention of comrades to the recent modification in the organisation of the Spanish Socialists which was agreed to at the Congress of Valencia. The clauses which have been adopted unanimously by the delegates, and have since been submitted to the groups for their confirmation, are as follows:

1. By Anarchism we understand a social state in which there is no necessity for government. We are of opinion that whilst the principle of authority exists, there will be no guarantee for the liberty of all members of society. The principle of authority or of the direction of society, supposes that those who associate together are incapable of ruling themselves, and it always degenerates into tyranny. Sociology proves to us that man has already attained his majority, and that he is worthy to enjoy all the liberty that the laws of Nature—the only ones which we accept—permit him to enjoy. The only obstacle raised against this enjoyment is a matter of interests, monopolies, and privileges, sustained not by reason or justice, but by deception and force.

2. Since we recognise that a society will never be completely Anarchist whilst there remains in it the least authoritarianism or subjection, we must also recognise as a guarantee of liberty the abolition of the principle of private property and of the exploitation of man by man.

3. Consequently to the above, the revolutionary Anarchist organisation will be formed of all individuals, societies, groups, circles, journals, etc., who accept Anarchism, without distinction of revolutionary means or economic schools.

4. Since man ought to be free in his actions as well as in his right of association, and since the groups and the individuals are free to make arrangements with others, and to act as it appears best to those who are interested in obtaining the required results, without any other hindrances or obstacles than those which necessarily exist in accordance with the end to be obtained—no statutes or rules of conduct are imposed, and to each individual, to each group, and to all the organisation, is left the study and the means which they will find most suitable to secure the triumph of Anarchism.

5. We believe that it will be convenient for all the units of the organisation to have a Centre of relations and statistics, so as to facilitate the exchange of information, communications, and agreement between the groups, a kind of clearing-house of the organisation, with no other rights nor any initiative; and the units of the organisation will determine how this Centre shall be constituted, as well as the individuals it shall consist of, its locality, duration, etc.

These clauses, I think, contain much matter for reflection. I commend them to the careful thought of those members of the League who desire to see their organisation rendered yet more powerful and yet more decided in its opposition to authority in every shape and form. English Socialists have, I venture to think, still something to learn from their Continental brethren.—Faternally yours,

JAMES BLACKWELL.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Lanarkshire steel smelters will get an advance of 5 per cent. towards the end of this month.

The master-joiners of Greenock have agreed to advance the wages of their men from 6½d. to 7½d. per hour.

The rope and twine spinner's strike in Dundee still continues. One master has granted the men's demands.

The struggle between the ironworkers at Millom and Askam is still continuing, and all hope of a compromise seems to be given up.

The Edinburgh Corporation workmen connected with the cleansing department have unanimously agreed to join the Carter's Union.

A strike of labourers, smiths, and crane-drivers for an advance in wages has taken place at Horwich Locomotive Works of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company.

The coal-owners in the South and West Yorkshire districts met at Leeds on April 9th, to consider their action respecting the demand of the men for 10 per cent. advance as agreed upon at the Birmingham Conference.

A strike has taken place at Greenock with the quay labourers, engaged to discharge beet-root sugar from the steamer *Ibis*. The men refuse to work until they are paid 7d. per and 10½d. per hour as overtime after 6 p.m.

A proposal, says a Glasgow paper, is being ventilated in the south, and is meeting with considerable support, that in future contracts a clause should be inserted providing that prices shall rise and fall in proportion to the rise and fall in wages.

**MASONS' LABOURERS' STRIKE.**—The masons' labourers on strike at Kilmarnock have agreed to form a Kilmarnock Branch of the Scottish Labourers' Union. The men are at present paid 4d. per hour, and are agitating for an increase to 4½d., which the masters have declined to concede.

**BAKERS' UNION.**—A meeting is to be held next Saturday evening at 8 p.m., at the "Prince Arthur," Brunswick Place, City Road, for the purpose of starting a union for the district of Shoreditch, Hoxton, and St. Lukes. Meetings will be held shortly in the north, south, and west of London.

The miners throughout the South Wales and Monmouthshire coalfields, numbering about 60,000, returned to work last week, at an advance in wages of 7½ per cent. The miners demanded an advance of 12½ per cent., but a compromise was effected by the coalowners, and a great strike was averted.

**KILMARNOCK MILL GIRLS' STRIKE.**—The girls in the employment of T. and J. Ferguson, Nursery Mills—about 600 in number—have come out on strike against the bad quality of yarn supplied. The firm state the matter complained of is quite inadvertent, and promise to do all in their power to meet the wish of the workers. But the strike continues.

**DUNDEE TRADES COUNCIL.**—It was resolved, at a meeting held 3rd April, to take a plebiscite of all trades unionists in Dundee, for the purpose of seeing whether they were in favour of an eight hours' day, and also for ascertaining whether it was the desire that it should be obtained by Act of Parliament or through the agencies of the various societies.

**RIVETERS' STRIKE.**—Nearly all the riveters who were out on strike at Govan have returned to work. Some dissatisfaction still prevails among a section of the men, and also with those engaged in other branches of shipbuilding. In one of the largest yards it is said that wages in certain branches have been increased from 40 to 50 per cent. within the past six months.

**GAS-STOKERS.**—Sunday morning the gas-stokers and firemen, who are agitating and organising all over London, held another meeting opposite "The Ordnance Arms," Barking Road. Hobart spoke, urging them to organise, having always in view to ultimately get complete control of their work, and thus get the whole of the result of it. Numbers joined the union. Mowbray will address them Sunday next.

**RAILWAY SERVANTS AND PENSIONS.**—During last week a ballot was taken among the men employed in workshops of the London and North-Western Railway at Crewe, whether or not the pension fund should be continued or abolished. The fund has caused much irritation, and the men have held mass meetings against it. The result of the ballot was made known on Thursday 4th. More than 11,000 voted for its abolition and about 900 for its continuance.

**DARWEN BRICKLAYERS.**—The bricklayers of Darwen are working at a higher rate of wages, the result of a threatened strike. For a long time they have been working for 8d. per hour, whilst in Blackburn 8½d. is paid. Some time ago a Bricklayers' Society was formed, and since then an agitation has been in progress for an advance. The masters took no notice, and a fortnight ago the men intimated their intention of leaving their employment; but the masters decided to pay 8½d. the same as Blackburn.

**STUD AND PEG, AND GAS-RIVET MAKERS.**—The operatives in the stud and peg factories at Blackheath and surrounding places have given notice for an advance. Unless the employers concede the increase the men have threatened to strike. The gas-rivet makers in same districts have also given notice for an advance. This notice expired on Saturday, and in the event of the masters refusing to concede the claim—viz., 8s. per cwt.—it is very probable that the operatives will decline to take out any more iron at the old rates.

**CLYDE SHIPWRIGHTS.**—Negotiations have been pending for some time between the Clyde Shipbuilders Employers' Association and the members of the Associated Shipwrights' Society regarding an advance of wages. After two conferences between representatives of both Associations, it has been arranged that the shipwrights receive an increase of 3d. per hour, commencing April 4th and continuing till September 6th. Another meeting will take place previous to this latter date, to arrange future rates in terms of the employers' new association rules.

**SCOTCH MINERS.**—The General Assembly of the Sons of Labour, representing the mining districts of Lanark and Dumbartonshire, has unanimously agreed to take joint action with the English and Welsh miners to secure a 10 per cent. advance on an early date. The Fife miners have given notice of the same action. It is intended to hold a demonstration at Hamilton—11th April—to give direction and force to the movement inaugurated at the Birmingham Conference. William Small, miners' secretary, Lanarkshire, submitted to the Home Office some of the alleged unsatisfactory audits at various collieries under the Truck Act, and the law officers of the Crown are to be asked their opinion on the subject.

**DARLASTON GUN-LOCK TRADE.**—On Tuesday week a meeting of gun-lock filers on strike was held at the offices of the Nut and Bolt Makers' Association, Darlaston. Mr. R. Juggins presided, and said they had now entered upon the eleventh week of the strike. He regretted that the employers had not conceded the small advance asked for. He thought it was high time to start the operatives to work on the co-operative principle, which would be far better than wasting the money on a strike. Each workman had his own tools, so there would be nothing to provide but the means of purchasing the locks and stocking them until there was a demand for them. He was willing to suggest this plan to the next Council meeting of the Midland Counties Trades' Federation. A resolution in this sense had the approval of the meeting.

**MILITARY BOOTMAKING.**—A "Cavalry Bootmaker" writes to the *Star* to call attention to the price paid for labour to the bootmakers at Aldershot. He says that the cavalry soldier pays the best price in the country for his work, and the man that does it gets the worst pay. Here are his prices for repairing:—Boots soled, heeled, welted, 4s. 10d.; wages, 1s. 7d.; materials, 1s.; profit, 2s. 3d. Boots soled, heeled, 3s. 10d.; wages, 1s. 2d.; materials, 10d.; profit, 1s. 10d. Boots heeled, 10d.; wages, 3d.; material, 1d.; profit, 6d. Boots toe-pieced, 10d.; wages, 3d.; material, 2d.; profit, 5d. Patch, 4d.; wages, 1d.; profit, 3d. Spur-rests, 4d.; wages, 2d.; profit, 2d. It will take a man a day of 13 or 14 hours to do two pairs of those boots, and for that amount of time and labour he gets 3s. 2d., while the master bootmaker pockets 4s. 6d. He winds up by asking: "Is it right or is it just that a man will sit down 14 or 15 hours making a heavy pair of cavalry jack-boots for which he gets 3s. 6d., and out of that he is compelled to lay out 4d. with the master bootmaker for materials to make them with, and at the same time have to find a workshop, while the master boot-maker pockets 10s. on that pair of boots? It is nearly time the military authorities put a stop to this." Yes! and it is time that workmen everywhere should set to work to "put a stop to this;" for it is going on in all trades everywhere and all the time.

**NATIONAL AMALGAMATED SAILORS' AND FIREMEN'S UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.**—The following notice has been issued to "sailors and firemen, boatswains and donkeymen shipping at Tidal Basin Shipping Office": At a large meeting of the Tidal Basin Branch of the above Union, held on the 22nd March 1889, it was resolved to adopt the following rates of wages, and to stand firm until these rates are paid: Firemen, in western ocean boats, £4 15s.; sailors, ditto, £4; firemen, to the southward, Mediterranean, and Suez Canal, £4 10s.; sailors, ditto, £4. Sailing ships—Baltic and Quebec, £3 15s.; southward, £3 5s.; donkeymen, in western ocean boats, £5 5s.; ditto, southward, Mediterranean and Suez Canal, £5; boatswains, ditto, £5 5s.; boatswains, in western ocean boats, £6. The notice goes on: "What we ask in the above rates is not too much, and in asking this we are only seeking what will enable us to keep our wives and families in a respectable manner. We are only asking a fair share of the fruits of our hard labour. . . . Join the already strong ranks of the National Union, and ask others to help you. In times past we have looked to the shipowners to do something to better our condition, but now let us strive as men who are free-born and have all the advantages of improved times to assist us to raise ourselves to the position we should occupy—namely, that of the most important factor in this great nation's commerce." There are at present 46 branches of the National Union established, having a membership of 50,000. Seafaring men wishing to become members may be enrolled at the following London branches: 3 Mint Pavement, Tower Hill; 9 Jeremiah Street, Green's Home, East India Dock Road; 1 Tickford Terrace, Tidal Basin.

**ALVERTHORPE WOOLLEN WEAVERS.**—The strike of woollen weavers at Alverthorpe, near Wakefield, still continues, and there seems at present no prospect of a settlement. About 130 are affected. It is now over five weeks since the weavers, women and girls, refused a reduced rate of payment. Various kinds of woollen fabrics are manufactured by the firm, including a large proportion of tweeds and fine blue-cloths. For weaving, so much per piece is paid, and the contract between the firm and the weaver extends simply to the piece which she undertakes to produce in the loom. The rate of payment has been considerably lowered more than once. Formerly as much as 8s. 6d. was paid per piece (about 50 yards) of tweed. Some time ago this was reduced to 5s. 6d. No resistance was offered, though it was felt to be a considerable "drop"; but when the firm about five weeks ago intimated that the same work would have to be done for 4s. 8d. the weavers quitted the mill, many of them leaving their pieces in process of weaving. In so doing they of course committed a breach of their contract, as they afterwards found to their cost. Sixty-five of them were summoned before the West Riding magistrates for the offence, and each was ordered to pay 3s. 3d. damages and 6s. 6d. costs, at the rate of 2s. 6d. per week, amounting in all to £33, 6s. 3d. The justices further ordered the defendants to return to the mill and complete the weaving of the pieces. This they have done. It is stated, however, that so far they have not paid any instalment, and that they are determined not to do so, as they cannot understand the equity of their having to pay damages and to complete their contract in addition. As to the wages earned, it is asserted on behalf of the weavers that a good hand in full work can weave five pieces of tweed in a fortnight. These, paid for at 5s. 6d. each, would bring 27s. 6d., or 13s. 9d. per week. At 4s. 8d., the reduced rate, the amount earned would be only 11s. 8d. per week. This would be low, even if constant work could be obtained, which hitherto has not been the case. Suppose a lack of work of two days and a half in the week, as has sometimes occurred, the amount earned would not exceed that paid for a piece—4s. 8d. The rate for fine blue cloth has also been lowered. At one time as much as 11s. 6d. per piece was paid for one kind. This was brought down to 9s. 8d., and now the rate offered is 7s. 11d. An expert hand requires eight days to turn out two pieces, and not more than 11s. could be earned on the average in the week. Here again full employment has not been the rule. One of the weavers, who has been engaged on this class of work, and has the reputation amongst her fellows of being both industrious and quick at the loom, from October until the strike began did not earn on the average more than 6s. per week, owing to having to wait for work. The masters put their case thus: They admit that they have reduced the plain cloth rate as stated, but assert that they have introduced such an improvement in the arrangements as will make it possible for the weavers they intend to employ to earn quite as good wages at the lower rate as they did under the old system at the higher rate. Some 14 or 15 of the old hands have returned to work, other weavers have been taken on, and they are thus enabled to run some 50 or 60 looms; so that they are in a position to judge what a good weaver can earn under the new scale. The wages-book, they assert, already shows that from 14s. to 16s.

per week can be made at plain work. The weavers, on the other hand, say that there has been no alteration made in the speed of looms, nor in any other way, so far as they know, which would enable them to make as good wages. The firm further state that they do not intend to run more than 20 or 30 additional looms. It would therefore appear that a large proportion of the girls and women on strike will have to look for employment elsewhere. They do not belong to any trades union, and an appeal is being made for contributions to enable them to continue the struggle. The public are said to be responding pretty well, those who are out receiving 4s. a-week. A procession of the strikers was broken up by the police, and two girls who were marching at its head with concertinas were fined for "obstruction."

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, May 6, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Clerkenwell and Mitcham, to end of February. Leicester, North London, and East London, to end of March. Bradford, to end of April.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; Tilley, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Latham, 1s. 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Fuller, 6d.; S. Presburg, 6d.; and A. Scheu, 5s. Norwich Branch, 2s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Mile End Waste*—Fair meeting on Saturday, when Brookes spoke; some friendly opposition from a Fabian. *Hyde Park*—Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, Furlong (S.D.F.), Cantwell, and Hicks spoke. Good sale of *Weals*, and 1s. 10d. collected. *Clerkenwell Green*—Brookes, Nicoll, and Mrs. Lahr spoke to good meeting. A great many of the comrades and friends then went to our hall, 13, Farringdon Road, to hear Mowbray lecture on "Socialism in Norfolk." *Victoria Park*—Splendid meeting on Sunday to hear debate between H. Davis and Mr. Hoffman. Good sale of literature.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; Dean, A. J. Smith, Maughan, Kitchen, and Saint were the speakers; 59 *Commonweal* sold; choir sang *Marseillaise*. Attempt to hold meeting at St. Ann's Road was not a success, but we will try again next Sunday. As this is a very poor neighbourhood we have to face great apathy. At Weltje Road on Sunday evening a fair meeting; speakers were Kitchen, Mordhurst, Crouch, A. J. Smith, Spry, and Maughan. At Kelmscott House, Hunter Watts (S.D.F.) lectured.—G. M.

**WHITECHAPEL AND ST. GEORGES-IN-THE-EAST.**—A lecture was given by Annie Besant on Wednesday, April 3, on "Is Socialism a Dream?" Good audience in spite of bad weather. A splendid meeting at Leman Street on Sunday morning. Mowbray, Samuels, and McCormick were the speakers.—T.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 1st, G. B. Shaw's lecture on "The Economic Aspect of Socialism" read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, large enthusiastic meeting addressed by Duncan, Leatham, and Gilray (of Edinburgh), the latter having stayed in town over Saturday on Sunday on his way north on business. Same speakers addressed a meeting at Duthie Park, Waterside Gate, on Sunday. The weather, however, is still so cold that few go to the park, and meeting was small and fluctuating. This station, which is exposed and out of the way, must be abandoned for some time yet, though we trust to be able, "when the balmy breezes blow," to run a second open-air meeting every week.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at mid-day, we held our usual meeting on Jail Square, Downie, Joe and Tim Burgoyne being the speakers. At 5 o'clock, Downie, Glasier, Gilbert, Joe and Tim Burgoyne spoke at Paisley Road Toll. At 7 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne, Glasier, and Pollock addressed a meeting at St. Georges Cross.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday afternoon, usual meeting in Market Place, very fair audience; Poynts opened, followed by Darley. After the meeting, groups gathered discussing Socialism, etc. In evening, W. Moore lectured upon "Socialism, some of its objections," Lennyng in chair. Unusual number of questions put and answered; animated discussion, Darley, Adams, Poynts, A. Moore, and others taking part.

**YARMOUTH.**—A fair meeting here on Sunday was addressed by Ruffold and Reynolds. 18 *Weal* sold, and 1s. 5½d. collected.—C. R.

**IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.**—A good debate, adjourned from previous week, on "Organised Labour," was continued on Sunday; good audience; Thomas, Sutthron, Brown, Khill, Bishop, Harvey, Mr. Frank Bowman (chairman), and several others took part. A very pleasant evening. Creed, in reply, pointed out the urgent necessities of trade unionists embracing Socialism.—M. C.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in the Great Market Place on Sunday; Rools and Peacock spoke. Collection 1s. 6d., and *Commonweal* sold out, also a quantity of the Aberdeen Socialist songs. Branch meets Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays at Club-room, Old Street, St. Ann's Street.—R. P.

**SOCIALIST LEAGUE IN MANCHESTER.**—All sympathisers and friends of the Cause in this district are earnestly requested to give their assistance in forming a branch, by becoming members if possible, and making it known to others who may be interested. The active and systematic propaganda of our principles is nowhere more needed than in this benighted metropolis of china clay, and shoddy. The first meeting to enroll members and make arrangements will take place at the International Working-men's Club, 122, Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street, on Tuesday next, 16th inst., at 8 p.m.

### Comrade Wess.

A GRAND CONCERT will be held in the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday, April 14th, for the benefit of comrade WESS, who has been out of work for a long time. The following comrades will sing and recite during the evening: W. Morris, Mrs. Taylor, Wm. Blundell, W. B. Parker, Mrs. Blundell, J. Turner, D. Nicoll, J. Presburg, Miss Morgan, McCormick, and others. ADMISSION BY PROGRAMME, 6d.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Sunday April 14th, No lecture, owing to Concert on behalf of comrade Wess.

**East London.**—97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 14, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Leasehold Enfranchisement: a Warning." Thursday April 18, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 19th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Waltham and Camberwell.**—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. Members wishing to join in our Saturday afternoon propaganda excursions are requested to assemble in Rooms on Saturdays at 4.30.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall; at 8 p.m., lecture in Gordon Hall by A. T. Sutton. Monday, at 8, Lecture on "Phrenology" by Mr. Roberts, on behalf of the Branch funds; admission free; collection will be taken at the door. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class—subject, 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Thursday and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.—At Easter a great Demonstration will be held, addressed by C. W. Mowbray (London) and others.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. The *Commonweal* can be purchased of Mr. Hous, newsagent, George Street.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

### SATURDAY 13.

8 ..... Mile-end Waste.....East London Branch

### SUNDAY 14.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station.....Dean, Lyne senr., and Saint  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....The Branch  
11.30..... "Canterbury Arms"—Kilburn Road .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... Hammersmith—St. Ann's Road .....Maughan, Crouch, and Spray  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....McCormick  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll and Mrs. Lahr  
11.30..... Walham Green, opposite Station .....The Branch  
11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell .....Davis, Turner, and Mowbray  
3.30..... Hyde Park .....Parker, Nicoll, and Mrs. Lahr  
3.30..... Victoria Park.....East London Branch  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....Parker and Brookes  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....The Branch  
7.30..... Broad Street, Soho .....Parker  
7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....Kitz

### TUESDAY 16.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

### THURSDAY 18.

8 ..... Ossulton Street .....North London Branch

### FRIDAY 19.

8 ..... Philpot Street, Commercial Road .....Brookes  
8.15..... Hoxton Church .....East London Branch

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m. Sunday: Waterside Gate, Duthie Park, 3 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

**FULHAM LIBERAL CLUB.**—Sunday April 14th, at 8.30, William Morris will lecture on "Equality."

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB,** Kay Street, Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.—Sunday April 14th, William Clarke, "Practical Socialism."

**ELEUSIS CLUB,** 180 King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.—Sunday April 14, Mr. Mark Knowles, Barrister, "The Revolution Settlement of 1688." At 8 p.m.

**CLUB AUTONOME,** 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road.—Sunday April 14, at 3.45 p.m., lecture by Lothrop Withington, "A Reply to Herbert Burrows on Anarchism."

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F.,** New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower March, Lambeth.—Tuesday April 16th, W. M. Thompson, "Leaders of the Democracy."



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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 171.

SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE has been a sharp discussion going on in the columns of the *Star* as to whether the Socialists or Social Democrats (which on the whole is the properer name for those really implicated) ought to respond to the invitation of the *Star* Radicals to form some sort of alliance with them. Mr. Hyndman began the discussion in a very able letter, in which he pointed out the indisputable fact, that in whatever the present day Radicals differ from the Liberals they owe the distinction to the adoption of Socialist views; and in which he asserted that though it was natural for the Radicals to seek for the alliance it would be wise for the Socialists to refrain from it.

This discussion must clearly have to do with the position of Radicals and Socialists as *parties*, for already on many occasions Socialists have not hesitated to ally themselves with the Radicals for a purpose which seemed clear to both. For example, the League as well as the S.D.F. has shown itself at almost all the anti-Coercion meetings where they thought they could be of service in pushing forward what appeared to them a revolutionary movement. We cannot declare against a proposition merely because Radicals (or for the matter of that Tories) agree to it.

But as to parties? It is quite true, as Mr. Hyndman implies, that in all alliances between parties the stronger uses the weaker and throws it off when it finds it convenient to do so: running the risk, however, meantime of finding that the weaker party has, as it were, eaten its way into the skin of the stronger and so destroyed it. It is equally true also that the stronger or respectable party must make its programme from the programme of the weaker, spoiling it as much as it dares to do in the process.

And then what is a party? Our old acquaintance, Mr. Mahon, in a letter to the *Star*, says that there is no Socialist party, but only a propaganda; his view being, I suppose, that for the sake of gaining the advantages of "a party" the Socialists should merge themselves in the Radical party. But, after all, is there a Radical party? There are plenty of Radicals, doubtless; but how can they be called a party when they themselves are now declaring for what they at least believe to be a modified Socialism, and yet they must feel or simulate enthusiasm for their leader, Mr. Gladstone, who has never heard of Socialism, and for their other leader, Mr. Morley, who knows just enough about it to be able to use phrases which repudiate it? Their policy is to attach themselves to the Liberals and work them to further their semi-Socialism, just as some of our Social Democratic friends want to work the Radicals to further their Socialism. They have no party leaders and no party representatives.

And what is a Radical? I mean, of course, a Radical of to-day. The *Star* in its answer to Mr. Hyndman really answers this question quite ingeniously, and shows us that a Radical of the new type is a man who would believe in Socialism if he could only find out what it is, and who would cast Whiggery aside if he could only convince himself of its being possible to carry on without it. The *Star*, which we have been taking all along as the representative of this view, often prints sheer Socialism, which we have been glad to quote at times; but also often exhibits the most commonplace Whiggery. Therefore, without imputing any bad faith to its disclaimer of using Socialism as "political birdlime," I say it is being so used, and I don't agree with its prophecy that when Home Rule is got it will still advocate this semi-Socialist Radicalism. On the contrary, we may be sure that the Gladstonian success will produce a fresh cleavage; the Whig element in Radicalism will declare itself Whig (or Tory, it does not matter which), and the Socialist element will declare itself Socialist.

At the same time I think we must accept with cheerfulness this fact of Radicalism permeated by Socialism. Six years ago the attitude of the Radicals, even the furthest advanced of them, was Mr. John Morley's "I don't know you." And now what are these words in the

leader of a Radical paper about contract? "It" (the new Radicalism) "does not recognise that free contract exists between the workers and the capitalists, the landlord and the tenant." My Radical friends, that is an attack on the very palladium of Radicalism; on the recognition of that free contract between the monopolist and his "dependent" our present holy society rests. What middle course can there be between that "Free Contract" and the abolition of monopoly?

But the *Star* wavers through its terror of the might of Whiggery: "It does recognise that if such contracts are made, they should be subject to the constant revision in the interests of the weaker party." O impotent conclusion! For it means the robber shall still be allowed to rob, but that some of his stealings shall be taken away from him. How much? "A great deal if I can manage it," says the Radical. "None at all, if I can help it," says the Monopolist, "I and my armed executive." What can come of these two differences of opinion in the long run? Abolition of monopoly in the teeth of the monopolist—nothing else.

Meantime, while the Radicals are drifting towards Socialism, let Socialists be contented to be a propaganda and not a party. A propaganda can afford to have principles genuinely believed in by its members; a party in order to constitute itself must give up some principle, or make a semblance of doing so, which semblance is very likely to grow into a reality; and when it has got as far as that, this mere piece of opportunism is likely to become a shibboleth which all members of the party must utter or be boycotted. The Socialist propaganda has done perhaps already more than we who have been living amongst it know. It ever there should be a Socialist party, at least let there be a Socialist propaganda of principle existing beside it and not tied to it. I am sure that we cannot do without that, whichever way politics may turn.

W. M.

At a special meeting on Thursday 11th, the London County Council by 64 votes to 31, passed the following resolution:

"That London is the only city in Great Britain which, whilst paying the expenses of the police, has no voice in its control or management; that this state of things is anomalous, unjust, and unworthy of the first city in the empire; and this Council therefore cannot doubt that Parliament will take an early opportunity of supplementing its scheme of local government for London by transferring the management of the police to the Council."

The question had been partly debated on the previous Tuesday, and was then adjourned to Thursday. The discussion was an interesting and instructive one, but of course in these days of the Parnell Commission the reports in the daily press met with little mercy from the editorial blue pencil. So that few people know much of what was said. One good thing was that the opposition speeches were most fully reported, their "arguments" given unutilated.

Among the worst of the reactionary speeches were those of two *Star* "progressives," Lord Lingen and Mr. Frederick Harrison. The last named, lifting his olympian eyebrows, told the Council that it was only a "conglomerate vestry," and wholly incompetent to control a police force on which the safety of the empire depended!

Mr. Marks, representative of the *Financial News* and mouthpiece of the money-bag, held that London was the refuge of "the rag-tag and bob-tail of creation," who needed to be held down with a strong hand. Dr. Longstaff had a fit of mob upon the brain, and was skilfully treated by John Burns, who followed him, saying: "If we have vicious and criminal classes in London, if we have the rag-tag and bob-tail of creation—and I don't deny that we have, *specially at the West-end*—the proper method of dealing with them is not to bludgeon them, but to remove the causes that produce them."

Colonel Rotton, a fiery little man, with twenty-two years uneventful military service behind him, was great in support of discipline and law'n'-order. Colonel Howard Vincent posed as the ex-prefect of police, and was learned, statistical, and Cassandra-like by turns;

heaped-up wealth, and powerful interests, and ragged mobs and revolution, and square miles of jurisdiction, and the rights of respectable people, were all hurled at his opponents in the course of his speech.

The list of the opponents of popular control is completed by the following names: Mr. Farquhar, banker; Mr. H. L. Foster, lay preacher and company-promoter; Mr. Boulnois, late of the Board of Works; and Sir W. De Souza, Knight, count of Rome, Commander of the Orders of the Corporation and of Christ, and Knight of the Golden Spear. It is enough to name them; comment is needless.

S.

### SELF-HELP versus STATE-HELP.

So begins a document of some six or seven closely-printed pages, recently issued by the Liberty and Property Defence League. The phrase has the appearance of a motto; and I suppose it is intended as a suggestion of the general principles of the Society; unless, indeed, which is far from probable, it has some meaning of a secret nature, only revealed to the initiated, after attention has been paid to the equally obscure, though highly suggestive phrase, "Subscriptions voluntary from 5s. upwards" with which the circular ends.

For unfortunately, as it makes no assertion, the motto, if such it be, sheds no light of its own on the darkness in a mind uninitiated in the mysteries of the League; and if one tries to illuminate it for himself, he is immediately entangled in the endeavour to choose the right one out of the many possible meanings of the words "self," "state," "help"—not to speak of some ambiguity about "*versus*." Thus, one hardly knows whether he is to be treated to the history of an actual contest, as when, for example, we read over the account of a cricket-match, "Kent *versus* Surrey"; or whether the mysterious words refer merely to a comparison between two principles, as one might speak of "Free Trade *versus* Fair Trade."

Then again, "State-help"; what does that mean? "State" is such a very wide and doubtful term, and may apply to anything, from the Russian autocracy or the English Government on the one hand, to the popular self-government aimed at by many Socialists on the other. In the last case, "State-help" would be synonymous with "self-help"; but since the phrase in question implies a difference between self-help and State-help, I conclude that "State-help" means assistance offered by a government to those who need it.

But if it be true that "When you want a thing well done you must do it yourself," it follows that none would seek the aid of government unless *unable* to help themselves. "State-help," therefore, must refer to *assistance offered to the helpless*.

Now, as it is absurd to speak of "self-help" with reference to the helpless, these first two words must apply to *another* set of persons, who are *not* helpless, but have both the power and the will to help themselves. But the phrase runs "Self-Help *versus*," etc. Plainly it can be no question of *comparison*, because the two "helps" spoken of are of an entirely different nature. Accordingly, "*versus*" must mean *against*, or *contesting*. These worthies, then, who can help themselves, are against, or in hostility to, the aid that may be offered by the Government to those who need it.

And now the motto stands interpreted to us, calling our attention to the efforts of the Powerful to frustrate the attempts of Government to give assistance to the Helpless. This view of the object of the Liberty and Property Defence League is supported by the summary which the League gives of its aims: "For maintaining freedom of contract, for upholding proprietary rights, and for resisting Socialistic legislation." Just so; "resisting legislation" which might interfere with proprietary rights for the benefit of those who have no property.

The document is addressed "to everyone concerned with land, houses, and agriculture." Surely this is a little too wide: for all, however helpless, are "concerned" with the houses which give shelter, and with the land, on whose produce alone life can be supported. But there can be no end served in addressing the helpless; and this must therefore be an appeal to the *other* class, to enlist their sympathies with the League, so that they may combine to help one another maintain their power. It is worth noting that the Liberty and Property Defence League countenances combination as an advantageous form of self-help.

After this address, we get, as our interpretation of the "*versus*" would lead us to expect, a sort of statement of the contest the League has been engaged in, in a long list of "Bills opposed or promoted by the League during the last six Sessions," beginning with the year 1883. I fail to discern those that have been "promoted," but there are no fewer than 104 which have been opposed, and almost all of these have been either amended or dropped—presumably (or so at least we are led to believe) through the action of the League. One which "received the royal assent" shows us the Liberty and Property Defence League in the awful position of offering opposition to the will of Her Most Gracious Majesty!

I will merely mention one or two. Here, for instance, in 1887 are the "Sanitation of Houses in the Metropolis" Bill, the "Mining Acts Insurance" Bill, the "Agricultural Tenants' Relief (Scotland)" Bill, and so on—104 of them! The objections to them are mainly to the effect that they "tax the ratepayers for Socialistic purposes," "establish the principle of compulsion," and generally exhibit a "dangerous Socialistic" tendency. Such are by far the majority of the objections; but here and there is evidence of a touching interest in the welfare

of the Helpless, who, however, must not be assisted "out of the rates." For instance, the "Housing of the Working Classes (England)" Bill, 1885, is of a "demoralising character," and its "mischief would recoil on the working classes." (Is it fair to look for examples of such mischief in the already comfortably housed?) The "Law of Distress Amendment" Bill would "curtail the credit of every tenant" to the extent of £5, and so render the landlord more severe in collecting his rents! But these are exceptions. The general idea is, that the owners of property should be left free to do what they like with their own.

A careful examination of these Bills throws an instructive light on the value of private property. Not one of the 104 makes any attack upon the institution of private property; not one even hints at such a thing. The most "Socialistic" of them would but provide for a compulsory sale, by which the owner would receive the equivalent in money for the land or houses he yielded up. What need, then, to talk of the "defence" of property? Why should not £1,000 be as useful in gold as in land or houses? It is for this reason. Money, at the best, is only a *convenience*—never a necessity. Men need food and shelter, and these can only be had by actual work on land or on capital derived from land; so that land is a necessity. But money can neither be utilised as food or shelter; and no one really *needs* it who has access to land and capital. It follows that those who are in any way shut out from the land are at the mercy of the owners of it. If they would have food and shelter (and they cannot do without them) they must submit to the conditions of those who can forbid them to use the land from which food and shelter are produced.

That is the advantage of being one of the owners of property. Its "possession" consists in having the power of making conditions with those who wish to labour. And the unrestrained exercise of this power is what the Liberty and Property Defence League means by "liberty." It is a "liberty" I do not envy them. I have always found that in proportion as I get mixed up with "property," the clearer and finer perceptions of my mind become dulled and paralysed. The sunshine ceases to delight me, friendship is forgotten, and life becomes a bore so long as I am enslaved to the cares which such liberty imposes. Think of 293,500 pamphlets issued to defend a "liberty" like this!

So much for the property owners. For those who have no property, "liberty," according to the Liberty and Property Defence League, means that there shall be nothing to hinder them from submitting to the conditions imposed upon them. They must be free to work long hours, to pay rent for unwholesome houses, to contract disease and to spread infection,—in short, they should have liberty to live or die in any way profitable to the owners of property. The poor have this gospel of the Liberty and Property Defence League preached unto them by an average of 49,000 pamphlets in each parliamentary session.

The rich would say to the poor, "We give you the choice of living in these filthy houses, and working for us till you are worn out, or rot with disease; this,—or no land to work on, no shelter over your heads. Lifelong toil for us, or death from exposure and starvation. You are free to choose. You decide to live for us? Very well; it is a 'Free Contract,' and let no law interfere." I suppose every slave has always had the choice between submission and death, and to that extent was free!

At first reading of this document, I said to myself, "These men have such an objection to law, and to the interference of government, that they are open to the suspicion of being Anarchists!" But it is by no means so. Their ownership of property is, as we have seen, merely a conventional privilege,—which depends not so much on their own will as upon other people's recognition of it. In the long run, it merely amounts to having the power to keep out from all houses and land those who will not submit to certain conditions. Yet they can make no fence so high, no stone wall so strong, that it would be a *physical* impossibility for the poor to enter in and make use of these necessities for themselves.

No; their fence is of another nature. Their property is enclosed by the *law*, and their power is supported by the Government, which punishes those who would step across the boundary of the law. That is the main function of Government. It cannot compel a man to work; but it can and does compel him, if he will work, to accept the conditions of the "free contract," and if he will not accept them it can compel him to be idle.

The Liberty and Property Defence League desires no interference with the free contract; it requires the Government to enforce the conditions imposed by property,—the long day's work, the low wages, the rent for insanitary dwellings; for on these the rich depend, and so can live idly by the help of the working-people.

But observe to what this leads us. These rich men, these owners of property, these "Self-Helpers," cannot live as they do without the help of the poor, and they need the help of the Government to force the poor to assist them!

The motto with which we started takes another meaning now. It is the rich who are helpless, and need the aid of the "State." The true self-helpers are the poor, who support not themselves alone, but also the rich, and the Government which forces them to be poor, by helping the rich live on them.

The whole thing turns completely round. One sees now (what the Liberty and Property Defence League is unconscious of) that these 104 abortive Bills were a mere blind, intended by their promoters to persuade the toilers that the Government is their friend. But plainly it exists only for the support of property,—to assist the helpless rich against the helpful poor.

There is a simple way by which those who have no property may



test this. We have seen that the law cannot compel them to work. Let them, therefore, combine (taking a notch from the Liberty and Property Defence League), and for one week refuse—labourers, mechanics, clerks, shopmen, servants, carters, railway men, refuse—to do a stroke of work for the owners of property. The latter, deprived of their support, will at once find themselves helpless, and being in danger of starvation will be ready to make a new contract (will they call it "free"?) with the toilers.

Then, if the toilers determine for the future to help only themselves and one another, they will have free access to all property; Government-help or State-help, in the present sense, will be a thing of the past, and they will attain that happy liberty of personal joy undreamt of in the philosophy of the Liberty and Property Defence League.

G. STURT.

### AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

REPORT FROM AUGUST 26 TO DECEMBER 30, 1888.

At the last monthly meeting of members, which was held on January 2, 1889, it was decided that the balance-sheet should be drawn up for the four months ending December 30, 1888, with the view of having quarterly balance-sheet instead of half-yearly ones as heretofore. Accordingly a balance-sheet has been prepared balancing the accounts to the end of the year 1888.

Since the last Report closed, the League has done a large amount of propaganda work, in which the editor of the *Radical*, comrade Winspear, has given valuable assistance. We have had 5,000 leaflets printed, setting forth the merits of the large reading-room, the weekly debates, and the principles of Socialism. These have been distributed in weekly lots in the Domain and other parts of the city and suburbs.

The League has (at the invitation of the Coal-lumpers' Union) held several meetings in the large room of the Lord Nelson Hotel, at which addresses were delivered on Co-operation and the principles of Socialism by comrades A. F. Drake, McNamara, and Lesina, Messrs. Powell, McQueen, and others. The workers at Millers Point have in contemplation the starting of a co-operative distributive store on Socialist lines.

Several open-air meetings have been held in the Domain and Belmore Market, and the principles of Socialism are slowly but surely gaining a firm hold on the minds of the more intelligent workers. The Sunday lectures and debates were carried on without any intermission, and large audiences have taken great interest in the subjects discussed. The following subjects have been discussed, among others: "The French Revolution of 1789," "Australian Federation," "The brutal Coercive Laws of the Salisbury Government," "The Methods of Trades Unions," "A General Strike of the Miners," "Abolition of Capital Punishment," "Free Trade and Protection," "Newspaper Unfairness and Dishonesty," "That State Socialism would reproduce Barbarism," "Co-operative Distribution," "Prostitution, its Cause and Cure," "Plan of Campaign against the Rent System," "The Injustice of Interest," "The Hanging of Louisa Collins and Punishment of Criminals," etc. On November 11, a large open-air meeting was held in the Sydney Domain, to commemorate the first anniversary of the murder of the Chicago comrades. A lecture was given making clear the details of the whole affair by W. H. McNamara. In the evening a large gathering took place at the League Rooms, when addresses on the Labour Struggle were delivered by W. H. McNamara, Copeland, Norman, McDougal, and Petterson. Several recitations and songs were given, including the "Marseillaise." On September 16, a highly successful Social and Reunion of members and friends took place, when a large and choice programme of recitations, songs, and musical solos contributed to the amusement of the large assemblage present. The public Reading Room which the League has opened has continued to attract great numbers of visitors, and a large addition of new European and American papers has been made to the former list. On November 25, it was resolved to hold a general meeting of members the first Wednesday in each month. These meetings were inaugurated on December 5. At the end of the year we received the gratifying intelligence that a branch of the Socialist League was being formed in Melbourne, and that another one was likely to be established in Brisbane.

The following report and balance-sheet was read and adopted at a special general meeting of members of the League, which was held on Wednesday February 6th, at the Rooms 533 George Street: August 26th, 1888, to Dec. 30th, 1888. Receipts, £29 4s. 2½d.; disbursements, £26 14s. 3d.; credit balance, £2 10s. 2d. Assets, £24 9s. 8d.; liabilities, £9 5s.; balance to credit, £15 4s. 8d. Audited and found to be correct by Harry Weber, E. M. Paasch, W. H. McNamara (hon. Secretary). A. M. Pilter, chairman.

Those who have beyond their power to use well, are as really enslaved as those who sell their bodies to others on condition of being kept from starvation.—*Rev. Geo. A. Boardman.*

The marriages of mankind are not made in churches. They are only "solemnized" therein. The marriages of bird-kind are solemnized by a faithful obedience to natural laws during the continuance of the marriage. Mankind in civilised countries generally "solemnize" their marriages by telling lies and paying for the privilege of having the perjury recorded in a big book.—W. H. R.

ANOMALOUS QUERIES.—A Socialist would like to find the "Way to Destruction," and enquires if it leads to the destruction of the present system of society.

A member of the S.D.F. wishes to know if there is *Justice* enough to slide along to kingdom come. By the latter expression he means J. C.'s heaven upon earth.—A. B.

WOMAN AND CHILD LABOUR IN HOLLAND.—THE HAGUE, April 12.—The Second Chamber of the States General has passed the Bill regulating the conditions for the employment of women and children in manufacturing industries. The measure, which does not apply to agriculture or to domestic service, absolutely forbids the employment of children under twelve years of age. For persons under sixteen years of age and for women the period of work per day is limited to eleven hours; while in the case of children under fourteen and women night work is prohibited. The Bill also makes it obligatory that there shall be a period of rest during the working hours, and that women shall not be employed for four weeks after confinement. Finally, Sunday work is forbidden.

### "THE SWINISH MULTITUDE."—Burke.

(Reprinted from the *Chartist Circular*, where it is said that "the following rejoinder to the contemptible insult of the pensioned apostate Burke, was written by a member of the celebrated London Corresponding Society, 1800.")

DID *Nature* mean us to be slaves,  
The property of fools and knaves?  
Have we no claim, or just pretence,  
To common rights or common sense?  
Or will you say, the hand divine  
Made some for lords, the rest for swine?  
If this be fact, explain the cause  
Why swine must needs be ruled by laws:  
Except you call their fate a law,  
To eat dry husks and sleep on straw.

And when they're fattened to be taken,  
And quartered into hams and bacon,  
To satiate those who may think fit  
To eat their carcase bit by bit.  
Although our all will not suffice  
Unless our life's a sacrifice,  
It would be treason to repine,  
Because, you know, we're only swine.

We're only swine! How well it suits!  
For shallow men may govern brutes;  
And foolish men in foolish things  
Oft act as well as foolish kings.  
Let swine-herd be the name of those,  
Who lead the nation by the nose,  
And boast that by a right divine  
They're ruling men, not driving swine.

We're only swine! Think but what fun  
To see a pig strut with his gun;  
How fierce and terrible the sight  
To march large herds of swine to fight.  
That illustrious York, that noble peer,  
How famous must his name appear:  
Instead of heroes bold, to lead  
A nasty filthy grunting breed.

We're only swine! What humble pride  
When nobles get on us to ride;  
Yes, monarchs mount our gristly back  
And make each joint and sinew crack;  
We groan beneath the ponderous weight  
Of all the creatures of the State—  
Placemen and pensioners beside,  
An ugly caterpillar tribe—  
But, were we all of noble birth,  
They would want swine to root the earth.  
To sweat and toil for their support,  
And, when they please, to be their sport.

Then hold not swine in such disdain,  
Since 'tis by them you have your gain;  
But turn and treat them with respect,  
Lest they should grunt at your neglect;  
And if they be provoked—what then?  
The *Swine* will rise—and rise to MEN!

### ABSTINENCE.

OF course we Socialists are all familiar with all the threadworn arguments of our opponents, the total abstainers, on this point, and the veriest tyro in Socialism can refute what they have to say.

Our friends, the Co-operators, however—I mean the true co-operators, *i.e.*, the Federalists—while endeavouring to extinguish the worst phases of our existing commercialism, still maintain that self-denial is a virtue and warrants some reward. This is one of the maxims by which they justify the payment of interest on capital to their shareholders. They say, knowing the condition of the workers in general, it requires some self-denial to set aside even the trifling amount which every shareholder has to put by till his share is fully paid up. Thus they really make a vice appear as a virtue. For an individual to deny himself some necessity of life, or we will go further, say even the gratification of some pleasure for the sake of enabling him to have more of the necessities of life, or of gratifying pleasures to a greater extent a little later on in life, is surely selfishness of the most intense degree.

The state of society which we Socialists wish to bring about is one in which, in the words of the prophet of Nazareth, men and women will have to "take no thought for to-morrow," neither what they shall eat, nor what they shall drink, nor wherewithal they shall be clothed. We want co-operative communes of voluntary organised labour to stud and beautify the earth. In such communes the only abstention necessary would not be imposed by law, nor by the majorities, but by nature itself, *viz.*, abstention from the violation of natural law. Rational people—and I take it under such a system of society all people would be rational—would not think of acting irrationally by infringing immutable laws; and if any, in an unwise moment did so, such would not be punished by man-made laws but by their own acts.

Abstention, indeed! and that at an age when compulsory abstention from everything that makes life worth living for, is enforced upon hundreds of thousands of workers in this and in all civilised countries of the world! No. The problem of the day is not to what extent self-denial is to be practised by the workers in order to prolong their weary existence, but what can be done to put an end to this system of enforced self-denial which we are obliged to practice involuntarily. The realisation of our so-called dreams is then the only solution of the problem. Let us hope the day is not far distant.

A. BROOKES.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.*

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 17.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY
Die Autonomie	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Freedom	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
Justice	L'Attaque	Brunn—Volksfreund
Labour Elector	HOLLAND	Malmo—Arbetet
Labour Tribune	Hague—Recht voor Allen	WEST INDIES
Labour Leader	SPAIN	Cuba—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	Madrid—El Socialista	
Manchester Sunday Chronicle		
Norwich—Daylight		
Personal Rights Journal		
Railway Review		
Revolutionary Review		
Social Democrat		
Telegraph Service Gazette		
INDIA		
Bankipore—Behar Herald		
Madras—People's Friend		
UNITED STATES		
New York—Der Sozialist		
Volkszeitung		

## THE THUGGEE OF COMMERCIAL THUGS.

THE Thugs were a religious fraternity which flourished alike under Hindu, Mahomedan, and British rulers, and whose ramifications spread over the whole of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Although every year their murdered victims were numerous, their way of life, nay, their very being, was quite unknown to the most active and vigilant British functionaries, and very imperfectly understood even by the native governments. They insinuated themselves into the confidence of travellers, with whom they joined for the alleged purpose of mutual safety, and when a proper place could be selected for the murder of their dupes, and due precautions taken against intrusion, their victims were removed in the most expeditious and religious manner. If a traveller had a dog it was also killed, lest the faithful animal should cause the discovery of the body of its murdered master. They believed that in robbing and murdering, agreeable to their religious rules, they were rendering an acceptable service to their deity. Captain Sleeman said of them, that "no men observe more strictly in domestic life all that is enjoined by their priests, or demanded by their respective castes; nor do any men cultivate with more care the esteem of their neighbours, or court with more assiduity the goodwill of all constituted local authorities. In short, to men who do not know them, the principal members of these associations will always appear to be among the most amiable, most respectable, and most intelligent members of the lower, and sometimes the middle and higher, classes of native society; and it is by no means to be

inferred that every man who attempts to screen them from justice knows them to be monsters."

When we reflect upon the number of victims who are daily murdered in Christendom by the conditions of life and work which are imposed upon them, with the sanction of religion, and how "amiable" and "respectable" and "intelligent" the chief upholders of the system are, which enables the murdering of the workers to flourish and be profitable, agreeable to their religious rules, we shall detect many points of agreement between the religious notions and deeds of the Thugs and those of the successful churchmen and profit annexers of to-day. The crimes of the Thugs were devised so cunningly that the most vigilant authorities were unaware of their existence; and so it is with the employers of labour under our present legal and religious rules. The individual murders sanctioned by our present legal and religious rules, are, like our new naval estimates, spread over a number of years. Occasionally it is otherwise, as our great pit disasters too frequently prove; but passing over these necessary evils for the accumulation of profits, it will be admitted by all that the working-classes do lose half of their possible days of life owing to the conditions imposed upon them by their Thug employers, if indeed it can be said that they ever possess life as distinguished from mere existence. The most noble and useful lives of our time are being sacrificed by the Thugs of commerce, unknown, apparently, to the most vigilant Christian authorities, and very imperfectly understood by the commercial Thugs themselves.

The commercial Thugs of to-day have also insinuated themselves into the confidence of their fellow travellers for a like alleged safety, as did the Thugs of India, and when the victims of their system drop from their presence the Thugs of commerce cannot see wherein they are to blame, nay, they rather believe that in providing work, which means death, for their victims, "they are rendering an acceptable service to the deity, agreeable to their religious rules." Do we not see the successful sweater and the prosperous publican observing "strictly in domestic life all that is enjoined by their priests, or demanded by their castes," and may this not convince us that the priests do not enjoin the "one thing needful," and their castes do not demand that which is necessary to make them whole—free from crime? The commercial system makes it impossible for a whole man to live. A man's worth and importance in it is measured by that which is not his, nay by that which subtracts from him and which is the measure of his guilt and another's wrong. Our commercial Thugs also cultivate with "care the esteem of their neighbours," and they "court with assiduity the goodwill of all constituted local authorities." They do more, they comprise our local authorities, and it therefore becomes impossible for the simple-minded and thoughtless to "know them to be monsters." The dullest day-drudge is beginning to learn the limits of a man's power to create wealth, and to be cognisant of the fact that the possession of wealth beyond that measure is Thuggee—the lives of men—and that all who are guilty of the same are Thugs of a more hidden type than those which permeated India. Britons were awakened to the knowledge of Thugs in India fifty years ago by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, and we may hope that the increasing power of the Socialist press will be able to awaken them now to the presence of the Thugs in their midst. Many layers of custom, prejudice, and fear will have to be pierced and torn asunder before we can reach the real kernel of Thuggee in our present false system of society, but when it is reached and seen by the workers its destruction will be sudden and complete, so that when the new system of Socialism is held up it will draw all men unto it.

GEORGE MCLEAN.

And the same humility I use in inventing, I employ likewise in teaching. For I do not endeavour either by triumphs of confutation, or pleadings of antiquity, or assumption of authority, or even by the veil of obscurity to invest these inventions of mine with any majesty, which might easily be done by one who sought to give lustre to his own name rather than light to other men's minds.—*Lord Bacon*.

OUR RADICAL "FRIENDS."—In connection with the proposed union of political Socialists and Radicals, and from which so much is to be gained (by the Radicals), a few reminiscences may be of interest. When Gladstone, using the "resources of civilisation," threw thousands of Irish people into prison, including Parnell, the wirepullers of the Radical clubs and hangers-on of the Liberal party were coercionists. When subsequently he, with Sir William Vernon Harcourt as Home Secretary—"We are all Socialists now"—threw J. Most into jail and seized the property of a working-men's club, and placed the documents so seized at the service of Continental despots, thus securing the arrest of numerous Socialists abroad, these same Radicals came as delegates to one or two meetings of the *Freiheit* Defence Committee and then stayed away, and with usual Radical courtesy did not even return the subscription-sheets with which they were entrusted. Four Radical clubs of the Chelsea district were so sympathetic over the fate of the "divine figure of the North" that they refused to help the defence of Most in any way. Then a most brutal outrage was committed by the police at the Stephen's Mews club in '85; there existed at the time a small but growing Socialist party, and these gave the only help our foreign comrades received; the Radicals acted as usual. And now another brutal outrage has been committed upon our comrades of Berner Street. The Radical club delegates are acting in precisely the same fashion; one club in Hackney has declined to help, on the ground that it was a quarrel between the orthodox Jews and Socialists, and that therefore they could not interfere. The idea that the use of a policeman's fist or boot has a religious aspect is worthy of the Radical followers of the G.O.M. If a policeman's truncheon ever comes into contact with the heads that thought out this decision, doubtless the truncheon would receive the greatest injury. Although not a political Socialist, I hope our political comrades will abstain from transfusion of blood with such a flaccid crew as the Radicals of the metropolis.—P. S. I may add that the Patriotic Club has been a notable exception to the policy condemned above.—F. KITZ.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## ST. GEORGE'S FARM.

## A CORRECTION.

"E. C." in the *Commonweal* of March 9, very seriously, though, of course, quite unintentionally, misrepresents my position in relation to the "Committee" of Communists, at whose instance Ruskin bought the Totley Farm. I was not one of the members of that committee, and, therefore, not "one of the most active." I never attended any of its meetings, and was not responsible for its shortcomings. Indeed, I was the "retainer" of the guild first authorised by Ruskin to check the proceedings of the committee.

I will not here attempt to explain why the committee failed. Most, if not all, of its members were honest and earnest. Of these, Joseph Sharpe, the "Minstrel Communist," was one of the most admirable, and I read "E. C.'s" kind and accurate account of him with much interest and pleasure.

I have been urged, by a late retainer of St. George's Guild, to write an account of my experience at Totley for publication in *Good Words*, but, if I ever do write it, it will be for the *Commonweal*.

WM. HARRISON RILEY.

## A QUERY.

Will any comrade give further information concerning that unsuccessful Communistic farm at Totley, mentioned in the *Commonweal* of March 9th (in an article entitled "A Minstrel Communist")? It has raised several questions in my mind. I should like to know why that attempt failed, where a subsequent endeavour is apparently successful. Several reasons were suggested by the writer to account for the failure; and it seems to me they deserve the attention of all Communists. First, it is stated of the participators in the scheme that "they were great talkers, knowing next to nothing of agriculture," whereas the present members are "less voluble and more practical." Had they been dependant on the farm for their living, their want of practical knowledge would naturally have been fatal; but as they appear to have got their living from other sources, a few mistakes might have been discouraging, but need hardly have been totally disheartening, to men with sufficient initiative to start such a scheme. That they actually made the attempt shows them to have been energetic and open-minded to a degree far above the average. But this to my mind only increases the importance of the question.

The incompatibility of pure Communism with the surrounding competition would have been a far likelier rock for them to split on; but such a difficulty is not hinted at. Further, they must have been prepared for such difficulties if their economical theories were tolerably sound. That such was the case, I conclude, both from the fact that they are spoken of as Communists, and that one of the participators, mentioned by name in the article, happened, by a curious coincidence, to be a contributor to the *Commonweal* of the same date—and therefore, I take it, a Socialist.

Another cause of failure is suggested in the following: "Unfortunately, the usual discussions arose—usual, I would say, wherever work of this kind is ruled by theories instead of by practical human needs and immediate desire of fellowship." Perhaps some comrade can tell us what the desires were which impelled these men to their honourable endeavour. For spite of their want of success, to have made the attempt at all is a thing to be proud of.

Now let me state my difficulties, premising that I by no means desire to see rocks ahead, but shall be only glad to be convinced that they are mere mirages.

(1) First, with regard to practical knowledge. Could the present system be overturned to-morrow throughout the world, there would be many millions who, however willing, would be as ill prepared for useful labour as these Communists of Totley. With the disappearance of the idle class, all those whose labour consists in producing luxuries for that class and for their dependants would find their occupation gone, and, with "practical human needs" enough, would find themselves without the practical knowledge necessary to meet them. Take London alone. There we have a population of five millions, living almost entirely on the produce of other men's labour, daily imported. Most of these five millions are congregated there for the sake of capitalists, and the greater proportion of their labour would be found quite useless as soon as there were no more exploiters of labour. So that the establishment of a commune in London would eventually result in the discovery by the majority of its inhabitants that there was no earthly reason for them to be there. Should they try to remain, they must be fed by the outside world, and they would be unable to produce anything to send back in return for their food. Evidently they must disperse. But the majority will "know next to nothing" not only of agriculture, but of any other labour needed in a state of Communism. The disintegration or dissolution of our overgrown towns is a large order, and we shall want our wits about us if it is not to be muddled over. And there is no shirking it, unless cause and effect should cease to work. Sooner or later it must be faced; and that is my excuse for suggesting the difficulty.

(2) Supposing the present system overthrown, will sound economic theory be sufficient cement to bind a new system together? I will say directly, No; but, if only to arouse thought, I ask, How near are we towards getting it sufficiently sound? The Communists of Totley must have had considerable advantages in this respect; yet they failed. Perhaps the Socialists of to-day are better informed,—they ought to be. But *Justice* has lately been pointing out and remonstrating against a deplorable disagreement between French and German Socialists; and this scarcely looks as if the Socialism which the average working man has time to learn is sufficient to ensure the necessary unity. It may be, indeed, that when the enemy *Capitalism* is dead, the common enemy *Hunger* will keep us together—"practical human needs," as Carpenter has it. But unless it can be shown that mere necessity will produce the necessary unity, I think we should be prepared to face the possibility of its not doing so. Admitting, then, the utmost success to Socialistic propaganda, we should have, on the inevitable downfall of the present system, a people with sound economical views, but views of such a nature as will not by themselves produce unity; and a large number of this people ignorant of the practical knowledge necessary to support life. What is to bind them together, if economics are insufficient, while they gain that knowledge, and afterwards?

(3) "The immediate desire of fellowship," Carpenter hints, is necessary. Very well. To what extent is that desire necessary? Are we doing our

best to foster it? Or are we going about it in a haphazard way, relying merely on the slow course of evolution? That it is gradually developing I firmly believe; that the preaching of Socialism is giving it an increasing momentum must be admitted; and there is not the smallest doubt in my mind that in the atmosphere of equality which Communism would produce, it would flourish to an extent unimaginable to us. That, however, will be of small service to us in this day, if it be the fact that Communism cannot exist until the desire of fellowship is further developed than it is, say, amongst the Continental Socialists. As an evolutionist, I believe that causes have been at work, ages before Socialism was thought of, or even before the early Christian communism, developing this instinct; and if it be true (as I think it is) that the reason why Socialists hope to succeed where religions have failed is that they recognise the law of cause and effect, and mean to bring that, instead of mere sentiment, into their service, then it is plainly our duty to investigate, and endeavour to apply, the causes that develop the instinct of fellowship. For this reason, I think the careful study of such affairs as this at Totley would be most serviceable.

I should much like to know why the present operations at Totley are successful. Have the participators the sufficient desire of fellowship, which the former body lacked? If so, how far short of the necessary standard the average man must be! But I am very sceptical about such tremendous superiority in the men themselves (no disrespect to them is intended), and am rather inclined to think that their success must be due to some advantage in the method pursued.

The mention of their being connected with St. George's Guild lends colour to this surmise. Ruskin (to whom I owe it that I am a Socialist) has strong ideas on government and obedience; and there is probably a pretty complete organisation on the present Totley Farm. It may in the long run be mainly a difference of words between him and me; but as an Anarchist (as least so far as ideal is concerned) I have had strong objections to government and obedience, looking to individual self-control as the only element out of which Communism can proceed. And now, if that character which makes a man a law unto himself can only be developed by some sort of Communism, where am I? I may, and do, retain my ideal; but the idea of going straight for it, in the sense of discarding all intermediate means, is absurd. After all, Communism is only an *economical* means to an *ethical* end; it is, once more, a case of cause and effect—or, finally, an affair of human selection. And though it may be that I shall still do my best work by looking forward, and encouraging others to look forward, to the far ideal of Anarchism, yet in the meantime I must admit that the Social Democrats, whom I have hitherto thought somewhat mistaken, are doing quite as good work in their different way. Ruskin, too, looks like a practical man, after all; and even such a movement as "technical education," mere slave-training dodge as it is, may smooth the way of the Revolution, by providing to some extent the practical knowledge that will eventually be required.

Bearing in mind that wider knowledge may perhaps assist the development of fellowship, by producing a greater unity between different bodies of Socialists, I should like to draw one conclusion that may have a more immediately practical value.

The downfall of the present system will perhaps disintegrate our large towns, and will certainly leave many unable to organise themselves for their own support, both for want of practical knowledge and for lack of sufficient desire of fellowship. But, until this desire can be developed, a fair working substitute may be found in careful organisation,—perhaps even with some authoritative power, though it is hard to see whence such power will be derived. Where are we to look for such an organisation which will be able to direct the labour of those unskilled in useful work? To dogmatise would be absurd, but I think one way would be to form large organisations of trades. Thus, Socialists, while teaching the general principles and aims of our Cause, might especially impress upon the members of a particular trade the desirability of taking complete control of it themselves at the earliest opportunity, without necessarily waiting for a general revolution. If, for instance, several industries, such as building, baking, and railways, were thus organised, then the establishment of a Commune in London would not be doomed to failure, because the country was not ready to support the useless people there; they could be immediately drafted into one or other of these industries, where, starting as simple unskilled labourers, they would gradually be absorbed into the general body of the workers. So the work of organisation, so difficult if attempted in all branches of industry at once, would be spread out over some years, and the chances of an abortive Revolution considerably diminished.

But all this is mere theory, and theory can only be useful when founded on facts. So I ask again for more light on these experiments at Totley, as perhaps the nucleus of a history of contemporary tendencies in the evolution of Socialism.

GEORGE STURT.

Farnham, March 28th, 1889.

If what is called the "National Debt" is really a national debt, then this nation is bankrupt. We are a nation in pawn! Though, in the form of "interest," the Debt has been paid in full six times over, yet it is still owing; and all the children of the working classes of England will be regarded as debtors to the usurer classes, until the world is at an end—or until the People open their eyes. Then they will make the usurers open theirs!—W. H. R.

What was said in a recent number of "Nunquam" in the *Manchester Sunday Chronicle* may be said with even more force of "Proletarian" in the *Montrose Review*. With this difference, however, that "Proletarian" takes up definitely the Socialist attitude. Speaking of the "free speech" agitation in Dundee he says:

"The prisoners in this case have to contend with the hostility not only of a middle-class magistracy, but of a capitalist press. Editors of papers like the *Dundee Advertiser* and *People's Journal* have to dance to the tune that the proprietors of the papers play; and the eye of the proprietors is fixed on advertisements—i.e., profits. The pious editors, therefore, as well as the bulk of the Dundee magistrates, strongly

Believe in Freedom's cause,  
Ez far away ez Ireland is;  
They love to see her stick her claws  
In them infarnal Pharisees—

the Irish landlords; but when the claws begin to stick in a specimen quite as 'infarnal,' the British capitalist, then

Libbaty's a kind o' thing  
That don't agree with—

Socialists."



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**ENGLISH RAILWAYMEN.**—On the Great Northern Railway at Doncaster, the goods guards are finding themselves done away with in favour of brakemen working at 20s., or 10s. less than was paid to the guards. On the same line the following figures are given as signalmen's wages: Holloway Yard, 28s.; Caledonian, 29s.; Finsbury Park, 24s. to 25s. In '78 they were reduced 1s. all round, and lately they have undergone the same operation.

**BAKERS' UNION.**—A meeting was held on Saturday last at the "Prince Arthur," Brunswick Place, City Road, to organise the journeymen bakers of the district into a Society, so that they may be the better able to fight the battle of Labour v. Capital. The meeting was international in character, the speaking being in both German and English. 5s. 6d. collected. It was decided to hold meetings with the same object in view in all parts of London.

**IRISH RAILWAYMEN.**—The *Railway Review* says there is a man employed by the Great Northern Co. at Belfast, among whose multifarious duties are the collecting of tickets, timing of trains, collecting weekly accounts, taking wagon numbers, making out returns, keeping account of demurrage, and the filling up of his spare time assisting the clerks. For this work he is awarded 15s. every week. He recently made application for an advance, when he was told that such could not be paid, as he was getting more than some men in the service with more responsible duties. It concludes by saying, "What it is the latter got was not stated, but we should like to know."

**STRIKE OF LASTERS AND FINISHERS.**—About 140 men of Messrs. Pocock Bros., Southwark Bridge Road, have been out on strike for about a fortnight, and the men of the Northampton branch of the same firm have also struck. The cause of the strike is the reduction of wages proposed in the new Statement submitted to the men. Another Statement, admitting of some reductions, drawn up by the men, was refused by the firm. The points in dispute seem to be the classification of tops, and the refusal by Messrs. Pocock Bros. to supply grindery without allowing an equivalent or extra wage instead. We understand the firm has tried to put out the work to other places, but their mean attempts have not as yet succeeded. The men live in hope.

**ACCIDENTS AMONG DOCK LABOURERS.**—The *Lancet*, reverting to the prevalence of accidents among dock labourers, contends that Colonel Martindale's evidence before the House of Lords' commission does not refute the dockers' assertion that in five years' work 50 per cent. of the workers met with accidents. Col. Martindale acknowledges that 142 accidents happened in a year among the men in his employ—averaging 5,300 per day. Ruptures, however, and many spinal injuries are not included, and it is notorious that only a small proportion of the accidents that actually occur come to the knowledge of the dock companies. If they were always reported the foreman would be censured, and the man who had caused the foreman to be censured by reporting his accident would find it difficult to obtain employment when cured. It is therefore wiser to go away quietly and trust to the charity of fellow-workers for help, instead of making claims on the company.

### A STUDY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

Our comrade Peter Kropotkin is about to give a course of six lectures under the above title, of which the following is a syllabus:—

I.—*The Problems of our Century.*—The intellectual movement of our century—Economic, political, and moral problems raised—No satisfactory answer found—Dualism in morality—Want of inspiration in philosophy, literature, and art which results from it—Issues searched for—Socialism and its aspirations.

II.—*The origins of our present economical and political organisation.*—The primitive Saxon, Celtic, and Slavonian communities—The Communes of the mediæval times—Their interior organisation—Their federations—Monuments left—Internal causes of decay.

III.—*The origins of our present economical and political organisation (continued).*—The growth of modern States—Europe threatened by invasions—The absorption of the Communes by the State—The centralised State—The Colonies and the growth of Industry—Its economical consequences—The growth of representative Government.

IV.—*Philosophical Systems and popular movements aiming at the reconstruction of Society.*—The popular ideal as it appears in the mediæval times—Internal struggles within the Communes—The risings of the peasants—The religious and economical movements of the Reformation—The Anabaptists—The philosophical and economical aspects of the Revolution in England.

V.—*Philosophical Systems and popular movements aiming at the reconstruction of Society (continued).*—The philosophical systems of the eighteenth century—The risings of the people and the French Revolution—The Communists of the nineteenth century—The national workshops of 1848 and the impossibility of organising labour by means of a Government—Birth of modern Socialism.

VI.—*Modern Socialism.*—Its various schools—Collectivism—Anarchy: its system of philosophy—Freedom of the individual and his need of association as the basis of future progress—Moralising influence of Socialism—Dualism in morality cast away—A glimpse into the future—Economic production, Science, and Art in a free Communist Society.

Details of place and time, etc., will be shortly announced.

**FALL RIVER SLAVES.**—See those mill slaves at Fall River. Six thousand of them are now striking for enough to live on. Fall River has fifty-three cotton-mills alone. That proves that there must be millions in the business. The average dividends paid range between eighteen and thirty per cent. The mills turn out 500,000,000 yards a-year. The average profit is a cent a yard. This leaves 5,000,000 dollars a-year to be divided among fifty-three mills; an average of nearly 100,000 dollars profit annually per mill. The larger concerns make more, the smaller ones less; the profit depends on the output. Now what do these operatives want? Simply the old January scale of wages, which would make a difference to this grab galaxy of mills of 182,000 dollars a-year. An average of about 3,500 dols. a-year to each mill; 300 dols. a-month; 10 dols. a-day. These mill-owners, bloated on a profit of five million dollars a-year, refuse to pay a pittance of ten dollars a-day to their starving fortune-makers, to help them keep body and soul together. That's the mathematics of Capital's side in this question. How much do these mill-slaves make? A fourteen-year-old girl can average 3 dollars a-week; a woman, with constant work at four looms, can make between 5 and 6 dollars. Men who do woman's work get woman's wages; not a cent more. Very few make more.—*N.Y. Evening Telegram*, March 13.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 27, 1889.

21	Sun.	1868. O'Farrell hung at Sydney for attempt on Duke of Edinburgh. 1874. William Carpenter died.
22	Mon.	1826. Sack of Missolonghi by the Turks. 1852. Collapse of great strike of Engineers. 1875. Birth of "organised obstruction" in the House of Commons.
23	Tues.	1794. Trial of James Bird and others for conspiracy. 1817. Trial of James McKean and others for administering unlawful oaths. 1832. Co-operative Congress at the "Institution of the Industrious Classes," King's Cross; Robert Owen in the chair. 1873. International Workmen's Club formed in connection with the British Federation of the International. 1885. Explosion at the Admiralty.
24	Wed.	1521. Execution of Juan di Padilla. 1731. Daniel Defoe died. 1861. Peasant riot at Bezdna in the Kazan Government. 1867. Trial of Thomas F. Burke for high treason. 1871. Demonstration of match-makers against the match-tax. 1887. Hyde Park demonstration in aid of the Northumberland miners.
25	Thur.	1599. Oliver Cromwell born. 1799. Trial of Earl Thanet and four others for riot. 1820. Volney died. 1852. Arthur O'Connor died. 1865. Georg Kmety died. 1883. Fenian Convention opened at Philadelphia.
26	Fri.	1711. David Hume born. 1848. Chartist demonstration on Clerkenwell Green.
27	Sat.	1803. Toussaint L'Ouverture died. 1806. Louis Kossuth born. 1881. Emile de Girardin died. 1882. R. W. Emerson died.

*Pierre Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture.*—Born at Breda, near Cape town, San Domingo (Hayti), May 20, 1746; died in the Castle of Joux, near Besançon, France, April 27, 1803. He was the son of slave parents, both of them full-blooded Africans; and from his earliest childhood showed remarkable ability. He managed to learn to read and write, and became his master's coachman. Still applying every leisure moment to study, he rose gradually to be superintendent over the other negroes on the estate, and meanwhile had acquired a splendid education. In his earlier years he used the name of his birthplace for surname, but was afterwards called L'Ouverture, as having provided the "opening" of the road to freedom for his people. In 1789 San Domingo had attained a high pitch of prosperity, and was inhabited by three classes—whites, free people of colour (mostly mulattoes, and many of them wealthy proprietors), and slaves. The mulattoes demanded that the principles of the Revolution should be extended to them; and in spite of the furious resistance of the whites, this was done in 1791, by decree of the French Convention conferring on the mulattoes all the rights of French citizens. But the whites proceeded to such violent measures, and petitioned the Convention so strongly, that the decree was soon revoked; whereupon the mulattoes threw in their lot with that of the slaves, who had meanwhile risen against the yoke. Toussaint had taken a prominent part in the negro part of the agitation, and joined the rebels, using his knowledge of surgery and medicine as the physician of their forces. He speedily rose in influence among them—so rapidly indeed as to arouse the jealousy of their chief, Jean François, who caused his arrest on the charge of undue partiality to the whites. He was set free by the rival of François, Baisson, and a partisan war followed; but on the death of Baisson, Toussaint became reconciled to Jean François, and again placed himself under his orders. In the confused fighting that followed Toussaint took a leading part, and was at one time in alliance with the Spaniards; but in 1793 the commissioners of the French Convention declared slavery abolished and all the inhabitants of the colony free and equal. Toussaint thereupon came to the aid of the French, occupied the Spanish posts in his neighbourhood, and joined the French general Laveaux, whom he afterwards delivered from the mulatto chiefs, who had got him into their power. He was then made a general of division, and successfully set about bringing under French rule the whole of the northern part of the island, with the exception of the Mole of St. Nicholas, which remained in British possession. By the treaty of Bâle (1795) Spain ceded her part of the island to France. In April 1796, Toussaint was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of San Domingo, and exercised his functions to such effect that the strong places hitherto held by the British were soon after surrendered to him by General Maitland. He had meanwhile organised and drilled a powerful negro army, and now set himself to restore to the country the prosperity that so much war had driven away from it. Under his just and impartial rule trade and agriculture began again to flourish, and San Domingo seemed in a fair way to become all that the ambitious dreams of his youth had pictured her. On May 9, 1801, he proclaimed San Domingo a republic, independent of, but in friendly relation with, that of France. He himself was to be president for life. For this step two reasons are alleged, the one by his admirers, and the other by those of Napoleon. One of these is that he feared the perceptible reaction that was going on in France; and the other, that he desired to gratify an overweening ambition, bred by the immense power he had wielded for several years. Both of these causes were probably at work, together with a desire to emulate Napoleon, who had become his model. But as soon as peace with England was concluded, Napoleon, then First Consul, put forth a proclamation that slavery was to continue in Martinique and Cayenne, and that "order" (including slavery) was to be "restored" in San Domingo, which was to be once more reduced to the level of a colony. Toussaint met this with a counter-proclamation, in which he affirmed his friendliness to the French Republic, but left no doubt as to his intention to repel the threatened injustice by force. Buonaparte sent a squadron of 54 sail, under the command of his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, to reduce the "rebels." This overwhelming force at first discouraged even Toussaint himself, but not for long. Feb. 17, 1802, he was persuaded to an outlaw, but continued to defend himself with desperate courage. At last the defection of Christophe and Dessalines obliged him to listen to terms. In doing so he was drawn into one of those traps which Napoleon set for his enemies, and became the object of one of the blackest pieces of treachery that even that master of perfidy ever performed. His outlawry was reversed, and on a visit to Le Clerc he was received with military honours. General Brunet invited him to a conference on June 10, when the generals retired, under the pretence of consultation, the negro guard was disarmed, and their chief kidnapped and sent to France. For awhile he was lodged in the Temple, but was soon moved from among the dangerously sympathetic Parisians to the remote castle of Joux, where ten months of rigorous confinement was enough to break the lion-heart and send the great negro leader to his grave.—S.

**A NATION'S STRENGTH.**—The man who drives the plough or swings the axe in the forest, or with cunning fingers plies the tools of his craft, is as truly the servant of his country as the statesman in the senate or the soldier in battle. The safety of a nation depends not alone on the wisdom of the statesman or the bravery of its generals.—*Whipple*.

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The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, May 6, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Clerkenwell and Mitcham, to end of February. Leicester, North London, and East London, to end of March. Bradford, to end of April.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Contribution fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, April 23rd, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; Tilley, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Isaacson, 5s.; Nicoll, 6d.; and E. W., 10s. Norwich Branch, 2s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Canterbury Road, Kilburn*—Owing to the inclemency of weather, meeting was a failure. We trust, however, next Sunday to have better luck. *Hyde Park*—Brookes, Parker, Hicks, and Mainwaring spoke: 1s. 7½d. collected. *Broad Street, Soho*—This meeting fell through owing to weather; the speakers were at their post. *Clerkenwell Green*—Mainwaring, despite the weather, spoke to good audience.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road Station on Sunday morning; speakers were Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., Davis, and Maughan; choir sang at the close of meeting. Afterwards we went to Kensal Green and held very good meeting there. During morning the comrades of this district sold 108 *Commonweals*. In evening at Weltje Road, meeting not good owing to wet; speakers, Spry and Maughan. At Kelscott House, S. Bullock lectured.—M.

**WHITECHAPEL AND ST. GEORGES-IN-THE-EAST.**—F. Kitz lectured at International Club, 40, Berner Street, Wednesday 10th, on "The *Freiheit* Prosecution." Fair audience, and much interest shown. At Leman Street on Sunday morning, Turner spoke in the rain for about an hour to fair audience. A little friendly opposition at the finish.—J. T.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 8th, Leatham read a paper on "The Future of the Workers." Discussion carried on at close by Slater, Duncan, and Leatham. Meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night addressed by Duncan and Leatham, whilst Aiken pushed literature.—J. L.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 7th, Mellett lectured on "Law and Order." Good meeting and interesting discussion.

**GLASGOW.**—On Thursday evening at the members' discussion class, the question of how best to reply to the usual objection "that it is impossible to realise Socialism," was discussed—all the members present giving a short speech. On Sunday we held two good open-air meetings, one at Paisley Road Toll, Joe Burgoyne, Glasier, and Gilbert being the speakers, and the other at St. George's Cross, where Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke; 55 *Commonweals* sold.

**MANCHESTER.**—Sunday afternoon good meeting in Stevenson Square, Ritson, Marshall, and Bailie speakers. A City Councillor who was present indicated a desire to oppose, but declined to address audience from the chair. At 7.30 we held the first meeting of the season at Chester Road, when Nixon opened with an original Socialist song, and Marshall and Bailie spoke. We began with scanty audience, which developed into a large and lively gathering and ended rather tumultuously owing to some noisy opponents. We hope to do some good work here as the weather improves.—W. B.

**NORWICH.**—No open-air meeting on Sunday owing to wet weather. Meeting held in hall, very fair audience, Poynts lectured on "Social Democracy and Anarchism," several questions asked. In evening lecture was delivered by a friend from Cambridge, subject, "Life and Works of Thomas Paine," to good audience; Darley in chair. Lecture was an interesting account of Paine, and frequently applauded. Discussion followed; Poynts and A. Moore took part. After lecture a very enjoyable time was spent, and numerous songs, readings, and recitations rendered, concluding with *Marseillaise*.

**YARMOUTH.**—Short meeting on Priory Plain at 3 p.m. Sunday, addressed by Ruffold and Reynolds; 18 *Weals* sold and 1s. collected. After meeting the members met at a comrade's house to discuss Mowbray's visit, for which arrangements were made, and also a collection to defray any expenses.—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At the Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Saturday, April 13th, J. O'Gorman lectured on "What is Human Slavery?" the address being an exposition of the general principles of Socialism. An interesting discussion followed, the opposition being better than the average. The lecture was well supported by King, Graham, Coulon, and others.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—In spite of cold and rain, fair meeting held on Sunday night in the Great Market Place, Rooke in chair. Peacock denounced the sweating of the teachers employed by the Nottingham School Board, and urged that the Socialists should be more strongly represented on that body.—P.

**WESS BENEFIT.**—The concert at 13, Farringdon Road, on Sunday last was a success. The Russian choir was an interesting feature, and the vocal music on the whole, considering the absence of professional aid, was good. A few recitations were also rendered with effect, and the *Marseillaise* was sung in French and Russian. The entertainment concluded with a little dancing and refreshments.

**WEST SOUTHWARK LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, 45 Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road.—Rev. S. D. Headlam.

**ELBIS CLUB**, 180 King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.—Sunday April 28, at 8 p.m., Mr. Sidney Webb (Fabian), "The New Departure of the Liberal Party. Social Reforms."

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F.**, New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower March, Lambeth.—Tuesday April 30th, W. S. de Mattos (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Economics."

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—A social gathering of members and sympathisers will take place at 28 Grays Inn Road (14 doors from Holborn) on Sunday April 21st, at 6 p.m., to discuss the position and best means of promoting the interests of the Society. Admission free. Tea, coffee, and cake provided.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30.

**East London.**—Business meeting on Sunday 21st, at 7.30, at 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Members, attend.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 21, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "The Commune of London." Thursday April 25, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 26, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary. On Wednesday April 24, J. Blackwell will lecture on "Government and Crime."

## PROVINCES.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class on Thursday evenings at 8—subject next Thursday "Henry George's Single-tax Theory." French Class meets on Mondays at 8 p.m. Members wishing to join in our Saturday afternoon propaganda excursions requested to assemble in Rooms on Saturdays at 4.30.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8.15, C. W. Mowbray will lecture in the Gordon Hall—subject, "Socialism not Akin to Radicalism." Monday, the comrades will open the Country Propaganda; at 8.30 p.m., a Social Meeting will be held in the Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class. (Open-air arrangements given below.)

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. The *Commonweal* can be purchased of Mr. Hones, newsagent, George Street.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 20.

8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Davis, Brooks, Mrs. Schack

SUNDAY 21.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lyne senr., Maughan, and Dean

11.30 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mrs. Schack and Cores

11.30 ..... "Canterbury Arms"—Kilburn Road ..... Charles, Mainwaring, Hicks

11.30 ..... Hammersmith—St. Ann's Road ..... The Branch

11.30 ..... Kensal Green ..... Crouch, Davis, Dean, and Spry

11.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Debate between F. Kitz and an opponent

11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... Parker and Nicoll

11.30 ..... Walham Green, opposite Station ..... The Branch

11.30 ..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Davis, Turner, and Mowbray

3.30 ..... Hyde Park ..... Darwood, Jeffries, and Parker

3.30 ..... Victoria Park ..... Davis, Mrs. Schack, and Mowbray

7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Brookes, Kitz, Parker, and Nicoll

7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... The Branch

7.30 ..... Broad Street, Soho ..... Mrs. Lahr

7.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch

TUESDAY 23.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

THURSDAY 25.

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Mrs. Lahr and Nicoll

FRIDAY 26.

8 ..... Philpot Street, Commercial Road ..... St. George's Branch

8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... Mrs. Lahr

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Ber Street Fountain, at 11—Samuels and Darley; Market Place, at 11—Rochmann and Poynts; Market Place, at 3, a great demonstration will be held, addressed by C. W. Mowbray, M. Rochmann, and H. Samuels (London), chair to be taken by comrade Darley; Market Place, at 7.30—Poynts, Rochmann, and Samuels.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Jarnoustie** (Forfarshire)—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary.

**Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary.

**West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

## AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

**Sydney.**—533 George Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening.

**W. H. McNamara**, Secretary.

**Melbourne.**—"Golden Fleece" Hotel, Russell Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. J. A. Andrews, 18 Ophir Street, Richmond, Secy.

## On Easter Monday.

A FREE CONCERT AND BALL will be given at 13 Farringdon Road, on Easter Monday, to commence at 8 p.m. All comrades able to assist with music, reading, or song please help.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 172.

SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE rich are getting so extremely kind to the poor, that, if they don't take care, they (the rich) will expend all their time in performing these kindnesses, and will have no time left for performing the absolutely necessary duty of finding means of wasting the wealth which they have sweated from the poor; and a pretty mess we shall be in then! For since the "poor" are only employed by the sweating process, and depend for their subsistence on the sweaters, if the sweaters don't sweat we shall be all undone together—unless the workers have come to the conclusion that they will employ themselves for their own benefit.

Here is a queer example of this rash philanthropy, this killing people with kindness. The National Home Reading Circles Union, which resolved the other day "that it was advisable to organise in a large and effective manner a plan by which to direct and encourage home-reading among all classes of the people," etc., etc.

"All classes." Yes, but they mean one class. You bet they won't come to me—I wish they would. At the meeting in question the stream of twaddle flowed on very steadily. Said the Bishop of London: "It would not be difficult to make home-reading a very living thing, though not quite so powerful as the voice of the teacher." "The voice of the teacher," that means the Bishop, I suppose; "the voice of the teacher" is good, very good.

The Venerable Archdeacon Farrar thought, "That it would do much to counteract the flood of wicked, malicious, and frivolous literature with which England was inundated." I say, which of the three are we of the *Commonweal*? Not "frivolous," I think; "wicked and malicious," I fear. O parson, parson, what tall words you use; but taller follow. "They might find in them (books) fruits which are fruits of Nepenthé, and flowers that are flowers of Amaranthe." Yes, only I fear that the cases are not uncommon where beefsteak and porter would be more welcome than Nepenthé and Amaranthe; nay, would enable us to find those "articles" in our books—if we have any.

In short, what the devil is it all about? Are there not books enough written year by year in this country drowned in "culture"? Are they not cheap enough, as cheap as worthless paper and scab labour can make them? What is needed, O benevolent rich gentlemen, to further "home-reading"? I think you know, though you don't choose to confess it. Leisure, freedom from anxiety about livelihood, pleasant roomy clean dwellings, access to pretty places and the rest; in short, reasonable ease of life, and above all unanxious leisure. When people have this they will read such books as they will, such as suit them, and, *pace* Mr. G. Howell, amuse them. Can a man have this when he is a trembling dependant for his livelihood on the caprice of another man, who is himself a slave to a system of cut-throat competition? We all know he cannot.

In short, O benevolent persons and parsons, your kindness to the working-classes will be welcome to them when it is no longer used as an excuse for your continued robbing of them. Is it "malicious," I wonder, to quote Scripture and say, "Let him that stole steal no more." Meantime, it is not a little ridiculous to see the efforts of these worthy folk to wag the dog's tail for him since he declines to wag it himself.

W. M.

Last week the Liverpool landing-stage was overcrowded with emigrants going by steamer to America. On seven vessels there went six thousand exiles, including English, Scotch, and Irish, Germans, Italians, Norwegians, Russians, Hungarians, and Polish Jews. A number of English agricultural labourers sailed for South America. The leading Atlantic lines ran extra steamers to meet the enormous traffic. From Southampton a lot of Scotch fishermen have gone to South Africa. A constant stream is flowing to Australia. Every outward-bound steamer carries a load of exiles somewhere—anywhere, if only they get away from their native land.

And all this is not, as in the old days of the Scando-Gothic exodus, an overflow of freemen from sterile lands too small for their teeming myriads. Nor is it, as with the Elizabethan English, the voluntary going out of a strong and poor people, freemen still, if not so free as their forefathers, against a great and unwieldy wealthy nation, that barred their way and at the same time offered a fine field for plunder. These folk have indeed the hunger that drove out their forefathers, but have neither the longing for adventure that led them round the world, nor the strength and freshness that enabled them to destroy and replace the effete systems that confronted them. These are slaves fleeing from the lash to the lash.

They go from lands in which there is plenty of room for them were it not for monopoly and injustice, to lands that meet them with the same injustice and subject them to the same monopoly. They are slaves born and bred; have lived as slaves at "home," and carry with them the will to be slaves wherever they go. Yet with the poison they carry the antidote; among the slaves there go some exiled men, men driven out because of their manhood, even as the slaves are driven out because of their slavehood. And so, while for the Land of Behest they find the Land of Betrayal, with blood and bitterness for milk and honey, and wander in a desert of commercialism that seems to stretch beyond their utmost vision, there are among them the men who will lead them out of it into the land that lays beyond.

Meantime it is not pleasant for Englishmen who reflect upon what their fathers were—pirates and freebooters, it is true, but men at least, and lovers of freedom, though it were only for themselves—and then think that Englishmen are among the most willing slaves and makers of slaves that can be found in all the world. Nor is this only so in far-off lands; there is a proof of it this present week at our very doors. It is proposed to "colonise" with English labourers an Irish estate which has been cleared of its native tenants. The proposal is made, not because the English will be, as their fathers were, strong thieves, able and ready to buy with hard blows what booty they desire, but because they will crouch more tamely and be plundered more patiently than those they replace.

I may be a crude barbarian and the rest of it, but I prefer their fathers. To me there is nothing more terrible in the present system than the loss of manhood it has brought about. The only thing that gives me patience enough even to listen with moderate calmness to the preaching of palliatives is the hope that, perchance, they may in some way give to the working classes a chance to recover somewhat of the fibre and backbone that will be needful ere they can achieve their freedom or live as freemen. That is their only argument, and, needless to say, not a conclusive one.

S.

### THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

#### SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

It is a commonplace among many revolutionists to say that the English people have no revolutionary traditions. To some extent this is true, for we are forced to go back to the days of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, to those of the "Pilgrimage of Grace," or to those of the "Levellers" and "Fifth Monarchy Men," if we want to discover a time of really formidable risings of the dispossessed. But still revolutionary traditions of a kind do exist among the people. Hyde Park railings are still a watchword among Radicals, who are anxious to prove that beneath their placid demeanour there lurks something dangerous; and the great Chartist demonstration on Kennington Common is still a subject for conversation among older men. But these, though revolutionary traditions, are revolutionary in a very mild way, and do not come up in any way to traditions of the great revolutions which have displayed themselves upon the stage of Paris during the past century. Well, but degenerate as we are, and tamely as our people put up with

starvation and undeserved misery—with a quietness which is the wonder of other nations—yet there are passages in our history in which the country seems to have escaped an actual uprising almost by a miracle; and the period I am going to refer to is one of them.

You must transport yourselves back into the dawn of this century, into the good old times of which our grandfathers and grandmothers are so fond of talking. We are in the dawn of the manufacturing era, and it is still possible for the mechanic, after working in a factory during the day, to go back to his cottage in the country to sleep in the evening. Machinery is just coming into general use, and there have been already in 1812 serious riots against the introduction of machinery in the north-country districts; but it is not with deeds of the Luddites that I have to do: that has been already dealt with by another comrade of ours in the pages of the *Commonweal*. London then was not one-third the size it is at present. Chelsea, Marylebone, Somers Town, St. Pancras, Clerkenwell, and Mile-end were countryfied suburbs, surrounded by fields, which a few minutes walk would take you into. The southern side of the Thames was still more rural. There were open fields where now stands the obelisk at St. George's Circus; Greenwich, Walworth, and Camberwell were completely isolated from the town. In Lambeth there were disused windmills, which a few years back had been in active use. London was growing, but growing much more slowly than it is at present; and even down to 1848 there were large open spaces at Kennington and Clerkenwell, which had not yet become the prey of the suburban builder, upon which large meetings could be held. In the country the large manufacturing towns were, like London, not near their present size. There were then no railways, and news took two or three days in coming to London from the more remote parts of the kingdom, and the highwaymen of the penny-dreadful had not long vanished from the country. The great battle of Waterloo was about to be fought and won, and the trade of England, though greatly stimulated by the Continental war which had lasted over twenty years, had sunk into a terrible depression. Closed factories and starving workmen were common, and the distress was increased by heavy taxation, the result of twenty years' fighting to extinguish French freedom. I have the authority of a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for stating that the furniture of hundreds of decent families was sold by auction in the public streets for arrears of taxation.

It was not surprising under these circumstances to find that discontent increased, although of course there were not wanting respectable people to place all the responsibility for distress and discontent alike upon the shoulders of very wicked people, who were not known in those days as Socialists, but were commonly called Radicals, and were known in polite society as people of French principles. Most of these Radicals were in truth Jacobins, and regarded the great French Revolutionists of 1793 as the prophets of their creed; but these Radicals, needless to say, were much more advanced than those of the present day. They did not alone believe in the abolition of the House of Lords or the disestablishment of the Church as the goal of their desires; they were Republicans, and demanded manhood suffrage and annual parliaments. Many, too, were followers of Thomas Spence, the English land-nationalist, who desired the restoration of the land to the people not by the single-tax methods of Henry George, but by the people actually taking possession of it, after the manner now recommended by the Communist-Anarchists. Robert Owen, too, had begun to preach his theories of social reconstruction; but as he did not believe in physical force, and as his doctrines had not obtained much hold upon the people, they were not looked upon as very dangerous by the authorities, who only regarded him as an amiable enthusiast, a dreamer of beautiful dreams, which many very lofty people regarded with a certain amount of charitable interest, as they had not become the war-cry of a popular party, and there was therefore no chance of their inconvenient realisation.

While these advanced ideas were seething in the breasts of the people, England was being ruled by men beside whom Balfour and Salisbury are angels of light. The renegade George Canning, the hypocritical Sidmouth, bloody Castlereagh—these were the gentlemen who managed affairs and who were willing to use the iron hand in crushing down the people. It was not enough that trade was bad and thousands were starving: something must be done to increase the rents of the land monopolists, and therefore a measure was passed through parliament to prohibit the importation of foreign corn. But the men of London, who had not lost their manhood in stifling slums, but could still breathe the free air of the country-side, determined that they would not see their wives and children starved for the benefit of these greedy leeches, and some strange sights began to be seen in the streets of the metropolis. On March 6, 1815, a few days after the introduction of the Bill to the House of Commons, the people assembled in the avenues and lobbies of the House, declaiming against the Corn Bill. At one o'clock they are cleared out from the lobbies by constables, and driven into Palace Yard. But the crowd increases, and grows more desperate. Amid the cheering for popular members, the ministers are saluted by howls of rage and cries of "No Corn Bill!" The carriages of unpopular members are stopped, and they are forced to walk through the crowd amid hissing and hooting. The transition from hissing and hooting to blows is easy, and some members who are in favour of starving the people are very roughly handled, among them being the Attorney-General. At this juncture the military are called out, and the crowd are dispersed at the point of sabre and bayonet. But the trouble is not over. The people driven from the House of Commons rally in other parts of the town and the crowd sweeps towards the house of Lord Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, in Bedford Square, then a fashionable neighbourhood, Belgravia being as yet undreamt of. It

is now ten o'clock in the evening as the mob reaches the house. The temper of the crowd is dangerous, for a rope is thrown over a lamp-post in front of the door, on which they announce their intention of hanging his lordship. Some lively proceedings follow; the iron railings in front are torn up and the door is battered down. In pours the crowd, and they begin to smash his lordship's furniture; but his lordship has escaped by the back way. It is possible they might have proceeded to other extremities had not the guards arrived, when the people as usual dispersed.

In the meantime, mobs are gathering in other parts of the town, and a dense crowd attacks the house of Mr. Robinson, the introducer of the Corn Bill. This gentleman fares badly; his house is completely sacked, the occupants making a hasty exit by the back door, while his furniture and pictures are thrown out of window and trampled to pieces by the people outside. The Earl of Pembroke in his carriage, on his return from the House of Lords, encounters another detachment of the mob; the carriage is smashed to pieces, the earl barely escaping with his life. It is pleasing to read in the papers of the time that the Royal Horse Guards and three regiments of foot-guards were under orders during the whole of the day, and that to the latter twenty-four rounds of ball cartridges were served out. It was no doubt a source of great unhappiness to the ministers that the troops were not able to shoot any of the rioters.

On the next day, March 7th, the West-end is in a state of siege, the houses of unpopular members being guarded by troops. Round the House of Commons large crowds assemble, so evidently tumultuous in their disposition, that they are only kept in order by a liberal display of infantry and cavalry. But despite the troops the riots go on, and though the Horse Guards are continually on the move, the rioters elude them by acting in small parties, fifty or a hundred strong, and the wreckage of window-panes is considerable. No sooner is one crowd dispersed than the military are called to curb the operations of another; and though the scene of the riots did not exceed half a mile, the damage is always done in the temporary absence of the military. A most determined attack is made again upon the house of Mr. Robinson, but from the windows there comes a volley of musketry: there are some soldiers inside in ambush, and a man falls shot through the heart. As usual, the victim is a peaceful spectator; there is no clue to his identity found upon him, but he is supposed from his dress to be a naval officer. As night falls over the tumultuous scene, large mobs gather in the city in the neighbourhood of Finsbury Square, and an attack is made on Whitebread's brewery. The Horse Guards are summoned from the West, and in their absence a huge mob gathers in the Dials and pours down St. Martin's Lane to the House of Commons, cursing the Corn Bill and threatening destruction to its supporters. Fortunately for the unpopular members, the House has adjourned, and the people vent their rage upon the building, bombarding it with showers of stones; hardly a pane of glass is left unbroken. The police are helpless, and the Guards are sent for. They come down at full trot, their sabres drawn, from the City and West, and the crowd flee before them into the churchyard of St. Margarets, whence they fling stones and curses at the troops.

The next day the houses of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Ponsonby are assailed. At Ponsonby's the people are fired upon by the servants, but that does not daunt them, for the iron railings are torn up and the door is battered down, but before they can storm the house the troops arrive, and the people retire before them. London is now full of troops, poured into it from every country district. The House of Commons, the Houses of the ministers and supporters of this iniquitous law, are guarded by strong detachments of infantry, while the streets are patrolled by the cavalry in such strong force that a renewal of the riots is almost impossible. So we find the disturbances conclude on the 9th with the few cases of window-breaking. The loyal inhabitants of the middle class pluck up courage, and in response to an appeal from Lord Sidmouth are sworn in in large numbers as special constables. The Corn Bill passes, and the people are forced to suffer in silence. But these riots were significant of the troubles that were to come.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be continued.)

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—Census of metropolitan paupers (exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants), taken on the last day of the weeks named hereunder (enumerated inhabitants in 1881, 3,815,000). First week of April, 1889, indoor, 59,201; outdoor, 38,231—total, 97,432; first week of April, 1888, indoor, 59,871; outdoor, 49,264—total, 109,135; first week of April, 1887, indoor, 57,565; outdoor, 42,162—total, 99,727; first week of April, 1886, indoor, 55,790; outdoor, 42,125—total, 97,915 (excluding patients in the fever and small-pox hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylum District; the number of these patients on the last day of the week was returned as 623 in 1889, 1,284 in 1888, 456 in 1887, and 235 in 1886). Vagrants relieved in the metropolis on the last day of the first week of April, 1889: Men, 759; women, 137; children under sixteen, 18—total, 914.

"We are all Socialists now, as Sir William Harcourt said, and the last to join the distinguished band is none other than Mr. Goschen, the Immaculate. Mr. Goschen among the Socialists is indeed a case of Saul among the prophets. But what more Socialistic suggestion could we have than his proposal that all fortunes above £10,000 should pay a special extra duty of 1 per cent. on passing into the hands of the heirs? This 1 per cent. on large fortunes left at death differs in no whit in principle from that of a graduated income-tax. Mr. Goschen is one among the many who have greased the slide down which we are plunging into Socialism." So says the *Pall Mall*. It would be easy indeed to find a "more Socialistic suggestion," and it may be doubted whether we are plunging "down" into Socialism, but both proposal and comment may serve as straws to show which way the current sets.

# IN THE UNITED STATES.

"Look at the big stores of the city. What do we find? Activity? Not much. Huge stacks of goods are covered. Every warehouse in the city is packed to overflowing, and safety deposit vaults are actually utilised for storing goods, which under ordinary circumstances would be put in common storehouses."

"We are in a disturbed condition of affairs. We are unsettled from cellar to ridge-pole. The clenched hand of poverty is raised against the fist of wealth. Class feeling is generated. Our writers and our orators speak about the labouring class and the wealthy class, and the respectable class and the working class."

"The Garfield ghost still walks the land. Guiteau's curse still floats in the air. Mysteries and secrets are still among the unexplained."

Now it might be easily supposed that the foregoing sentences were written by some wild and fiery revolutionist; and yet such supposition would be essentially incorrect. They are not the product of a red-hot Anarchist's brain, but have been printed as editorial notes in the eminently respectable *New York Press*, the organ of trusts, syndicates, etc.—in fact, capitalism *par excellence*. Are we indeed nearing the crisis?

The Arizona Legislature passed some days ago a law which clearly shows the spirit in which capitalists would like to deal with their men. Here is the text of the law:

"Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona:—

"Sec. 1.—If any person or persons shall wilfully and maliciously make any assault upon any railroad train, railroad cars, or railroad locomotive, within this Territory, for the purpose and with the intent to commit murder, robbery, or any other felony upon or against any passenger upon said train or cars, or upon or against any engineer, conductor, fireman, brakeman, or any officer or employé connected with the said locomotive, train, or cars, or upon or against any express messenger or mail agent on said train, or in any of the cars thereof, on conviction thereof, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and shall suffer the punishment of death.

"Sec. 2.—Any and all persons who shall counsel, aid, abet, and assist in the perpetration of any or all of the offences set forth in the preceding section, on conviction thereof shall be deemed to be principals and shall suffer the punishment therein prescribed.

"Sec. 3.—Upon the trial of any and of all persons charged with the violation of this Act, it shall not be necessary to prove, nor shall it be deemed material to a conviction, that the defendant or defendants specifically intended to commit the offences, or any of them herein set forth, upon or against any particular person, but it shall be sufficient if it is proven to the satisfaction of the Court and jury trying the cause, as the result of such unlawful assault, some person or persons were killed, robbed, or injured, as the case may be, or that such assault was perpetrated with the design to commit some felony."

Referring to this "humane and pre-eminently American statute," the *New York Herald* suggests the following appropriate suppositions:

"Suppose that the employés of the Southern Pacific Railroad were on strike; suppose that an excitable striker should jump on an engine and commit 'any other felony' upon the person of the man who took his place; that act would be punishable by death. And what is to prevent the railroad companies, which seem to own the Territory, from having laws passed making interferences of any kind by strikers felonious?"

The Eastern Railroad magnates surely will regret that the east has become too effete for such laws to be passed in eastern legislatures. However, these gentry generally know "how to get there all the same."

The State of Maine has got a new tramp law, and a very atrocious piece of legislation it is indeed. Even more atrocious, if such is possible, than the law just described of Arizona. The law came into effect on the first of this month, and the very first case which came under its jurisdiction is a splendid illustration of its inhumanity. The law stipulates that "all who ask for food, lodging, or charity in any form are deemed tramps, and must be sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour." This applies whether the poor person asks for private or for public charity. Some days ago, at Lewiston, Me., a man applied at the police station for a night's lodging. He explained that he had been working in the State, but having no money and being without work, he was walking back to his home in Massachusetts. The man, who was proved to be a genuine worker, was at once arrested and sentenced to sixty days' imprisonment with hard labour. Even the newspapers are kicking against this law, and the pity is that it may be abolished: it was too good an illustration of Yankee "humanity and Christianity."

If tramps are treated like this the abominable treatment of prisoners can cause small wonder. During last year about 12,000 men and women were sent to the Deer Island penitentiary, near Boston, to undergo their various "punishments." In the coldest days of the winter, these unfortunates were not provided with more clothes to wear than in the hottest days of the summer. It must be added that the island is situated in a position where climatic changes are quickly felt, and the wind coming over the sea is cutting in the extreme. On the whole, I believe cannibals are standing on a higher human plane than Yankee society is.

Bad news comes from the city of Chicago. Comrades will remember that the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the *Vorbote*, and the *Fackel* used to be under the editorship of Spies, the organs of the International Working-men's Association. Spies' very unfortunate tactics, which he pursued during his incarceration, to quasi-endorse "electioneering propaganda" has in the meantime produced bitter fruits. The papers got, after the 11th of November, 1887, into the hands of a gang who had for nothing in the world so much interest as for money-making. The principles which were believed in by "our five" were openly ridiculed in the columns of their late organs. To the money-grubbing policy on the part of the stockholders of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* may also be attributed the suspension of the Chicago *Alarm* and the Chicago *Labour Enquirer*. And now it appears that the worst possible act has been added to the previous offences. Naturally, electioneering is at the bottom. Carter Harrison declined the Democratic nomination for mayor, and in his place a local Chicago politician called Cregier was nominated. The "Labour Parties" also put up a ticket for the municipal offices, which displeased the Socialistic Labour Party, and in the last hour this latter party resolved to participate in the coming election independent of any other party by putting up a ticket of their own. The Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung* attacked the Socialistic ticket as well as that of the "Labour Parties," and supported Mayor Roche for re-election. Mayor Roche and his party are the men on whose hands the blood of our martyrs has not dried as yet. The ostensible reason the paper gave for its course is, that Roche promised to do all in his power to have our comrades in Joliet released, and that Roche was the man who suspended Bonfield. The real reason, more than probably, is that the managers and the editor—one Jens. L. Christensen—of the paper have accepted boodle from the Republican party. Faugh! The Democratic ticket (Harrison's crew) got elected.

The following telegram is at present making the round of the capitalist press. The telegram speaks for itself:—

"Mine Inspector Blewitt, of the First Anthracite district, comprising the Lackawanna Valley, near Scranton, Pa., has just completed his annual report of deaths and accidents for the past year, and it furnishes an interesting chapter in the cost of coal mining. The companies operating in the district are the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, the Delaware and Hudson, the Pennsylvania Coal Company, the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, William Connell and Co., the Hillside Coal and Iron Company, and several smaller concerns.

"There are employed at this black industry of mining anthracite in the First district 23,481 persons, and these mined nearly 10,000,000 of the 34,000,000 tons that were shipped from Pennsylvania last year. They worked 233 days of the 365, and one person was killed for every 133,539 tons of the output. During the past year 74 persons were killed in the First district at the work of mining, which shows what a perilous avocation is that of the miner, even under the most favourable circumstances. This is an item in the price of coal that is rarely ever taken into account when the coal barons figure out their balance sheets, but it is none the less a grim feature of the great industry at which men are so poorly paid as at present. As most of the men that are killed leave widows and large families the black agony of the anthracite industry can be readily imagined.

"Mine Inspector Blewitt reports that in his district 307,781 kegs of powder were used in the work of mining during the year. As the market price of the powder is only 1 dol. 50 cents., and the companies compel their miners to pay 3 dols. per keg for it, the amount realised by the corporations of this district on powder alone during the year is nearly half a million dollars. The miners are worked up considerably over this powder question, which they are agitating quite vigorously. The companies claim that the price, 3 dols. per keg, was fixed upon during the war, when powder was much dearer than it is now, and that that was to be the basis for the regulation of wages. They hold that to reduce it now would be equal to advancing the pay of the miners, and the iniquity is so ancient that they actually regard it as an outrage that the press should call attention to a wrong that is so firmly fixed by usage.

"The men, on the other hand, deny the right of the companies to charge war prices for powder in these piping times of peace, and they hold that if they cannot sell cheaper they should not prevent their workmen from purchasing their powder where they could buy to the best advantage. As matters now stand the miners seem to have the best of the argument and the companies the best of the situation. Several important meetings will be held throughout the valley to discuss this and other labour questions during the next few days."

Boston, Mass., April 8, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 4, 1889.

28	Sun.	1513. 'Prentices' riots in London. 1789. Mutiny of the <i>Bounty</i> . 1789. Rising of Saint Antoine and sacking of Réveillon's paper warehouse. 1820. Fight at Oldham between Radicals and soldiers.
29	Mon.	1763. Wilkes committed to the Tower. 1828. Test Act repealed. 1839. Chartist riot at Llanidloes. 1871. The Freemasons plant their banners on the ramparts of Paris. 1882. <i>Infernal</i> machines "found" in the New York post-office. 1887. Belfast shipbuilders' strike.
30	Tues.	1849. French attack on Rome repelled by Garibaldi. 1871. Communist rising at Lyons. 1872. Genton shot as a Communist.
1	Wed.	1820. Hanging of the Cato Street conspirators—Ings, Brunt, Davidson, Tidd, and Thistlewood. 1825. Constitution of New Harmony adopted. 1834. Third series of Wooler's <i>Black Dwarf</i> (8vo, monthly, 3d.) begins. 1861. Anton Petroff, spokesman of the rebel peasants, hanged at Bezdna, Kazan Government, Russia. 1866. Fenian schooner <i>Friend</i> takes and scuttles British schooner <i>Wentworth</i> near Eastport, U.S. 1886. First weekly number of <i>Commonweal</i> .
2	Thur.	1792. Ankarström executed for killing Gustavus III. of Sweden. 1818. Karl Marx born. 1842. Monster Chartist petition presented to the House of Commons by T. S. Duncombe. 1878. Great strike of cotton-spinners and riots at Burnley. 1879. Dubrovin hanged for armed resistance to arrest, St. Petersburg. 1882. Parnell, Dillon, and O'Kelly released from Kilmainham.
3	Fri.	1748. Abbé Sieyès born. 1782. House of Commons expunges resolutions against Wilkes. 1788. All-night session of French Parlement to consider scheme of "Plenary Court." 1791. Revolution in Poland. 1799. Trial of Benjamin Flower, printer of the <i>Cambridge Intelligencer</i> , before the House of Lords for libel and breach of privilege in an article upon the Bishop of Llandaff as an opponent of reform. 1823. First meeting, at Morrison's Hotel, Dublin, of the Hibernian Philanthropic Society, formed in consequence of Robert Owen's lectures. 1845. Tom Hood died—"He sang the Song of the Shirt." 1886. Murder of strikers by police in Chicago.
4	Sat.	1788. Arrest of D'Espréménil and Goeslard de Monsabert, and "exile" of Parlement. 1789. Assembling of States-General at Versailles. 1848. Insurrection at Munich. 1886. Hay-market meeting, Chicago.

JOHN BALL.—"Mad," as the landowners called him, it was in the preaching of John Ball that England first listened to a declaration of natural equality and the rights of man. "Good people," cried the preacher, "things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all came of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride? They are clothed in velvet, and warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread; and we, oatcake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, the rain and the winds in the fields. And yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state." It was the tyranny of property that then as ever roused the defiance of Socialism.—*Green's 'Short History.'*





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HAD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages.** None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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**Business communications** to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**RECEIVED:**—Will be used—John Greenwood; Edward Carpenter. Under consideration—G. S.; J. M. (Manchester); J. B. (Waltham). Unsuitable for various reasons—G. H. B. (Manchester); S. H. C. (Cleckheaton); T. M. (Paddington); R. H. C. (Dulwich).

**REPORTS.**—Some reports again received too late, and are crowded out.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 24.

ENGLAND	MILWAUKEE	SPAIN
Diplomatic Flysheets	Newark—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Seville—La Solidaridad
Labour Elector	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Barcelona—El Productor
Labour Tribune	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	
London—Freie Presse	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight		Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Postal Service Gazette	FRANCE	O Rebelde
Railway Review	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	GERMANY
Social Demokrat	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	Le Proletariat	AUSTRIA
	La Revue Socialiste	Wien—Gleichheit
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	Copenhagen—Arbejdere
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Voortuit	SWEDEN
Jewish Volkszeitung	ITALY	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Malmö—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Arcana—Il Libero Patto	WEST INDIES
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel		Cuba—El Productor
Fort Worth (Tex)—South West		

### A TRAMP'S DIARY.

THE following cutting from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of March the 16th, affords a very good instance of how we manufacture criminals under the present system, absolutely compel them to steal by a force more irresistible than the scourge or the sword:—

"In the pocket of a man convicted of larceny in the Tyneside Police-court, a diary has been discovered which contains a minute record of the owner's experiences. After describing how on one night he slept on the sands, and on another contrived to hide and find a night's lodging in a pew in church, the diarist notes day by day his attempts to get casual employment, with varying success, at the docks and elsewhere. On one occasion he appears to have had the good fortune to be engaged by some engineers aboard ship for several days, for which he received 15s. With part of this he purchased a cap, a scarf, and a pair of shoes at a cobbler's. The diarist then continues as follows:

Tuesday, 7 a.m., off to the docks once more; if I could only get another berth like that, but I don't; spend 10d. for grub, and 9d. for bed.

Wednesday, same old round, and nothing to do; spend 8d. on tuck, and 9d. for bed.

Thursday, do., do., etc.; expended 1s. 5d.

Friday, do., do.; 1s. 5d.

Saturday, things look blue; 1s.

Sunday, bed till 12 a.m., got nothing to eat. Bible class at 2.30; church at 6.30; bed at 9.30; beastly hungry; what a lot of money beds cost—my last 9d.—left with a halfpenny.

Monday, 6 a.m., halfpenny pot of coffee, and off to the docks; I feel famishing; get some ship biscuit on board one of the boats, and that's all for two days; walk about all night.

Tuesday, 8 a.m., chop sticks for a woman until 12, and get 3d. for it—mean old screw—bought some breakfast: no more till 8 p.m.; carry a portmanteau, and get a bob; trust the men; clover that night.

Wednesday, 7 a.m., went to the dock hopeless; to — station, carried two loads, 1s. 6d.; grub 8d.; bed 9d.

Thursday, 6 a.m., up to dock; no work; got a meal on board one of the boats at 9 o'clock; got some biscuits at 3 o'clock; no more grub; no more work; no bed to night; no breakfast in the morning. . . . I'm dreading Sunday.

Friday, 2.30 a.m., crossed in the ferry, and knocked about the quay till seven o'clock; then went into the S. H. office; then up to — dock; just as bad here, not even a biscuit to be had. I suppose if they knew how bad I wanted it they might give me one, but they don't; think they can't surely know, or they would not refuse me. How shall I get this week-end over? I'll not go to the workhouse, if I starve in the street, and I don't know of a single friend to turn to. I wish to God I was dead, and it was all finished with me. I'm sick of the fight. Honesty, charity, love of fellowmen! Why don't they preach a substantial bodily sermon to poor devils like us; and I suppose I'll have to go and put in another Sunday in church for the sake of a seat, and to get warm. I feel as if I could bite the throat out of some of the fat, greasy, self-satisfied-looking brutes, as they loiter in and out of church. Last Sunday, when they went sailing past me, and I thought of all the good things they would have, I hated them, every one. Surely some of them might have seen how hungry I was. I felt faint and sick enough, if I didn't look it. Perhaps I glowered over hard at them when they did look. However, I got over it, and I suppose I'll get over this; doesn't much matter if I don't, nobody seems to care much what I do or where I go. If I only had my life over again from the time father died, how differently I would have done, for only one of my lost chances, my wasted opportunities. But what's the use? I guess I'll have to drive through this and worse before I'm out of the rotten hole—"

Let any one in imagination go through the eleven days as this poor fellow describes them; let him see the result of his bit of good fortune growing less and less each day, as he trudges about vainly seeking work, until at length it is all gone and he has to walk the street all night unable to get a bed or a bite of food; let any one imagine the suffering that he must have undergone, weary, hungry, and, worse than all, hopeless! What a wretched dreary world it must have looked to him! What beastly selfish fiends the well-fed people must have seemed as they passed by, leaving him ten times more lonely and wretched for their very presence. Let any one if he can realise the utter dreariness of such a life, the hunger, weariness, and sickening despair, and then let him remember that every day there are thousands and tens of thousands of men going through that misery. At every dock gate in the country you may see them; at almost every ironworks, factory, or anywhere that there seems the faintest chance of getting a bit of work. The other day as I looked out of my office window into the yard of a large ironworks, I saw a man standing; his face attracted my attention, there was such a look of anxiety on it, a nervous impatience to know the result of the interview he hoped to get with the manager of the yard, and withal a look of dread lest it should only be another disappointment. Presently the manager comes along; I watch the man as he steps up to meet him, for a moment a ray of hope beams in his face as with beating heart he begins to stammer out, "Please, sir, could you find me—" "Don't want any one to-day," and the manager is gone. But that man's face! I have more than once wished that would go from my memory! He stood for a moment, and as that ray of hope died from his face there settled on it such a look of utter misery and despair as I hope it may not often fall to my lot to see again.

We Socialists are sometimes accused of looking only on the evil side of life, and disregarding all the good that lies about us. Well, there may be much good in the world, many good people in all classes, and many happy ones, but while it is even possible for such misery as I have described to be the lot of tens of thousands of our fellow countrymen, I cannot see how any person with the least feeling and imagination can enjoy the good as it should be enjoyed; and when such misery is not only possible but is made inevitable by our present system of industry, surely there can be happiness for no one with any sympathy for their fellow men till the system is entirely swept away and something more human put in its place.

Brotherhood, too, we are told, is not to be brought about by a change in conditions, an equalisation of wealth, but only by a change in the heart of the individual. Perhaps if some who think thus should read this tramp's thoughts as he sat in church and watched his well-fed "brethren" filing past, they may be constrained to admit at least that such conditions are hardly conducive to true brotherly feeling, and that some very considerable modification in these conditions might make such feeling very much more possible than at present.

But what is this at the end? "Lost chances," "wasted opportunities." "Ah!" says our friend triumphantly, "you see it was his own fault, not Society's at all!" And as he speaks I seem to remember hearing something about "raising up them that are fallen," "bearing one another's burdens," "breaking bruised reeds," and it seems to me that the religion which our friend so ardently supports used to teach something rather different. But of course I must be mistaken, for evidently now if a man has missed a chance, or a few chances may be, of getting himself on in the world, he has committed the "unpardonable sin" for which no punishment can be too severe, and if when he tries to earn honestly his daily bread Society denies him the chance and leaves him to starve, it is enough to point to one or two such lost opportunities for "getting on." There is an end to any sympathy there might have been; "serve him right" is the verdict, and the self-constituted judge in declaring it, animadverts on the splendid system which thus so surely punishes all those who commit the unpardonable sin of not getting on.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

What do we live for, if it is not to make life less difficult to each other?  
—George Eliot.

## HYMN FOR A BIRTHDAY.

WEEP, mother! that thy child is born—  
To stunted youth, to manhood worn  
In thankless service, to a home  
Of snaky woes, a poor-house tomb.  
Weep, Mother England!—Every morn  
Thou hast a thousand born!

Weep, Mother!—With thy children's bread  
The Hounds of Wealth are over-fed;  
Toil is harvesting despair;  
Lone and loveless sittest thou where  
Famine smiles:—Lo! every morn  
Thy thousand victims born!

Factor's child! who teacheth thee?  
Factor's mistress—Misery.  
Teacheth what? How sweetly fair  
Is the spring-time of Despair;  
How Christ loved ye.—Every morn  
Redeem the thousand born.

Youth! what lovest thou? Thy blood  
Crawleth still within its mud.  
Lovest thou yon squalid thing?  
Wherefore are ye marrying?  
Is't not enough, that every morn  
A thousand slaves are born?

Moan! moan! thou pallid Sepulchre—  
Brooding o'er thy nurslings dear:  
Queen and Mother! greyly bowed  
O'er thy hopes' grave—and the shroud  
That doth lap thee:—Every morn  
The tenfold hecatomb is born.

The very worm o' the grave can feel;  
And the snake-like wound the heel  
Of the Oppressor: though men be  
Worms, the corse is Tyranny.  
Hope, mighty Mother!—Every morn  
A thousand men are born!

SPARTACUS (W. J. Linton) in *Chartist Circular*.

## A STUDY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

OUR comrade Peter Kropotkin will give a series of lectures at the Kensington Town Hall on the following Tuesdays:—May 28th, June 4th, 11th, 18th, 25th, and July 2nd, at 5 p.m. Admission by ticket, for the course of six, 21s., 10s. 6d., and 5s.; for single lectures, 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. The following is a syllabus of the lectures:—

I.—*The Problems of our Century.*—The intellectual movement of our century—Economic, political, and moral problems raised—No satisfactory answer found—Dualism in morality—Want of inspiration in philosophy, literature, and art which results from it—Issues searched for—Socialism and its aspirations.

II.—*The origins of our present economical and political organisation.*—The primitive Saxon, Celtic, and Slavonian communities—The Communes of the mediæval times—Their interior organisation—Their federations—Monuments left—Internal causes of decay.

III.—*The origins of our present economical and political organisation (continued).*—The growth of modern States—Europe threatened by invasions—The absorption of the Communes by the State—The centralised State—The Colonies and the growth of Industry—Its economical consequences—The growth of representative Government.

IV.—*Philosophical Systems and popular movements aiming at the reconstruction of Society.*—The popular ideal as it appears in the mediæval times—Internal struggles within the Communes—The risings of the peasants—The religious and economical movements of the Reformation—The Anabaptists—The philosophical and economical aspects of the Revolution in England.

V.—*Philosophical Systems and popular movements aiming at the reconstruction of Society (continued).*—The philosophical systems of the eighteenth century—The risings of the people and the French Revolution—The Communists of the nineteenth century—The national workshops of 1848 and the impossibility of organising labour by means of a Government—Birth of modern Socialism.

VI.—*Modern Socialism.*—Its various schools—Collectivism—Anarchy: its system of philosophy—Freedom of the individual and his need of association as the basis of future progress—Moralising influence of Socialism—Dualism in morality cast away—A glimpse into the future—Economic production, Science, and Art in a free Communist Society.

Tickets may be obtained from the Secretary of the League at office of this paper.

The laws govern the poor, and the rich govern the laws.—*Goldsmith.*

Alas! cried Muhammad al Emin, royalty hath neither kindred nor bowels of compassion.

Verily, the Prophet (Mahomet) said, "One dirhem of usury which a man eats, knowing it to be so, is more grievous than thirty-six fornications; and whoever has been so nourished is worthy of hell-fire."

If you allow your people to be badly taught, their morals to be corrupted from childhood, and then when they are men punish them for the very crimes to which they have been trained in childhood—what is this but to make thieves and then to punish them?—*More's 'Utopia.'*

The rich are for ever striving to bear away something further from the daily wages of the poor by private fraud and even by public law, so that the wrong already existing (for it is a wrong that those from whom the State derives most benefit should receive least reward) is made yet greater by means of the law of the State.—*More's 'Utopia.'*

The rich devise every means by which they may in the first place secure to themselves what they have amassed by wrong, and then take to their own use and profit, at the lowest possible price, the work and labour of the poor. And as soon as the rich decide on adopting these devices in the name of the public, then they become law.—*More's 'Utopia.'*

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## GERMANY.

In a former issue of this paper we announced that one hundred Socialists were about to be tried for secret conspiracy, and kindred damnable crimes, at Barmen-Elberfeld. Now we hear that twenty-eight more "criminals" have been added to the list, and some fifty witnesses too. Nearly every street in Barmen-Elberfeld is represented by one "conspirator," or at least by one or two witnesses. The immediate neighbourhood of the town has a respectable contingent of "plotters"; then come Solingen and Lennep-Mettmann, which are fairly represented. Düsseldorf, Aix-la-Chapelle and Köln hold up their old reputation of "revolutionary nests"; Cassel has not been forgotten, and Frankfurt-on-the-Main has "defiers of the law" by the score. The Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt has not been spared, nor has the Grand Duchy of Baden, Karlsruhe having given to the forthcoming trial several of its best Socialists. Munich and Nürnberg will represent Bavaria, through comrades Viereck and Grillenberger. Saxony, a centre of Socialist ideas, will of course have a strong deputation of "the most wicked criminals." Königsberg, Iserlahm, Lüdenschied, Hagen, Bochum, and several other towns, are also doomed. The indictment, a terrible piece of magisterial literature, has tales to tell about Vienna, Paris, and London, the most abominable places in Europe. When this trial is over, Germany will be safe for ever and Socialism will exist no more. "Heil dir, ô Germania!"

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Last Thursday died at Pressburg a former adherent of Kossuth, in the person of Bishop Hyacinth Ronay, whose career, in spite of his clerical robes, was a very remarkable one among Hungarians of the period. As a young man, he joined the Hungarian revolutionary movement, and acted as commissioner of Revolutionary Government. On being driven into exile, he lived in London from 1849 till 1866, when the amnesty enabled him to return to his native country. He was at once elected member of the Hungarian Parliament, and on Count Andrassy's recommendation, was accepted by the Empress of Austria as her teacher in Hungarian. Bishop Ronay was afterwards approved by the Emperor as teacher of Hungarian history both to the Crown Prince (who since . . . ) and to Princess Valérie. It was to Bishop Ronay that General Latour conveyed the Emperor's wishes, in the following words: "Give your lessons to the Crown Prince according to your own convictions. We want the truth, even the revolutionary truth!"

## SWITZERLAND.

The official enquiry about the manufacture of bombs at Zürich has come to an end. Thirteen students, of Russian and Polish nationality, have been arrested. Four or five of these are likely to be set at liberty, because they have not been convicted of having actually taken any part in the "perpetration of that horrible crime." The others will be expelled from "free Helvetia." Much ado about nothing!

The Federal Council of the Swiss Republic has addressed to all the industrial States of Europe an invitation to send delegates to a conference which will be held at Berne during the month of September next, with a view of bringing about an international convention on the question of work in the factories. The following items are to be discussed: 1. Prohibition of Sunday work; 2. Fixing of minimum age for children's admission in factories; 3. Fixing of minimum of labour hours for young workers; 4. Prohibiting the employment of non-adult workers and women in unhealthy or dangerous factories; 5. Restriction of night work for non-adult workers and women; 6. Ways and means to ensure the execution of the resolutions come to.

## SWEDEN.

Sweden is making headway in Socialism with very considerable success. Our friends there have four important papers, Socialist circles and groups, revolutionary trades' unions in all towns of some importance, in all industrial centres. Even among the peasantry Socialist ideas are spreading rapidly, much more so than in any other European country at the present time. The government begins to fear the growing movement; hence in Sweden, like elsewhere, they become maddened and institute prosecutions by the score.

Our friends, however, do not seem to be much frightened by the action of the authorities, and they have convened in Stockholm a Congress of all their Swedish supporters from far and near, which has been held from the 19th to the 22nd of the present month. More than sixty Socialist organisations were represented at the Congress, which has been a very important one. Next week we hope to be in a position to give some details about the proceedings.

V. D.

THE PARNELL MOVEMENT.<sup>1</sup>

WHATEVER differing opinions may be held of Mr. O'Connor's personal merits, or of the policy he pursues and pleads for, there can be but one opinion of his book upon the recent history of Ireland. Even the *Times* has to admit that he "writes with extraordinary force, animation, and eloquence. He writes as an impassioned advocate, no doubt, but he is too good an advocate to write with gratuitous or conscious unfairness. . . We have read nothing on that important subject more lucid, more dramatic, or more fascinating." That is exceedingly high praise, but it is difficult to say that it is not justified by the facts. In those parts of the book where it comes into comparison with the work of John Mitchell or Gavan Duffy, there is no doubt that it suffers by the contrast, but the application of such a test would be distinctly unfair and misleading. It is not Mr. O'Connor's fault that his pages tell much more than he means, and that the facts he marshals with such care and skill lead on to much further conclusions than he would be willing to admit. He has done his part of the work well, and it is to be hoped that the public will do theirs by reading every line of it, not resting content with his deductions, though accepting them for the most part as far as they go, but forming their own, and if these be not near akin to those of Socialists it will not be for lack of a vivid exposition of the grotesque horrors wrought by monopoly either of land or capital.

S.

The taking of interest has seventy parts of guilt, the least of which is as if a man commit incest.—*Mahomet.*

<sup>1</sup> "The Parnell Movement." By T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P. Commission edition. Fisher Unwin, 1s.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Platelayers on the Caledonian Railway get 17s. a week where a few years ago they got 21s.

Two Somerset miners who were working together at one of the pits for 60 hours each, received 14s. each at the end of it. Another got about 1s. 10½d. a day on an average, and such cases or worse are said not to be uncommon.

**BELFAST PAINTERS' STRIKE.**—About sixty painters have struck on the Queen's Island Shipbuilding Works, Belfast. These men, during the recent disputes, received an increase of 1s. per week, with an intimation of a further increase. Not getting this, they have gone out.

**MINERS' WAGES.**—At a numerously attended meeting of colliery proprietors, held at Manchester, to consider the application of the miners for an increase of wages, it was unanimously resolved to refuse an advance, on the ground that it was not warranted by the state of trade.

**NORTH WALES COLLIERS.**—All the miners employed at Gatewen Colliery, Wrexham, numbering about 500, on Thursday 18th, sent in a demand for an advance of 10 per cent. This step is certain to be followed by all the North Wales colliers very shortly, and will cause considerable agitation.

**SMALL-CHAIN TRADE.**—The notice given to the employers by the operatives in the South Staffordshire small-chain trade expired on Saturday. The masters have conceded no advance, and the operatives have decided to cease work until all the employers consent to pay the 4s. list issued in January 1887. About 2,000 men are concerned.

**WROUGHT NAIL TRADE.**—The fourteen days' notice for an advance in the wrought nail trade expired on Saturday, but in order to avert a strike the Executive Committee have decided to allow the notice to terminate a fortnight after the 20th inst. In the meantime deputations will wait upon the employers and urge them to concede the advance.

**BANBRIDGE SPINNERS' STRIKE.**—The machine boys and girls in the employment of Hayes and Co., Seapark, Banbridge, Ireland, thread-spinners, have struck for an advance of 3d. a-day. For some time past disaffection prevailed owing to the neighbouring mills at Belfast and Gilford advancing wages. There is no likelihood of a settlement unless an increase is agreed to. About 200 employes are out, and are determined to remain idle unless an increase is granted.

**GAS-RIVET AND STUD AND PEG MAKERS.**—The gas-rivet makers in Old Hill and Hales Owen districts have declined to strike for the list prices, and the operatives' efforts to improve their position have failed to a certain extent. In the course of a few weeks an effort will be made to obtain the full list. The majority of the employers have intimated their willingness to concede the 4s. list should trade continue to improve. A deputation of stud and peg makers have waited upon the employers, and the whole of the latter, it is stated, have agreed to pay the list price of 1887, with the exception of one, and it is expected that he will be forced to give the price.

**NORTH OF ENGLAND IRON TRADE.**—Last week at a meeting held at Darlington, the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration resolved on the adoption of a sliding scale on the basis of 2s. (two shillings) above shillings for pounds, short weight. That such scale shall come into force on the 1st day of July, 1889, and continue until the last Saturday in July, 1891. The changes under the scale shall take place every two months, and the variations will be the same as under previous sliding-scales. The following were said to have been the various alterations made in wages since 1875 to the present time. This showed that there was paid for thirty-seven months, 6s. 9d.; twenty-eight and half months, 7s.; two-and-half months, 7s. 3d.; twenty months, 7s. 6d.; nine months, 7s. 9d.; six months, 8s.; one-and-half months, 8s. 6d.; two months, 8s. 9d.; forty-eight and-half months, 8s. 3d.; making an average for 155 months of 7s. 6½d.

**AGITATION IN THE SALT TRADE.**—The Chester correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* states: "The newly-formed trades' unions among the saltworkers have decided to affiliate themselves into one society, having its headquarters at Winsford, Cheshire. For some years a Saltmakers' Society has been in existence in Cheshire, but it has rather been a relief society than a trades organisation. Now that the affiliation has been completed, on the advice of Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., the society constitutes 1,200 men at Winsford, 600 at Northwich, and 200 at Droithwich. Much enthusiasm prevails at Winsford among the men, who are daily joining the society. Captain Turner, who represents Winsford in the Cheshire County Council, has been enrolled a member, and has promised to do whatever he can for the men. Dr. O'Kell, Winsford, has joined, and the secretary's books contain the names of many Winsford tradesmen, who express themselves determined to see fair play between the men and the great organisation which employs them. The Salt Union has taken over 4,000 men from the old works. A great many changes, introduced with a view to more economical working, have given great anxiety to the men. At the Jubilee Works, as already announced, the workmen have gone out on strike. The dispute has assumed a very threatening aspect all round. Indeed, great tact will have to be exercised to avert a general strike."

**CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.**—The recently issued report of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners is decidedly interesting, and well shows what the work is that a "well-managed" trades union does and is capable of doing. The society has over 25,000 members, and the net income for the past year was £76,468 14s. 5½d., an increase of £8,649 2s. 9½d. on the previous year, and after meeting all demands the year closes with a cash balance of £37,896 1s. 11d., which added to the building and other property of the society, brings up the total worth of the society to £44,235 19s. 7d., or £1 15s. 3½d. per member. To show what has been done by means of this income here are a few items. In the maintenance of unemployed members £30,105 12s. 7½d. has been spent. For sick benefit £16,895 has been spent, and £4,519 3s. 6d. for superannuation; £1,600 14s. for tool benefit, that is to say, for replacing lost, stolen, or destroyed tools; £1,150 for accident benefit; £3,211 18s. for funeral benefit; and £206 3s. 5½d. in paying the railway fares of workmen taking work at a distance from their own homes. One or two trade disputes have had to be fought, but the sum expended upon them was a comparative trifle, which almost escapes notice among the big figures just quoted. Nothing more is needed than a careful glance through this report to show how true our contention is as to the ordinary trade unions, that they are simply the medium through which their members pay their own poor-rates after having paid their employers. Not a solitary item shows an effort to propagate their principles or support a labour paper. Ye fools and blind!

## RICH AND POOR IN '69.

Condensed from the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for July 1869: Article III—"The Late Commercial Crisis," by J. R. M.

DIRGES, with more of execration for their misdeeds than commiseration for their fate, have been howled over the fallen, while no end of psalms are being sung in honour of those who have survived the general disaster, and that are thriving on other people's ruin, as if it were all owing to their wisdom and discretion, or as if they alone knew how "to make the best of both worlds." For ourselves, we have not aptitude for reviling misfortune or worshipping success. Our main, if not our only object, however, is to see how far the times, or the spirit of the age, as it is called, has been responsible for those usages and excesses from which we are suffering, and to suggest changes that must shortly come to pass, if the prosperity and happiness of the masses are consulted. And certainly, if anything should give weight to what we say, it is the vantage-ground from which we speak, with so many instances fresh in our minds, of honest industry coming to grief, of men who were held in high estimation being openly branded as traitors, of honest men losing all confidence in themselves, as well as in each other, and men actually coveting each other's downfall to keep themselves in countenance, as well as glad of any pretext for saddling their neighbour with a portion of their losses. Such, in brief, is a true picture of our late experience. It has been said, that while faith is the condition of spiritual health and prosperity, the contrary holds true in worldly matters. If we were all solitary units, self derived, self sufficing, and having within ourselves all the means of happiness, it might indeed have a show of wisdom; but we are differently constituted, owing our very existence to each other, and so dependent on each other for succour and happiness, that he commits an act of bankruptcy, in the worst sense of the word, who says "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is not well that man be alone, neither is it that he should be so far above his fellows as to be either difficult of access or unapproachable. We have made gods of some men, and less than men of others, of which our late experience has been only the nemesis. There is no better way of judging of the moral state of a people than by comparing the character of those now rolling in wealth with that of those moderately well-to-do or reduced to poverty. Tried by this test, no country ever had greater reason to be ashamed. We never had richer men amongst us, or a greater number, and our rich men never had a worse character, so greedy, grasping, and cold-hearted, unscrupulous up to the full measure of their impunity—or that tampered more with the letter of the law, trusting to the ingenuity of lawyers, or a long purse, to bring them through, and availing themselves of every resource in the way of social intimidation and coercion. Speaking of our modern plutocracy as a class, they are base, bloody, brutal—bearing on their shoulders heavier load of guilt than those who have been convicted of crime. If a city arab steal a pocket-handkerchief, he is seized and carried off to the Mansion House, and in ten minutes may be ordered to Bridewell, while the plaintiff in lavender gloves, possibly one of the class referred to, is complimented by the sitting alderman on having abated a nuisance, and he goes home to his dinner, glorifying himself on having taught one ugly urchin at least a moral lesson. But how stands the case with this poor boy? He was brought into this world without his consent; he probably never saw his father, and it had been better he had never known his mother. Yet here he is with an existence thrust upon him, at war with society from the hour of his birth, shunted out of sight for taking the only means before him of keeping body and soul together; and yet the arab may be the better man of the two. Where little is given, little should be expected; and the city arab is not unworthy of regard if he is guilty of no crime but such as is instigated by the cravings of hunger. Instead of resorting to clumsy and dangerous methods of possessing himself of other people's property, the brigand at heart can attain his ends in a more legal and gentlemanly fashion. Instead of being sometimes dragged before a magistrate, he may even himself aspire to a seat on the bench. Fraudulent bankrupts, pawnbrokers, sweaters, and all the brigands who have succeeded in acquiring other people's property and in evading the law, can easily, in the present society, cover up their tracks, as the Yankees say, and secure admission in society by buying an estate in the country, presenting a memorial window or altar-piece to the parish church, and buying a living for their son. Then there is no saying what the latter, whose position is based on the robbery of the poor, may become. Having the full odour of sanctity as well as gentility, he makes a hit in marriage, believes in apostolical succession, becomes a Ritualist of the first water, and to crown all, finds out he is the promising scion of an old family, that came over with William the Conqueror. But without further illustrations of the way in which millionaires are manufactured, we have said enough to show that money-making is easy enough, if a man will but devote himself, soul and body, to so unworthy an end; and the danger we are in, notwithstanding household suffrage, is that of being overborne by a low-minded, heartless plutocracy. While others can scarcely get the slightest recognition for whatever merits they possess, the man with the long purse is assumed to be everything he can or ought to be. There is scarcely a virtue of which he may not be wanting, or a vice he may not indulge in with the most perfect toleration. It were a miracle if he scrupled to work on men's fears, whenever it answers his purpose. If he wishes a seat in Parliament, he is inundated with requisitions and smothered with votes of confidence; and, getting in on his own terms, he does as he likes in the House. Yet, it may be, he has not an atom of dignity in his person or bearing, and that he is as little able to talk sense, sentiment, or grammar as he is endowed with principle, patriotism, or taste. His only object in going to the House is to improve his social position, get a baronetcy, be made "right honourable," or obtain a peerage; and to get any or all of these he will be as unscrupulous as he is either in the working of his capital or in the means he takes to increase it. How foolish it is to expect that such men can or will do anything for the benefit of the nation.

G. McL.

The future will place civilised societies in an inexorable dilemma: justice or death.—*Charles Letourneau.*

Be indifferent alike to pleasure and to pain; care only to do work, honest, successful work (no futilities), in this hurly-burly world.—*Thomas Carlyle.*

**LABOUR EMANCIPATION LEAGUE**—Sunday afternoon Outings.—The first of the series will take place on Sunday May 5th, to the Merton Socialist Club, and will consist of the members and friends of the Bethnal Green Branch of the S.D.F. and the L.E.L. (Hoxton). A demonstration will be held on Mitcham Fair Green at 7 p.m. Brakes will start from the L.E.L., 1 Hoxton Square, Hoxton, N., at 2 p.m. Tickets 1s. 3d. each, may be had of the members of the above organisations. Tickets must be paid for by Saturday 4th. H. A. Barker, Excur. Sec.



## BOLDLY BREAK THE CHAIN.

Tune: "Who deeply drinks of wine."

WORKERS all, of every land,  
Knit in one heroic band,  
Lo, the hour is nigh at hand  
To boldly break the chain.

Lift your noble battle-call,  
ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL,  
Cry, till quakes the prison wall,  
Then boldly break the chain.  
Workers all, of every land, etc.

Pope and Parliament and Czar,  
Strive in vain your path to bar;  
Brotherhood is stronger far,  
And boldly breaks the chain.  
Workers all, of every land, etc.

Crowns of glory for the brave,  
Manhood for the meanest slave!  
On, 'tis ours a world to save,  
Who boldly break the chain.  
Workers all, of every land, etc.

C. W. BECKETT.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, May 6, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Regent's Park*—Nicoll, Parker, and Samuels spoke. Protest meetings against police brutality were held at Mile End Waste, Hyde Park, Victoria Park, and Clerkenwell Green on Sunday last. *Mile End Waste*—Brookes, Turner, Springfield (S.D.F.), Mrs. Lahr, Leggett, Hicks, and Phillips (Berner Street Club) spoke; 4s. 4d. collected. *Hyde Park*—Cantwell, Parker, Brookes, McCormick, Tochatti, Nicoll, Mainwaring, and Furlong (S.D.F.) spoke; a few of our songs were sung, and 5s. 0½d. collected. *Clerkenwell Green*—Parker, Nicoll, Somerville (F.R.C.), Murphy (I.N.L.), and Brookes spoke; 4s. 2½d. collected. At all these meetings the following resolution was put and carried unanimously:—"That this meeting, while expressing its deepest sympathy with our comrades of the Berner Street Educational Club who have been maltreated and victimised by the police, at the same time condemn the brutal and dastardly conduct of the force on this occasion, and also the law's delay in the hearing of the case, which has been the cause of depriving—at least for a time—some of our prosecuted and persecuted comrades of the means of earning their living."

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Lynes, sen., Maughan, A. J. Smith, and Tochatti; 29 *Commonweal* sold. Owing to the noise of the trams and omnibuses passing along in front of our meeting at Kensal Green, the audience was not so good as we had expected; speakers were Dean, Crouch, and Lyne, jun.; 15 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road 7 p.m., a fair meeting; speakers were Maughan, Crouch, Spry, and Saint; 8 *Commonweal* sold. At Kelmscott House, H. H. Spauling lectured on "The Commune of London."

**MITCHAM.**—A large meeting held on the Fair Green. Our opponent of Sunday week opposed on the same grounds as before, but with much more courtesy, leaving out the word quackery, etc., with which he interlarded his previous discourses, and acknowledging the existence of the evils we attack; 2s. 8½d. collected for local propaganda. In the evening at our meeting-room, a friend continued the reading from last Sunday of the speeches of the Chicago Anarchists. Several new members made, and good sale of *Commonweal*.—K. F.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 15th, a paper by John Robertson on "Culture and Reaction" was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, a large and sympathetic crowd was addressed by Duncan and Leatham.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 21st, comrade Power of London addressed two open-air meetings, getting 12 men to join at the Leith one. In the Moulders' Hall he graphically described East London life and made a stirring appeal to join the movement.

**MANCHESTER.**—We held two meetings on Sunday. In Stevenson Square, Ritson, Marshall, and Bailie spoke to attentive audience. At our new station, Chester Road, at 7.30, we began with fair audience; same speakers, no opposition. On Sunday May 5th there will be no meetings here, as the Branch will take part in great annual Socialist Demonstration at Blackstone Edge, near Rochdale.

**NORWICH.**—On Saturday Mowbray arrived from London, and spent enjoyable evening amongst old comrades. Sunday morning, good meeting in the Market Place; Darley and Mowbray spoke. In afternoon, large and attentive crowd assembled to welcome our comrade back; chair taken by Darley, who opened meeting, followed by Mowbray, who gave a "Straight Talk to Working Men." In evening, Poynts addressed good meeting in open-air, which adjourned to Gordon Hall, where Mowbray lectured upon "Socialism not akin to Radicalism"; chair occupied by Adams. Mowbray dealt with the fallacy of supporting Radical programmes, and pointed out the only means of gaining freedom for the workers—by Socialism. Discussion opened by Cooper, who favoured "constitutional means," such as eight-hour movement, etc.; he was followed by the chairman, Darley, Poynts, and Hardy, who supported the lecturer; Mowbray concluded by an able reply. Sale of *Commonweal* and *Freedom*, 6s. 5d.; collected for propaganda, £1 2s. Monday afternoon, successful meeting in Market Place, notwithstanding a counter demonstration by Salvation Army; Darley, Mowbray, and Poynts spoke upon the action of the police towards our comrades at the Berner Street Club; 3s. was collected towards the defence fund.

**DUBLIN.**—At the Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday April 20th, A. Shields lectured on "How to Abolish Human Slavery." There was a good attendance, discussion being very lively—King, Coulon, Frizelle, Flunkett, and others doing good work.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Olerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30.

**East London.**—97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 28, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Thursday May 2, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 3, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary. On Wednesday May 1, D. Nicoll will lecture—subject, "Law and Order."

### PROVINCES.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Dublin.**—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets on Mondays at 8 p.m. Members wishing to join in our Saturday afternoon propaganda excursions are requested to assemble in Rooms on Saturdays at 4.30.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, lecture in the Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8.30, lecture by Mr. Roberts—subject, "Phrenology"; proceeds on behalf of Branch funds; all seats free, collection at door. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class. Thursday and Friday, Hall open from 8 p.m. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Assoc.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. The *Commonweal* can be purchased of Mr. Houes, newsagent, George Street.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 27.

8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Davis, Brooks, Mrs. Schack

### SUNDAY 28.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Maughan, Dean, and Crouch  
11.30 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mrs. Schack and Cores  
11.30 ..... "Canterbury Arms"—Kilburn Road ..... Charles, Mainwaring, Hicks  
11.30 ..... Hammersmith—St. Ann's Road ..... The Branch  
11.30 ..... Kensal Green ..... Lyne senr., Lyne junr., and Davis  
11.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Turner  
11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... Parker and Nicoll  
11.30 ..... Walham Green, opposite Station ..... The Branch  
11.30 ..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Davis, Turner, and Mowbray  
3.30 ..... Hyde Park ..... Darwood, Jeffries, and Parker  
3.30 ..... Victoria Park ..... Davis, Mrs. Schaack, and Mowbray  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Brookes, Kitz, Parker, and Nicoll  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... The Branch  
7.30 ..... Broad Street, Soho ..... Mrs. Lahr  
7.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Turner

### TUESDAY 30.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

### THURSDAY 2.

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Mrs. Lahr and Nicoll

### FRIDAY 3.

8 ..... Philpot Street, Commercial Road ..... St. George's Branch  
8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... Mrs. Lahr

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Garnoustie** (Forfarshire)—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A.

**Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. Kilmaronock.**—Branch meets on every

alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary.

**West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

## AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

**Sydney.**—533 George Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. W. H. McNamara, Secretary.

**Melbourne.**—"Golden Fleece" Hotel, Russell Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. J. A. Andrews, 18 Ophir Street, Richmond, Secy.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at 28 Gray's Inn Road (Holborn) on Saturday April 27, at 7.30, to receive subscriptions, etc.

**NORTH LONDON BRANCH.**—A Public Meeting will be held at Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town, on Tuesday 30th inst. Speakers—Kitz, Mowbray, Turner, and others. The meeting will be interspersed with Socialist songs.

**ELEUSIS CLUB,** 180 King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.—Sunday April 28, at 8 p.m., Mr. Sidney Webb (Fabian), "The New Departure of the Liberal Party. Social Reforms."

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 173.

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of a class of men who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and a class that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without doing useful work. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not *use*, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH  
ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

THE sentence on the Zulu chiefs for the crime of having the hardihood to defend their country against land-thieves, is worthy of the very worst days of the Roman Empire; amongst all the records of tyranny nothing worse has been recorded than this last piece of cruelty of "civilisation." It seems hardly possible that the sentence can be carried out, bad as we are.—W. M.

### THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

(Continued from p. 130.)

It has often been noticed in times of fear and disturbance, that not only is the public mind in an abnormal condition of intense excitement, but that nature also becomes distempered. Times of revolution are preceded and accompanied by earthquakes, terrible storms, or intense heat and drought; not to mention those aerial messengers, comets, which are supposed to bear with them the fate of kings and empires. Apart from the superstitious belief of our ancestors, there is a natural explanation, we know that nature and his surroundings act upon the man, that we are one with nature, and that her storms and tempests reflect themselves in us. Besides, heavy storms and thirsty drought destroy the corn crops and make bread dear, and a dear loaf will often bring the misery of the suffering people to such a pitch that revolt becomes the only escape from unbearable anguish. It was that terrible storm of hail, thunder, and rain exactly a year before the great French Revolution, which destroyed the crops and proved the last straw on the back of the French peasant, who otherwise might have borne his sufferings in silence for years longer. And even in our times, which are looked upon by all men as revolutionary, we see that Nature lends her aid to hurry on the inevitable convulsion. Think of the natural history of the last few years: earthquakes, floods, summers of scorching heat burning up corn and pastures, summers of pouring rain rotting the corn in the fields; hope and dread of they know not what in the hearts of men, and in the sky the lurid gleam of a new dawn about to break upon the world.

So at the time I am writing, in England at least, nature urged the people forward to revolt. The summer of 1815 was remarkable for a great drought throughout the country, and grass became unusually scarce. Farmers were forced to sell their cattle in large numbers at a great sacrifice. This made meat cheap for the time, but only at the cost of its becoming very dear in the succeeding year. Despite the drought, the harvest was not so bad, so the people did not feel at once the effects of the Corn Bill.

And thus for a time there was a period of comparative quiet. This was broken on October the 10th by a great strike among the merchant seamen on the Tyne. The treatment and payment of these men was far worse than what it is at the present time, and it was no wonder that they rebelled against the hard conditions of their lot. The steps they took to make their strike successful were of an extraordinary character. They had entire possession of the river, and they built a bridge of boats across, which effectually prevented any ships moving out of the port of Newcastle. It was estimated that there were over a thousand sail of shipping in Tyne which could not get men. The number of military and police in Newcastle was not large, and they were totally helpless before these daring rebels, who had the town entirely in their possession, and were thus enabled to keep the strike going by unlimited credit among the shopkeepers. No vessels were allowed to go to sea without a permit from the organising committee of strikers, and you can imagine they did not get this permit without agreeing to the committee's terms. The rebels numbered 4,000, and they paraded their forces through the town twice a day—in the morning and afternoon. If any man of them did not turn out with his comrades, he was treated as a blackleg, and they inflicted a very comical punishment upon him, by parading him through the town with his face blackened and his jacket turned inside out. This confederacy, after lasting some weeks, was broken up by the army and navy combined; for while a small army of soldiers were brought into the town to overawe the strikers, the bridge of boats was cleared out of the way by seamen from ships of war that had been ordered to Newcastle. The strike then collapsed.

On November 15th there was a strike among the miners at Wolverhampton, who, on being charged by the yeomanry, gave them such a warm reception with stones and brickbats that these zealous defenders of law and order were forced to retreat in great confusion. The strike was afterwards put down by his majesty's dragoons.



The rest of the year 1815 passed quietly, but these ominous signs made the middle and upper classes look with dread upon the future. And they soon had cause. I have said the harvest was not bad, but it was bad enough to cause a rise in the price of wheat, which the wet summer of 1816 drove up from fifty-two shillings to the extraordinary price of a hundred shillings a quarter. This is a little over three times the price of corn at present time; so for a loaf you give 3d. for now—adays you would have had to give 10d. in 1816. Trade was at a standstill; the streets of towns were crowded by beggars; robbers infested the roads of both town and country; while the ranks of the unemployed were recruited largely from the multitude of soldiers and sailors now discharged. While this was going on, princes, ministers, and rich men indulged in reckless extravagance, and revelled in profligate orgies. It was evident that England was on the verge of a revolution, and it is still a matter for wonder on the part of the student of history that England escaped the threatened convulsion.

The trouble began among the agricultural population. With a scanty wage of 7s. a-week, and very often not that—for, owing to the introduction of machines and other causes, employment is scarce among the agricultural labourers—it is not easy to live in a time of dear bread and general scarcity. It is in Suffolk that trouble begins, and from Suffolk it spreads through the neighbouring counties of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Essex, till at last it develops into an agrarian insurrection. On May 9th, 1816, incendiary fires break out in Suffolk. The spring nights are illumined by the glare of blazing ricks and barns; and by the light of the flames mobs assemble and destroy the machinery which turns them upon the roadside. The establishments of manufacturers who have oppressed the poor are not spared, and the manufactories of Mr. Chandler of Ilminster and Mr. Kingsbury of Bungay are burnt to the ground. In the space of ten days there are fifty fires in the county of Suffolk alone. On the 19th the sheriff of Suffolk and Mr. Willet of Brandon arrive in London at the Secretary of State's office with an alarming account of the state of the country, and a request for military assistance. It appears that from breaking threshing-machines and firing ricks the people have proceeded to open insurrection. A reduction of the price of bread and meat is the object of the rioters. They demand that a maximum be fixed, that the highest price for wheat be half-a-crown a bushel and that of prime joints 4d. a pound. At Brandon the rioters are in considerable force; they number, it is estimated, some fifteen hundred. They are divided into several parties, and are attacking the houses of the various local tyrants. At Brandon they have levelled several houses to the ground, including that of Mr. Willet the butcher. The sheriff of Suffolk and Mr. Willet, on their way to London, saw from the high ground a fire near Ely, which they conjecture to be the work of another party of rebels. The rioters were armed with long heavy sticks, the ends of which, to the extent of several inches, were studded with sharp iron spikes. Their flag was inscribed "Bread or blood," and they threaten to march to London. How much of this is true, and how much may be put down to the excited imagination of Mr. Willet and the worthy sheriff, I will leave to your judgment. A curious point is that the description of the rioters and their demands are similar to those of the French peasants in the time of the great Revolution, and it is evident they are under intelligent guidance. It is a fact at the present time there are popular songs among the Suffolk peasantry celebrating the French Revolution, one of which runs as follows:

"Weeva la! ye French conventions,  
Weeva la! ye rights of man,  
Weeva la! ye bold Americans—  
You're the lads that first began";

so it is possible that the example of the French peasants may have greatly affected them.

The sheriff and Mr. Willet are dismissed with promises of assistance, and return to the distracted county.

On Thursday the 16th riotous bands of youths and other people smash the windows of respectable persons and sack a flour-mill at Norwich. A Doctor Alderson, who comes out to remonstrate with them, is knocked down. Respectable inhabitants assemble at the Guildhall, where they continue till a late hour; they then sally forth with staves and torches to the flour-mill, but find, no doubt to their intense disappointment, that the rioters have dispersed—a fact which one might think they might have known beforehand.

About the same time there is a rising at Bideford, a seaport in Devon, to prevent the exportation of provisions while the people are starving. Three of the ringleaders are arrested and thrown into prison, but an immense crowd collects, the prison doors are broken down with hammers and bludgeons, and the prisoners are released.

Meanwhile rioting has continued at Norwich, doubtless encouraged by the news that comes from Suffolk and other places. The gallant mayor and worthy burgesses determine on 22nd of May that strong measures are called for to curb the growing forces of sedition; but on this occasion it is not found necessary to expose the valuable lives of the magistrates and respectable citizens of Norwich. The troops and yeomanry are called out, and there is a battle royal in the Market Place. Fire-balls are thrown among the troops, which scare the horses, while a fusilade of stones rattles upon the helmets of the dragoons and yeomen. This battle lasts for some considerable time, but the riot is quelled at last, and order reigns in Norwich. D. J. NICOLL.

(To be continued.)

There is no creature whose inward being is so strong, that it is not greatly determined by what lies outside it.—George Eliot.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

TALK about paternalism or grandmotherly "government" being the necessary result of the adoption of Socialistic principles on the part of society at large! Just look at this specimen of paternalism indulged in by a private enterprise based on individualistic notions:

"An engineer of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company covers the round trip from New York to Philadelphia, which is about 170 miles, once a-day. . . . He is not allowed to indulge in intoxicating liquor of any kind—he is ordered in fact to drink nothing but cold water, tea and coffee being also denied him. The number of hours that he must give to sleep are prescribed under the company's rules, and his amusements are chosen for him by his employers—the theatre being strictly forbidden. He is allowed one month's vacation each year without deduction of pay. In fact, as you can see, he is expected to give the best of his time, talent, and strength to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and this company has advanced so far in the line in which other railroads must follow sooner or later, that it arranges to care in a paternal way for its employes."

Liberty and Property Defence League people please note!

The agricultural labourer—also described as the farm hand—seems to be getting dangerously near the point of superfluity. Experiments to substitute orang-utangs and suchlike man-apes for this kind of labour, which were tried in the States a few years ago, appear to have shown the impracticability of this idea, as nothing more of it was heard since. But in the meantime technical improvements were made in agricultural machinery which practically does away with manual labour altogether, whether provided by man-apes or human beings. Mr. Edward Atkinson, writing in *Bradstreets*, points out that

"certain farming operations are carried on in California, where farming has already almost changed from an agricultural to a mechanical pursuit, which seem to indicate that the development of American farming in the direction of extraordinary economy is going on at a faster rate than anyone could have thought possible. One of the California farmers, who has wheat-fields of several thousand acres in extent, has sent on a statement of the cost of planting and harvesting his last crop. This was all performed, from the ploughing of the land to the sacking of the wheat, by a great and ingenious piece of mechanism, and from first to last—that is, ploughing, harrowing, seeding, cutting, thrashing, winnowing, and bagging the wheat—the cost did not exceed eighty cents (8s. 2d.) per acre. Assuming that the average yield is from 10—14 bushels to the acre, the labour-cost of producing wheat is insignificant in the extreme. Eight cents (four pence) a-bushel would be so low a labour-cost that the humblest ryot in India could hardly hope to hold his own against it."

No wonder that the workers in the United States, mostly ignorant and prejudiced, if they could have their way would resolve by a large majority to "luddite" all machinery. Of late, in many a trade co-operative societies have been formed whose members have sacredly pledged themselves never to make use of any machinery whatsoever. Editor Dana, of the *New York Sun*, said a few days ago, "In many of our institutions and ideas we resemble the flowery kingdom of the middle"; and the editor is in the main correct, perhaps more so than anybody dares to admit to himself.

The *New York* newspapers have taken the first step towards forming a trust. A combination was formed by them, with the exception of the *Herald*, to raise the price of the Sunday issues to five cents. The *Herald* always charged this price.

The sugar trust has raised the price of sugar to 9 cents a-pound. Altogether a rise of 3 cents, or 33 per cent., since the formation of the trust.

Some time ago, a comrade in the cause received the following letter from an acquaintance:

"I am very sorry indeed I cannot render you any assistance in getting a job, but your being an 'Anarchist' prevents me from doing so. You have no idea how 'Anarchists' are hated in this country. If you were a thief, a forger, or had committed any other crime—aye, even that of murder—you might be forgiven, but in the people's eyes there is no excuse for one who is an 'Anarchist.'"

If we consider what these sentences imply, and then read the following letter, we must admit to ourselves that all is not lost as long as such workers in the cause as the noble woman in Grinnell can be found:

"Grinnell, Iowa, April 5th, 1889.

"... That you may better understand our position, perhaps I had better tell you of the origin of our little 'group.' This city was founded by and named after J. B. Grinnell, a first cousin of Julius Grinnell of Chicago, the State Attorney in the Anarchist trial. J. B. Grinnell vouched to the court for the good character of Harry Gilmer when he was called to give witness against *Spies et cons.* On the day our Chicago comrades were sentenced to death all the bells were rung in rejoicing; the same thing was done at noon on the day of the murder, and at night they had bonfires and general rejoicing. So far as I knew, I was the only Anarchist in the place; but I draped my office in mourning, put on a mourning costume, and then went to work to make converts to the cause, right here among its most bitter enemies. I have had some success: our 'group' now numbers eleven, but six are mechanics and common labourers of very poor education. These men cannot read Marx, Proudhon, or Spencer; the language, the logic, the science are all far above the reach of my poor friends. And they have so little time. When night comes they are too tired for books, too tired to think; but a paper, you know, or a leaflet, can be carried in the blouse and read at the noon hour, and perhaps discussed with other workmen.—Fraternalty yours,

"DR. MARY HERMA AIKIN."

Let capitalism come and show such unselfish workers for its cause, and we will gladly take a back seat. Surely "the religion of Socialism" breeds the same spirit as Christianity did in its better and nobler days.

That the institution of private property in the means of production and distribution is at the bottom of all social evils, can hardly be doubted any longer by reasonable people. Of course, people possessed of an over abundance of "analytical proclivities" may question the correctness of this statement, but they will find it a hard nut to crack to prove it incorrect. We have just now a fine illustration of its truth in the States. A part of the Indian territory known as the Oklahoma lands, will be opened for settlement on the 21st inst. People have been hanging around these lands for years awaiting their opening. They will stand no better chance than the new-comer who only arrives on the 21st in the selection of homesteads. They are consequently in a very ugly frame of mind, and it will be strange indeed if there is not any amount of bloodshed and violence indulged in during the settlement of the territory. It is estimated that at present already about 100,000 persons are ready at the frontier to enter Oklahoma. There are only about 10,000 homesteads to be given away. For each section open there will be at least a dozen applicants. The military authorities state that the soldiers are not equal to the task of keeping the people out, and that they will be unable to prevent bloodshed and violence. Every

train arriving is crowded, and the wagons are passing in like an endless chain.

The foregoing also proves that incalculable numbers of people are out of work. For each job at the disposal of the new President, there are at least twenty applicants.

Strikes are breaking out again like an epidemic over the whole country. The carpenters in most cities are out to enforce the nine hour day. In Allentown, Pa., the ironworkers struck against a reduction of 10 per cent.; in St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., the street car men are out against a reduction of 25 per cent.; and in Newark, N.J., the thread-workers and spinners of the Clarke works had to strike to prevent a large reduction.

Notices like the following are nowadays of daily occurrence in trade union papers:—

"Painters are warned to stay away from Brooklyn, N.Y., as trade is dull and many of the craft are out of employment."

"Labourers and mechanics are warned to stay away from Springfield, Ohio, as there are over 2,000 idle men at present in that city."

"Miners are warned to stay away from Lehigh, Indian Territory, as the mines there are being run only two days in each week. Hundreds of idle men are in the vicinity."

"Labourers and mechanics are warned to stay away from Pittsburg, Kansas, as there are hundreds of men in that city at present who are unable to obtain employment."

"Workingmen are warned to stay away from Peoria, Ill., as there are hundreds of men there unable to obtain employment. Pay no heed to advertisements appearing from time to time in Eastern papers. They are untruthful and misleading."

Indeed we may ask ourselves the question: "Is the world getting madder or are we getting near the crisis?"

In the alleged dynamite conspiracy case of the Burlington, Quincy, and Chicago system, two more verdicts were rendered by a "jury" in Geneva, Ills., viz.: Broderick to one year's imprisonment, and a fine of 500 dols. against Godding. Two more victims of capitalistic brutality.

The Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung* is now branded by all labour papers for having "boodled" during the late election.

The Social Democrats in Chicago, Ills., polled for their candidate as mayor, 167 votes; in Milwaukee, Wis., they obtained 420 for their candidate as city judge; and in Jersey City, Heights, N.J., they materialised 104 votes all told.

The Social Democrats of Massachusetts had a conference in Boston about a week ago, when they resolved "to nominate a full State ticket, and to take several other steps which would lead to the control of Massachusetts being conducted by their party."

Boston, Mass., April 15, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 11, 1889.

5	Sun.	1789. Opening of the Assembly of the States-General in France. 1821. Napoleon Buonaparte died at St. Helena. 1860. Garibaldi embarked for Sicily.
6	Mon.	1850. Meeting in St. Martin's Hall. 1862. H. D. Thoreau died. 1867. Reform demonstration in Hyde Park. 1882. Killing of Burke and Cavendish in Phoenix Park.
7	Tues.	1716. Septennial Bill passed.
8	Wed.	1795. Fouquier-Tinville guillotined. 1840. Socialist Congress at Leeds. 1843. Monster Repeal meeting at Kilkenny. 1873. John Stuart Mill died.
9	Thur.	1800. John Brown, of Harper's Ferry, born.
10	Fri.	1774. Louis XV. dies at Versailles. 1857. Indian Mutiny breaks out. 1870. Barricades thrown up at Belleville. 1881. Bradlaugh ejected from the House of Commons.
11	Sat.	1796. R. T. Crossfield tried for high treason. 1840. Feargus O'Connor sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. 1860. Landing of the "Thousand" at Marsala. 1866. Commercial crisis and stoppage of banks. 1878. Hodel's attempt on Kaiser Wilhelm.

## THE POWER OF EDUCATION.

THAT the propertied classes may be the better able to keep for their own special advantage the accumulated labour of the workers, they have appropriated the great thoughts of all preceding generations of men and women who have left any traces behind them of having led useful lives. They are thoroughly conscious that class domination can only exist as long as ignorance prevails, and therefore it is that only the barest elementary knowledge is imparted to the children of the workers. Fearing that this knowledge may in itself prove dangerous, a correcting influence is supplied—the mysteries of the future life intervene. Thus the necessary training in subjection is imparted to fit the children of the slaves for the weary lives which the masters, in the endeavour to perpetuate their shameful institutions, think proper to impose.

Now, as we claim that the material products of the workers of past generations should be held collectively by existing generations, so all those whose inclinations and tastes so lead them should have opportunities for acquiring and enjoying the fruits of the mental labours of those who went before them.

"Knowledge is power," says Bacon, and it is the monopoly of knowledge by the classes that gives them sophisticated speakers to gull the slaves with the idea that there must be men to rule and men to be ruled; it gives the crafty men who are perpetually engaged in law-making, i.e., fencing in the so-called rights of private property; it gives them a class of people who pretend to lighten the miseries of this life by depicting the perpetual bliss of the future; and it gives them those pompous individuals who can live in luxury without the slightest pretence of doing work.

"Knowledge is power," and when the knowledge that the workers are being robbed by the classes is clearly understood by them, it will in itself become the power by which the destruction of the classes will be effected. Thus the education of the people must precede and be the means of effecting their emancipation.

A. B.

## THE PEOPLE'S HOPE.

O, say not they are mad who hold  
The faith that ours should be,  
The Paradise of which we're told,  
That we yet hope to see;  
Things as they are may suit the few,  
They'll suit the people when,  
Content, they share their portion too  
Of all God meant for men;  
They are not mad who bid us dare,  
Of all God gives to claim our share.

Our day is near, and come it must,  
The day that surely shows  
That God, to all he makes is just,  
Nor wills our human woes;  
They are not mad who cry, "Be wise,  
No starving lives endure;  
On to the day that forward lies,  
Where there shall be no poor."  
They are not mad who bid us dare,  
Of all God gives to claim our share.

W. C. BENNETT.

## A CLEARANCE MELODY.

FOR THE MILLIONS.

"He hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor. He hath violently taken away an house that he builded not."—*Words of the Man of Uz.*

AIR—"Git out o' the way Ole Dan Tucker."

WINTER time for village razing,  
Summer grass is prime for grazing—  
Give me room to feed my flocks in;  
Out go MEN, and in go OXEN:  
Sheriff, come to village-wracking—  
Send these "wretches" off a-packing;  
Don't be moved by want or weeping,  
Child at play, or old man creeping.

Wrackers, this devoted village  
Can't produce an ounce of pillage—  
I took all they scraped together,  
Hot, or cold, or rainy weather:  
Fed am I on dishes dainty—  
Starved are they amidst of plenty!  
Don't be moved by want or weeping,  
Foodless child, or old man creeping.

Sheriff, fall to village-wracking—  
Send these "wretches" off a-packing;  
Spade and pick and crowbar—ready—  
"CHARGE"—and "level," sure and steady!  
Wrackers, list to no beseeching—  
Deathbed groan or woman screeching—  
Don't be moved by want or weeping,  
Child at play, or old man creeping.

Sheriff, see that woman linger!  
From her birthplace quickly fling her;  
For the child that dies beside her,  
Shelter will yon graves provide her!  
Wild her scream and full of horror!  
Here we have no shelter for her—  
Don't be moved by woe or weeping,  
Gasping child, or old man creeping.

On yonder graves are salt tears falling—  
Women clapping hands and calling  
To their kindred and relations,  
Sleeping sound for generations.  
See, the children fly affrighted!  
Hearths for them no more are lighted—  
Wet and cold, in ditches sleeping,  
Naked mothers o'er them weeping.

Sheriff, on these heaps of wreckment  
Toast we British Law Ejection;  
Dust and crash and screaming over,  
Silence reigns!—and now for clover!  
Now I've room to put my flocks in—  
Out go MEN, and in go OXEN!  
Staunch were we 'gainst woe and weeping,  
Child at play, or old man creeping!

(Taken from a ballad-slip which circulated widely in Ireland many years ago.  
Landlords have grown humane since then!)

Add to the power of discovering truth, the desire of using it for the promotion of human happiness, and you have the great end and object of our existence.—*Herbert Spencer.*

Next in importance to the inborn nature, is the acquired nature which a person owes to his education and training; not alone to the education which is called learning, but to that development of character which has been evoked by the conditions of life.—*Dr. H. Maudsley.*

Verily, the Prophet (Mahomet) said, "He who shall take the right of a Moslem by a false oath, verily God will make hell-fire proper for him, and will forbid him Paradise." Then a man said to his highness, "Although the right so taken should be trifling and contemptible?" He said, "Although it should be but a twig from a bush of thorns."



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN  
HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of  
the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied  
by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their posi-  
tion in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing  
the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.  
Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.  
Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s.  
six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Far-  
ringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—Report received too late; must arrive first post  
Tuesday morning.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 1.

ENGLAND	BAECKER ZEITUNG	SWITZERLAND
Caslon's Circular	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Arbeiterstimme
Die Autonomie	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	SPAIN
Justice	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Elector	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
London—Freie Presse	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Manchester Sunday Chronicle	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	GERMANY
Norwich—Daylight		Berlin—Volks Tribune
Railway Review	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Sozial Demokrat	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
Telegraph Service Gazette	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Briinn—Volksfreund
Worker's Friend	Le Proletariat	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	La Revolte	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Coup de Feu	ROUMANIA
Freiheit	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Jassy—Muncitorul
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	DENMARK
Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Workmen's Advocate	BELGIUM	Copenhagen—Arbejdere
The Truth	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	ITALY	Malmö—Arbetet
Investigator	Turin—Il Muratore	WEST INDIES
Chicago—Knights of Labor	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Cuba—El Productor
Vorbote		

### NOTICE.

Comrade Kropotkin wishes it to be announced that the lectures on Social  
Evolution, which were to have been given in the South Kensington Town  
Hall, will not now be delivered. Some misapprehension having arisen as  
to the circumstances under which they were being promoted, Kropotkin,  
who wished to give an exposition of Socialism in the interest of society  
only, has declined to proceed with them.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

Few people who have watched the course of what is called "justice"  
in the present day, and especially Sir Peter Edlin's administration of  
it, will have expected anything like what justice is poetically supposed  
to be from the Clerkenwell Sessions House when presided over by that  
legal luminary; but even those who have read of the case in the  
ordinary reports of the daily papers, will be a little startled at the  
disgraceful sentence passed by Edlin on our comrades of Berner  
Street.

It seems that Edlin is so pleased with himself, that he is going to  
ask the County Council to raise his salary by £500. The *Star* suggests

very appropriately that they might so far take his request into con-  
sideration as to lower it by that amount. For, after all, is Sir Peter  
really earning his salary? from his employer's point of view I mean.  
The "law" or "administration of justice," or whatever else you call  
it, is at its best such a cruel instrument of oppression against the poor,  
that those servants of it, the judges, would best serve the interests of  
the ruling classes that employ them, who should carry on their vile  
office with an affectation at least of moderation and fairness. The  
game of the masters of Society at present is to get people to say,  
"Well, the system has its blemishes, but you see it doesn't work so  
ill. Let it alone!"

But men like Edlin are resolved, it seems, to prove that the system  
is all blemishes; to make it clear to poor people that the law is their  
enemy. He seems determined to carry on the tradition of the police-  
courts after Bloody Sunday, and to show those that are discontented  
with their share of the wealth of the country (all kicks and no half-  
pence), that to be accused by a policeman is to be condemned by the  
Court, and that the boasted liberty of Englishmen is only meant to  
apply to those who have property to back it.

In fact, "too much zeal" is surely injuring the usefulness, to their  
employers the upper classes, of some of our judges. The other day  
Sir Peter Edlin pointed out to the public the abuses of our law courts  
in the matter of judge-directed verdicts, by an unsuccessful attempt  
to bully a jury into accepting his view of the evidence instead of  
carrying out the spirit of their oath by insisting on their view. This  
again was a very poor service to render to the votaries of law'n'-  
order.

In short, if the County Council do raise Sir Peter Edlin's salary,  
they will surely do so in virtue of their sympathies with Revolution,  
and consider him as a revolutionary agent to be encouraged in his  
present course; so that at last people will find that the whole thing is  
unbearable, that the very air they breathe is so corrupted by tyranny  
and oppression that it stifles them.

Mr. John Morley took some pains at Newcastle the other day to  
pronounce against the eight hour's movement. Whatever our views  
as Socialists may be as to the value of this movement (and I amongst  
others think it will prove illusory), Mr. Morley means by pronouncing  
against it to pronounce against Socialism, and against the Socialist-  
Radical movement as led by the *Star*. That paper considers Mr.  
Morley's disclaimer as courageous on his part; but I don't know. All  
it means is that he has cast up the pros and cons as to the effect to be  
produced on his election on the one hand, and his position as a claimant  
for Mr. Gladstone's shoes on the other, and has come to the conclusion  
that it will be better for him to run the small risk of the Socialist vote  
at Newcastle, rather than involve himself in an alliance with the  
Progressive Radicals, and be suspected of Socialist tendencies. The  
time is not yet come when a statesman can get beyond Whiggery.  
Will it ever come?

The *Pall Mall Gazette* has taken up the cause of the Primrose  
Ladies with such fervour, that one may hope it is so blinded with en-  
thusiasm as not to perceive that at the best that valuable institution  
is furthering the emancipation of Ladies, not of women. For other-  
wise, judging by this and other articles (notably a long-winded essay  
by that very hard-shell Radical, Admiral Maxse), one must say of it  
that it is becoming almost too fair for journalistic war, and shows  
signs of being on the verge of conversion by Balfour's heroism and  
Salisbury's "sweet reasonableness." W. M.

It will be our own fault if in our own land society is not organised upon  
a new foundation.—Miss Sedgwick.

There are many in the world whose whole existence is a makeshift, and  
perhaps the formula which would fit the largest number of lives, is "a  
doing without, more or less patiently."—George Eliot.

NOTE FROM LEICESTER.—We have had John Burns here lately, and we  
hope to see him again in about a month. Lectured twice on a Sunday.  
Grand audiences; Secular Hall filled in the afternoon (an astonishing thing).  
Tea provided in the hall after the noon lecture. About thirty Socialists and  
their friends sat down. One friend had come twelve miles. At the evening  
lecture—"Past, Present, and Future of Trades Unionism"—Burns attacked  
Bradlaugh and the labour leaders, Broadhurst and Howell; predicting,  
by virtue of his being behind the scenes and seeing what's what, defection  
of the first-named, and accusing the others of corruption by the capitalists.  
Being charged himself with taking money from the Tories at Nottingham  
at the time of his candidature, he replied in a short history of the affair,  
giving the name of the gentleman (a chairman of a Liberal Association in  
Liverpool) who furnished the money alleged to be "Tory gold," and which  
Burns used to defray the expenses of a Socialist programme and propaganda.  
The lecture, which was not so witty as the afternoon one, on "Modern  
Poverty: Cause, Effect, Remedy," was solid, and called forth letters in the  
local press—remonstrances and denials on the part of the people charged,  
and reply by Burns. For the first time, our Branch cleared all expenses  
and had a few shillings to the good. Burns's style just hits the popular  
taste. He is neither pedantic, nor too grammatical. His powers were  
recognised in the audience's bursts of applause and ringing laughter. A  
visit or two from him to any tottering Branch is calculated to put it straight  
and firm. A London Fabian recommended Burns to us, and a local Fabian  
paid his personal expenses. When a member of one section (Fabian) pays  
for a member of another section (S.D.F.) to lecture for the benefit of a third  
section (S.L.), it ought to shut our enemies' mouths about our contradicting  
and excluding one another.—T. B.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## ST. GEORGE'S FARM.

## A SUGGESTION.

In speaking of our friend Harrison Riley as "one of the most active" of the Communist party at Totley, I did not imply or mean to imply that he was one of the most active *talkers*—rather the opposite—nor did I say anything about his being on the committee. It is quite possible, however, that my account of the affair is defective, as, though I have tried to get accurate information on the subject I have found it hard to do so; and I quite endorse comrade George Sturt's suggestion that some one should write a detailed story of the venture. Who better than Riley himself—since his letter suggests his willingness to do so? Riley, show up!

In reference to the letter of George Sturt, I think one reason why all these little communal schemes fail is their narrowness—and it is a good thing they do fail, though it is also a good thing (and a very good thing) that they are started and succeed for a time. I think they all help the Cause on, and break ground in one direction or another; but when you come to have a score or fifty or even a hundred people penned together in a little community, they are bound either to chafe and gall each other into a state of exasperation and explosion, or else if they are so like-minded as to have no serious differences it can only be by reason of their exceeding narrowness and sectarian character (as of some of the communities in the United States), which of itself condemns them beforehand to failure. Personally, I would not like to belong to a community of under a million people! I think with that number one might feel safe, but with less there would be a great danger of being *watched*. If one used the common funds, for instance, to have a glass of beer on the sly, and the majority were blue ribbonites; or to have a good dinner, and they were vegetarians; or if one wanted to use bad language, and the rest of the community was highly æsthetic; how one would be made to feel it! But in a large body an immense variety of opinion and practice (though there would have to be limits even here) would be represented and allowed for; and under those circumstances Communism would be splendid. However, all success to these small ventures, all the same. Some of them may grow to become large ones, and may rise as it were from below to meet the great general movement towards Communism, which owing to economic conditions is taking place from above. And all honour to those who have fought to establish these little communities. They have kept the sacred fire alight through a long and dark night.

April 21, 1889.

EDWARD CARPENTER.

## OUR FIELDS AND CITIES.

George Sturt's query in relation to St. George's Farm, Totley (*Commonweal*, April 20th) is very helpful. To provide for the millions, now being killed in towns and cities, is the question on which many others turn; the control of agriculture is a condition in the path of our progress which Kropotkin recognises in his article in the *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1888.

I write from a district in which 24,000 population have 90,000 acres of average arable land to breathe in—we have nearly 4 acres a head to swing our arms upon—and the adjoining districts are very similarly placed. The wild animals, wild birds, and wild fruits which might be here in a wild state, would nearly feed us all, and it is only 40 miles from London! In most of the villages the existing population would be ten years in getting the land prepared for an average vegetable crop. We require quite double our present population to do the work of agriculture alone, as it ought to be done, even in the present way of doing it, which, as is well known, is imperfect.

If the additional workers could be added quietly, they would be incorporated into rural life without the difficulty that most people think. There is not much to fear that the town worker could not mix with the rural worker, when once each saw that it is needful to both that they should so mix. The business of agriculture is not the mystery that the land-holders would make us believe. Almost every worker knows what to do and when to do it, and a very large percentage could guide a freshman without external supervision; but to secure the cordial co-operation of the present rural worker it is necessary first to show him that the added men are not to be competitors who might eat him up. The wretched circumstances under which he has grown up leave him very much a prey to jealousy of "strangers," as the present middle-class teach him to regard every one outside his native parish.

Our Radical friends say, "Nationalise the land and all will change," but their scheme would place much more power in the hands of farmers than they now have (economically). Land Nationalisers speak as if forty millions of cultivated acres were already in half-acre "allotments."

The most useful propaganda for the country districts would be co-operative farms. They would excite the deadly hostility of the existing master agriculturist, which in itself would be of the greatest assistance to the Cause. To establish a co-operative farm we should have to face a stiff rent and an equally stiff rate of usury on the cost of implements, cattle, etc., for equipment. I can find a sufficient number of men ready to take the *work* up, but they say "How are we to get over the first harvest?" Clearly by the use of the product of previous labour, which just at this moment is in a farmer's keeping, and consists of certain sheep and other things which when he counts he calls *his*; and the men who are about have a habit of thinking they are *his* and not *theirs*.

Co-operative farms would bring back the people to the localities where the death-rate is 13 in the thousand instead of 19 to 30; they would transform field-work from its present drudgery into a pleasant occupation carried on by healthy people in its proper season, so as to afford reasonable leisure when the elements prohibit outdoor work; at which times the state of the workers is now that of exceptional misery.

Should "Our Cities" smash up suddenly, and not give the interval for quietly transferring the people back to the land, we shall indeed have to use all our wits and energies too. The confusion will be great.

JOHN GREENWOOD.

## SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION ON BLACKSTONE EDGE.

A great Socialist demonstration will be held on Blackstone Edge, on Sunday May 5th, 1889. The following will address the meeting: Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, Labour M.P. for Lanark; comrade Frank Kitz, representative of the Socialist League; comrade H. M. Hyndman, repre-

sentative of the S.D.F.; comrade A. Wess, representative of the international workmen; comrades Maguire and Paylor, Leeds, representatives of Yorkshire; comrades Horrocks, Riding, Sharples, representatives of Lancashire; also comrades Walkden, Ritson, Phair, Shufflebotham, West, Radcliffe, Marshall, Parkinson, Hall, Evans, Thompson, and others.

A preliminary meeting will be held at the Big Lamp, Littleborough, at 11.30—comrade Evans in the chair. The meeting will be addressed by comrades Horrocks, Hall, Kitz, Shufflebotham, West, Wess, Walkden, and Thompson.

At 12.30 a Welcome Dinner to the various representatives will be held in the Turner Dining Rooms, Littleborough. Tickets, 1s. each. Early application is necessary, as the hall is limited for size.

At 1.20 the Branches will be marshalled at the Lamp, Littleborough, and proceed to Blackstone Edge at 1.30 in processional order as follows: 1st, Speakers and Council; 2. Blackburn; 3. Sheffield; 4. Bolton; 5. Leeds; 6. Manchester and International; 7. Daiwen; 8. Salford; 9. Bradford; 10. Rochdale.

The chair will be taken at 3 p.m. prompt by Dr. Geo. Brown, Rochdale, and the following resolutions will be submitted to the meeting and supported by the various comrades:

1st resolution—"That this meeting, recognising the terrible privations of the skilled and unskilled artisans from want of employment, therefore calls on the borough and councils to employ them in useful work by the erection of healthy artisan dwellings, to be let at the cost of erection and maintenance, and other public works, at trade union rate of wages."

2nd resolution—"That this meeting calls upon the Government to introduce a compulsory Eight Hours Bill, and enforce the registration of places or habitations as workshops wherever any article is in the process of manufacture."

3rd resolution—"That this meeting of the masses of Yorkshire and Lancashire recognises the justice of the claim that Socialism is the only means for the complete emancipation of the toiling masses, and we therefore pledge ourselves to enroll ourselves as members of Socialist bodies and work for the accomplishment of the Social Revolution."

A meeting will be held in the evening at the Town Hall Square, Rochdale, on the return from Blackstone Edge.

All communications, applications for dinner tickets, etc., to be made to comrade J. M. Hutchison, 24 Manchester Street, Salford, who alone has authority to make all arrangements.

J. M. HUTCHISON, Sec. Lancashire Council.

NOTE FROM ABERDEEN.—During the last fortnight, a discussion which has attracted a good deal of interest and attention, was opened up in the columns of a local Conservative evening paper by Webster and Leatham, each writing without knowing that the other was doing so, and both letters appearing simultaneously. The subject was the position of the mill-worker, upon which a local clerical "worker's friend" had delivered a rose-coloured and misleading sermon, of which a report had appeared in said Conservative organ. The reporter spoke with appreciation of the practicality of the reverend philanthropist's sermon; but in a leader which followed our comrade's letters the editor assumed a very different tone, making a frank confession of the miserable condition of the millworkers. We find that Gronlund's advice as to invading the capitalist press with Socialistic contributions can be followed with good results.—L.

LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. John Hogan, Chairman Johannesburg Building Trades' Association, writes to *Reynolds* respecting a cablegram sent from Johannesburg to some English papers by a Mr. G. Kynoch, M.P., reading, "Transvaal wants thousands carpenters, masons, bricklayers; 30s. daily." He says: Mr. G. Kynoch, M.P., has been grossly misinformed as to the wants of the Transvaal, or has knowingly given a very misleading account of the actual condition concerning the building trades of this State, and more especially of Johannesburg and Pretoria. I believe the cablegram was sent about the beginning of January this year; wages were then on the average 18s. per day of nine hours, and, anticipating a rise of wages, the cablegram may have been forwarded for motives best known to the sender and speculative gentry of these parts. About two and a half years ago the ruling wages for Johannesburg was 7s. 6d. to 10s. per day of ten hours, and has risen with the development of these gold-fields to 22s. 6d. per diem of nine hours—the average for the present week. Considering the stir made among the English artisans by such reports, I think it but right the other side of the question should be put. The cost from an English port to a South African port can easily be reckoned at your end of the journey, and after landing at Port Natal, which I daresay leaves the shortest route to these fields (about 400 miles), £15 would no more cover the journey per rail and coach. All luggage is forwarded about 240 miles by mule and bullock waggons, the trip by the former occupying ten to fifteen days; the latter, eighteen to thirty days. Board and lodging comes between 35s. and 45s. per week, exclusive of washing. At present house rent is very high, three or four roomed cottages are not to be had, nor any class of dwelling suited for a married working man. The cable message may give an impression that the Transvaal is thickly studied with towns, where employment is easily obtained, whereas the very opposite is the case. Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Klerkshorp are the only towns where artisans could reasonably chance a trip in search of employment, and already artisans are flocking to this place in great numbers from Natal and the Cape Colony. Building material often runs short of the demand, and at present fully one-half of the jobs are at a standstill through the scarcity of bricks, caused by the monopoly granted by the Government to a syndicate for the manufacture of bricks by steam in Johannesburg. And when material can be obtained, some builders have a peculiar idea in advertising fifteen to twenty men wanted, to suit their requirements of five to seven men. Such an advertisement is often the means of breaking up home and luring people this way. White labourers have no chance in the Transvaal, and I may say South Africa, as the blacks can be got to work for 1s. to 3s. per day, sunrise to sunset, and blacks are also principally engaged in the mines, having a white man to boss them up. American and Swedish manufactured doors, sashes, frames, and other class of joinery leaves little to be done in that line, and the means of transit are so uncertain that tradesmen lose a good deal of time. Apologising for the length of this letter, and hoping the above will prepare those artisans who are contemplating a trip to this El Dorado—El Dorado to capitalists and company mongers alone—not to expect a bed of roses, but 22s. 6d. a-day for 22s. 6d. worth of labour, and also to caution them before acting on the advice of questionable cablegrams, believe me yours truly.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The Fife and Clackmannan coalmasters have decided that the present prices do not warrant any advance in miners' wages. The men had asked for 10 per cent.

**IRONWORKERS' WAGES.**—Notices were posted on the 25th at the extensive works of the Dowlais Iron and Steel Company, informing the employés that it had been decided to grant an advance of wages to all the hands.

At a meeting of blast furnacemen, held on Thursday 25th, at the Hen and Chickens Inn, Castle Street, Dudley, the resolution passed a week or so ago was confirmed, that two men from each works should wait on the masters and ask for a 10 per cent. advance, and report to a meeting on May the 6th.

The Saltmakers' Association of Winsford, Cheshire, has issued a notice to the Salt Union demanding a reduction of the hours for men and an increase in number of men working in gangs, and stating that if their demands are not conceded every man in the employ of the Union in Cheshire will be called out.

**SEAMEN'S WAGES.**—The seamen on the Tyne, who are members of the Sailors' and Firemen's General Association, are at present agitating for an advance of wages—namely, £4 5s. on deck, £4 10s. below, £5 for cooks and stewards, and carpenters £6 per month. A public meeting and demonstration were held Monday 29th at North and South Shields. Resolutions were passed urging the men to stand out for the advance, and recommending the men not to ship with non-union men.

**CHAINMAKERS.**—A meeting of chainmakers has been held at the New Town Lane Schools, Cradley Heath, at which a resolution was carried to declare a general strike at all the factories where the employers refuse to pay the list prices. There appears to be a general impression amongst the leaders of the men and operatives alike that the strike will be of short duration. The new list represents an increase in wages ranging from 5 to 12½ per cent. A cordial letter was read from Cunninghame Graham, M.P., and it was also reported that some employers had already given in.

**NORTHERN COLLIERIES' WAGES.**—The fresh ballot of the county of Durham coalminers has been completed. The existing sliding-scale is unanimously condemned, and an increase of 20 per cent. in wages is demanded. The present sliding-scale terminates in about two months' time. A mass meeting of the miners at the Seaham Harbour and Rainton Collieries and the men from the neighbouring collieries held a mass meeting on Saturday afternoon at Seaham Harbour, and decided to demand an advance of 20 per cent. in wages. Resolutions were also passed condemning the local sliding-scale, and calling upon the Durham miners generally to organise more efficiently. A meeting of Northumberland officials with reference to the soft coal trade in that county was held same day. It was reported that the notices which had been sent in by the men engaged in the soft coal trade asking to be placed on the same footing as those at the steam coal collieries had been withdrawn.

**WEST BROMWICH BRICK TRADE.**—The agitation respecting wages in the brick trade is now extending to the Black Country. A dispute has arisen at one of the largest brickworks in West Bromwich between the employers and the setters and drawers as to rate of wages to be paid in future. The kilns in which the bricks are made have been recently enlarged, and under these circumstances the men employed in setting and drawing claimed an advance. It has been the custom to pay the men piece-work, a certain number of days being allowed for drawing and setting the kilns. The men contended that the enlargement of the kilns considerably increased their stint, and applied to have a sum equal to a quarter of a day's wages added to the allowance to each kiln. This the employers declined at first to concede. The men then gave a week's notice, which expired on Friday 19th. Meantime the masters advertised for other men, and at one time the dispute wore a serious aspect. It was, however, reported last Friday that the employers had given in and that the men would resume work last Monday.

**WAGES IN THE COAL TRADE.**—At a numerously attended meeting of colliery proprietors at Manchester on the 16th ult., it was unanimously resolved to refuse an advance on the ground that it was not warranted by the state of trade. An interview took place at Sheffield on the 17th ult. between the coalowners of South and West Yorkshire and the Yorkshire Miners' Association, on the question of an advance of 10 per cent. On behalf of the men it was urged that the coalowners were quite able to concede the advance, but the owners declared that neither trade nor prices had improved so much as to justify it. The deputation said they would report the result to the National Miners' Conference at Nottingham, and no doubt the men of Yorkshire would abide by the decision there come to. If a strike were decided upon the men would come out. Eight large mass meetings were held in different parts of Yorkshire on the 19th to demand the advance. The wages position in Staffordshire is becoming serious. The employers' section of the Wages Board have resolved to refuse the demand for a reduction on the basis selling price of coal to 4s. 9d., arguing that it would raise wages abnormally high. They will advise the men to accept the present 5s. basis on the ground that probably by the second week in May the scale itself will give a 5 per cent. advance. The men may determine to send in their notices, but the masters will not give way. The board meets on Tuesday.

### THE BERNER STREET POLICE OUTRAGE.

The infamous sentence passed by Jeffries Edlin upon our comrade Lewis Diemshietz is of a piece with the whole procedure of the case since the brutal outrage committed by the police on 16th March. The accused men and their witnesses were kept in dalliance around the court day by day; and to show that the other side knew perfectly well when the case would really come, no police witnesses (*sic*!) were visible until the hearing of the case.

To be ill-treated, imprisoned, and financially ruined is the lot of comrade Diemshietz, and we here appeal to all Socialists to help us in our efforts to obtain a reversal of the sentence and defray the costs of the defence. We wish also to recompense Diemshietz for his loss.

F. KITZ, Sec. Defence Com.

**HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB,** 5 The Grove, Mare Street, Hackney.—Monday May 6, at 8.30, Hubert Bland, "Where Radicalism Fails."

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

A new Socialist organ has been started at Paris, entitled *Quatre-vingt-treize* ("1793"). It is a weekly exponent of the revolutionary ideas, and has, among its contributors, Eugène Fournière, the author of *l'Intégral*; Basley and Cluseret, Socialist deputies; Amilcare Cipriani, the Italian soldier of universal revolution; Benoît Malon, editor of *La Revue Socialiste*; and several others.

A few days ago there died at Paris a man who has rendered great services to the cause of social revolution—Antonio de la Calle, former revolutionary Minister of Public Works at Carthage during the memorable and glorious insurrection of 1873. He was also a very distinguished philologist. From the time of the defeat of the Spanish revolt down to his death, he has lived an exile in Paris, and has written very remarkable essays and studies on the political and social events of his native country, which were published in *La Justice*.

### BELGIUM.

The *Parti ouvrier* has held its annual conference at Jolimont, in the province of Hainault, and it has been attended by M. Paulard, Municipal Councillor of Paris, one of the leaders of the Possibilist party of France. The Belgian Socialists have decided to officially take part in the proceedings of the next international congress of Paris, got up by the Possibilists, in spite of the report given to the conference by comrade Volders, formerly delegate of the executive of the *Parti ouvrier* at the Hague conference—a report which concluded to the abstention of the Belgians from the Paris Possibilist Congress. The Jolimont conference, however, has also finally decided to send delegates to the Marxist International Congress.

The Belgian Anarchists have resolved to start a weekly entitled *Le Drapeau noir* (the Black Flag).

The trial for high treason of comrade Defuisseaux and twenty-seven other Socialists will begin on May 6th, before the Court of Assize at Mons.

### HOLLAND.

Shortly, a new Socialist paper will appear at Flushing, province Zeeland, under the title *Licht en Waarheid* (Light and Truth). This new weekly journal, published by L. Mieremet, is intended to be a purely theoretical organ of the Socialist ideas, in order not to interfere with *Recht voor Allen*, which brings all kinds of news. Some time ago another weekly was started at Flushing, entitled *Volkstem* (Voice of the People), but it did not succeed, and was obliged to stop its publication. We hope that this venture will meet with a better fate and do good service to the cause.

Last year we announced in these Notes the death of one of the most learned men among the Dutch Socialists—comrade Roorda van Eysinga. His friends now intend to publish the articles which he wrote in various periodicals and magazines. The two first series of a book entitled '*Brieven zonder oorspronkelijkheid*' (Letters without originality) have already appeared and are most interesting. They contain a scientific demonstration of the Anarchist idea and a critical essay on parliamentarism.

Comrade Croll, co-editor of *Recht voor Allen*, has just published a small pamphlet on 'Co-operation,' in which he warns all Socialists not to lay any stress on the "co-operative business," not only as a Socialist aim, but even as a means towards the realization of the Socialist doctrines. The publication of this pamphlet is all the more significant, since comrade Croll himself has done his utmost to encourage the development of co-operative institutions, and in fact Holland has for the last two or three years indulged very much indeed in that special line. The Dutch comrades have now begun to find out that the *spirit of revolt*, without which a sincere Socialist can hardly be imagined, is vanishing away in proportion to the progress and success of the co-operative institutions, and they think that it is high time to stop that game. Comrade Croll's pamphlet has been widely spread and no doubt will do a good deal of real socialistic propaganda among the Dutch Socialists and co-operators.

The Dutch Radicals through the initiative of M. Stoffel, manufacturer at Deventer, and under the impulsion of M. Flürschheim, the German apostle of the land nationalisation idea, have just started an agrarian league, with a view of pursuing the same ends as the kindred German and Swiss associations and the English and American "peaceful transformers of private property." The Dutch Socialist workers are not in the least concerned in the new movement, which up to the present time, at any rate, is only got up by the Radical bourgeoisie.

### NORWAY.

For some time past the compositors and printers have been on strike at Christiania. They do not only ask for higher wages, but also want to bring about a complete reorganisation of the printeries. It is a general strike of the whole trade that is going on, and the workers have up to now been supported by the Socialist party and by several foreign branches of their fellow-tradesmen. Some of the most important printing firms have tried to get workers from Denmark, but as soon as they arrived at Christiania they heard that they had been engaged under false pretences, and altogether refused to start work. One of these printing firms has to do all the official printery, as the publication of the parliamentary records, the official gazette, etc., and now the copy has to be sent over to Denmark. The compositors in Christiania convened a large meeting to protest against the action of the Government, but they were interfered with by the police, who proclaimed the meeting. An interpellation was made in the Chamber of Deputies, in order to protest against such proclamation, with the result that 34 members out of 78 declared themselves against the Government.

### SERVIA.

Parliamentarism is flourishing in a strange way in little Servia! The other day the deputy Tovanovich, a prominent member of the progressist and Radical party, was murdered at Mutnez, at the instigation of his political opponents,—a very easy method of simplifying party politics.

V. D.

**LABOUR EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.**—Sunday afternoon Outings.—The first of the series will take place on Sunday May 5th, at the Merton Socialist Club, and will consist of the members and friends of the Bethnal Green Branch of the S.D.F. and the L.E.L. (Hoxton). A demonstration will be held on Mitcham Fair Green at 7 p.m. Brakes will start from the L.E.L., 1 Hoxton Square, Hoxton, N., at 2 p.m. Tickets 1s. 3d. each, may be had of the members of the above organisations. Tickets must be paid for by Saturday 4th. H. A. Barker, Excur. Sec.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, May 6, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.: per post, 5s. 6d.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Clerkenwell and Mitcham, to end of February. North London, East London, and St. Georges East, to end of March. Bradford, Hammersmith, and Leicester, to end of April.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, May 7th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 3s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

**Defence Committee** (Berner Street).—Hammersmith, 17s.; collected at Clerkenwell Green, 4s. 5d.; Manchester Branch, 2s.; and Leeds Branch, 4s. 8d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; R. Turner, 1s. 6d.; J. Turner, 1s.; Kitz, 1s.; Nicoll, 1s.; Rose, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; Greenbark, 5s.; and B. W., 1s. Norwich Branch, 2s. and 1s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—An indignation meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green last Sunday, to protest against the unjust sentences passed by Edlin against our comrades of the Berner Street Club; Parker, Murphy (I.N.R.), Mr. Benn (F.R.C.), Mowbray, Nicoll, and Cores spoke; 4s. 5d. collected.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Largest meeting yet held at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., Maughan, and A. J. Smith; 42 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road in evening, we had a large meeting; our speakers were Crouch, W. Morris, and Lynes, sen.; 12 *Commonweal* sold. At Kelmscott House, G. B. Shaw (Fabian) lectured; many questions and heated debate.—G. M.

**HYDE PARK.**—Cantwell, Brookes, and Mrs. Lahr spoke; 6d. collected.

**MITCHAM.**—A good meeting held on the Fair Green; good sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening at the rooms a branch meeting was held, and S. Gregory elected as assistant secretary; 1s. collected for local propaganda.

**ST. GEORGES-IN-THE-EAST.**—Comrade Blackwell being unable to get away from work in time to lecture, comrade Brookes took his place and gave an interesting address on "The Growth of Thought in India." Questions and slight discussion at close. A splendid meeting at Mile End Waste on Saturday night, addressed by Brookes, Cores, and Hicks. No meeting at Leman Street last Sunday morning on account of rain.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 22nd, John Robertson's paper on "Culture and Pessimism" (being the companion lecture to the one of last week) was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, Duncan and Leatham addressed a large crowd; questions at close.—J. L.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 22nd, Henry George held forth in Music Hall; well heckled by Socialists; wonderful display on the "prophet's" part of quibbling and double-shuffling.

**GLASGOW.**—On Thursday evening, Henry George's single tax theory was discussed; there was a good attendance of members. On Sunday at mid-day, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke on Jail Square; at 5.30, Glasier, Joe Burgoyne, and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road; and at 7 o'clock Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke at St. George's Cross. On the previous week, for which no report was sent to the *Weal*, Leo Melliet visited our rooms several times and gave interesting addresses to the members.

**MANCHESTER.**—At our meeting in Stevenson Square, McCormick (of London) spoke to a good audience, and gave a graphic account of the police outrage at Berner Street, E.; Bourne, Rison, and Bailie also spoke; 2s. collected for Defence Fund, but, unfortunately, the rain dispersed many of our audience. At night we had the best meeting since we began at Chester Road; speakers were McCormick, Marshall, and Bailie. We find the singing of Socialist songs much appreciated. No meetings here on Sunday next, as we shall be at Blackstone Edge Socialist Demonstration.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday afternoon, good meeting in Market Place; Poynts opened, followed by Darley; fair sale of *Commonweal*. In evening, usual lecture not held; the members held a social meeting. All comrades interested in the propaganda are requested to attend next members' meeting.

**YARMOUTH.**—Two meetings on Priory Plain Sunday; largely attended; speakers Reynolds and Ruffild; 3s. 5d. collected and 21 *Commonweal* sold. In evening, several comrades met for developing public speakers.—C. R.

**DUBLIN PROGRESSIVE CLUB.**—At 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday April 27th, G. King lectured on "The Prospects of the Irish Workman." The lecturer dealt with the conditions of industrial life in Ireland, and showed that Home Rule and peasant proprietary would not make any material change in the condition of the Irish workers. A vigorous discussion followed, in which the views of the speaker were violently assailed. Conlon, Shields, and Frizelle spoke.

**RATHMINES BRANCH, IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE.**—On Wednesday evening Mr. Dixon, jun., delivered an address on Socialism. There was a good attendance, and the lecture was listened to with great attention. In the course of a lengthened address Mr. Dixon said he was not a land-nationaliser, for he could not consider it as the real solution of the land difficulty. He went on to show that Socialism, in the truest and purest sense, could only be the proper solution. And though universal Socialism, which was his ideal—may be very remote, still that was no reason why they should not continue to pursue that aspiration until its practicability shall have been tested (cheers). A very warm discussion followed, and a vote of thanks.

**ELEUSIS CLUB**, 180 King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.—Sunday May 5, at 8 p.m., Mr. E. F. V. Knox, B.A., "The Irish Question."

**SHEFFIELD.**—Hall of Science, Sunday May 5, J. Sketchley—subject, "Nationalisation of the Land—Why Needed, and How."

**CLUB AUTONOME**, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday May 5, 7 p.m., a lecture—"How to Abolish the Monopoly of Land and Money."

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Sunday May 5, at 7 p.m., Special Business Meeting. At 8.30, lecture by F. Charles, "What's to be done during a Revolutionary Period."

**East London.**—Business meeting on Sunday May 5th, at 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 5, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Thursday May 9, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 10, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary. On Wednesday May 8, lecture by C. W. Mowbray, "Socialism and Politics."

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday May 7th, at 7.30, lecture by Gaskell. Waggonettes will leave Bradford Town Hall on Sunday May 5th, for Blackstone Edge, at 9.30 a.m. P. Bland, 5 Buxton Street, Manningham, secretary.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets on Mondays at 8 p.m. Members wishing to join in our Saturday afternoon propaganda excursions are requested to assemble in Rooms on Saturdays at 4.30. On Thursday evening, May 9th, J. H. Moffat will read a paper in Rooms—subject, "The Social Condition of the People during the Time of Shakespere."

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, lecture in the Gordon Hall. Tuesday, A special meeting of Members will be held in Gordon Hall, at 8.30, for the election of officers, and other important business. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class at comrade Hadley's every Friday at 8 p.m. *Commonweal* sold by Mr. Houes, newsagent, George Street.

FRIENDS WILLING TO AID in forming Branches in the undermentioned places are asked to write to the addresses given: *Liverpool*—W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Chapman St. *Walworth and Camberwell*—3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green. *Wimbledon and Merton*—F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. *Hoxton*—H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. *Streatham*—J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 4.

8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Cores and Brookes.

SUNDAY 5.

10.30..... Latimer Road Station ..... Hammersmith Branch

11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... The Branch

11.30..... "Canterbury Arms"—Kilburn Road ..... The Branch

11.30..... Hammersmith—St. Ann's Road ..... The Branch

11.30..... Kensal Green ..... The Branch

11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Mainwaring

11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll and Mrs. Schack

11.30..... Walham Green, opposite Station ..... The Branch

11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Mowbray and Turner

3.30..... Hyde Park ..... Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, and Hicks

3.30..... Victoria Park ..... Davis and Mrs. Schack

7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... The Branch

7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... The Branch

7 ..... Mitcham Fair Green... Demonstn. by L.E.L., L.U., S.D.F., and S.L.

TUESDAY 7.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

THURSDAY 9.

8 ..... Ossulton Street..... Nicoll.

FRIDAY 10.

8.15..... Hoxton Church..... The Branch.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.;

Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.;

Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

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**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatown and**

**Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A.

Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every

alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—

Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 174.

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

ONE could hardly have a better specimen of the inefficiency, stupidity, and humbug of Parliament, than the debate on the Leasehold Enfranchisement Bill. In the first place, the measure, whatever its merits or demerits, might be, purported to be a bill in the interests of the working-classes. This was enough to thin the House down to the number which are usually got together when anything of any interest to the public has to be discussed, for nothing of that kind of course interests the House at all.

Then consider the ignorance of these legislators! Both sides approached this bill as though it were of a terribly Socialistic and revolutionary affair; its promoters thought they were making a great concession to the growing feeling for Socialism, and that the working-classes would almost have a new life given them by it. The professed reactionaries attacked it on the same grounds, the useful Mr. Matthews saying that he looked at it as blank Communism, and that it attacked the principles of private property directly.

What an exhibition of ignorance! The truth is that it is really a definitely Conservative and reactionary measure, and the booby Matthews with the whole of his colleagues ought to have supported it, carried it, and put it into working order. Here is the point, stated over and over again by Socialists. Landlordism is bad; landlords are bad; therefore, says this sham Socialistic measure, let us break these few landlords up that now exist into many pieces, and so have more and more landlords; each one of these landlords will be a "kind of a man" with an interest in the monopoly in which he shares, and which he will do his utmost to defend. What can possibly result except the strengthening of the monopoly which it is the business of Mr. Matthews and his crew to defend, and which it is the business of every Socialist to attack?<sup>1</sup>

The Vigilance Committee who are so watchful over our morals are making another attack on Zola, this time through *expurgated* English editions. Apart from the blatant hypocrisy which attacks the symptoms and lets the causes alone, this is a gross piece of stupidity. What do they object to? The coarseness? This is a matter of art; it must be admitted that there are works which sin against art in this direction. But what then? Is bad taste to be made a matter for a criminal court? In that case I think the prisons might be filled to overflowing with criminals taken from the "cultivated" and "refined" classes. Besides, there are many sinners among the English classics in this respect; in a breath—Fielding, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and our translation of the Bible must be condemned and expurgated.

Or is the demoralising effect on people to be the matter to be considered in the extremely "moral" air of a Court of Justice? And how pray? I hold that there are dozens of most respectable works which the Vigilance Society wouldn't think of attacking, which are far more demoralising and corrupting than Zola. Henry James' novels for instance; or even in their feeble way, Mr. Besant's imitations of Charles Reade, whose books, though very amusing, are not specially "moral" (small blame to them) according to the standard of the Vigilance Society.

W. M.

The *Pall Mall* has been commenting severely on the "too-elaborate 'editing'" of the *Irish World*, taking as its text the telegram from Mr. Parnell to Patrick Ford, upon which the light and playful pen of

the editor had been professionally exercised. Here is the telegram, with the parts added in editing printed in italic:

"Montreal, March 9th, 1889.  
"Will be leaving on Thursday for Ireland in the 'Baltic.' Shall, of course, return to America after the elections. *The work here is vitally important, and must go on. Tell my friends to keep the good work going and the flag flying, and we shall come back with victory shining on our banners to complete a labour in America that is yet scarcely begun.* Dillon remains here on guard, and will keep the ball rolling till my return. *Canada has welcomed us magnificently, and Montreal turned out in a style that shows to our enemies that Irish hearts are Irish everywhere. Men of America! keep on forming Land Leagues—and above all, sustain the men at home in the present crisis.* Have called, by telegraph, a hurried conference of Irish leaders at the New York Hotel on the morning of my departure. *Hope for your presence.*"

Hereupon the *Pall Mall* moralizes:

"The art of padding has certainly been carried to great length in America. It is a useful art in its way, for when you are using the telegraph, especially from great distances, it is ruinously expensive to transmit all the words which form what may be called the cartilaginous matter of the dispatch. All that is necessary is to telegraph the bones and allow the ingenious news-editor at the other end to clothe them with flesh and blood. This method, however, which is perfectly innocuous when practised with discretion and with the assent of the sender of the telegram, becomes very mischievous when it is practised without discretion and without the prior knowledge of the person who telegraphs. And the proof that such padding is resorted to so unscrupulously as to transform the whole character of the dispatch, entirely vitiates the claim of the newspaper indulging in such a practice to be the authentic record of contemporary history."

"Authentic record of contemporary history" indeed! The "perfectly innocuous" method when "practised with discretion," is as Mr. Stead well knows, exercised by every news-editor in London, and for the most part even more unscrupulously than by the *Irish World* man. Among the worst offenders are the *Pall Mall* and its evening rivals; while the one paper on which the "innocuous" method is least apparent is the much-abused *Times*. No! it is not only a few out-of-the-way papers or over-enterprising journals, as we Socialists know to our cost, the news-editors of which embody the "dry bones" of fact in the "flesh and blood" of an over-active fancy!

And as for the "authentic record," this hardly looks like it:

*Pall Mall Gazette*, April 24th.

"Lord Derby is, I hope, not going out of public life altogether. England can ill spare the active services of such clear-headed and independent peers as the Lord of Knowsley."

*Pall Mall Gazette*, April 25th.

"Lord Derby's chronic inability to make up his mind seems to have followed him. . . . In Lord Derby's case it is, no doubt, only another instance of the diseased scepticism of intellect." . . .

Journalists, like the members of all other trades and professions in these evil days, are, we know, crippled and corrupted by the economic conditions of their calling; but those of them who "set up" to be better than their neighbours must expect to be more severely judged than their "unregenerate" fellows, just as is the psalm-singing sweeter or the lay-preaching company-promoter. Mr. Stead must really cool his fiery indignation until he proves his own superiority to the conditions that make journalism what it is.

Nor, as we have said, are his evening rivals, democratic or otherwise, beyond reproach. Does not even the *Star* embroider? Has it not an "Artist, Unknown" whose name is less well than widely known among those who care anything for art, and who, under a specious covering of democratic cant, endeavours to conceal his presumptuous ignorance and morbid spite? Can it not preach Socialism one day and praise Broadhurst or Bradlaugh for their moderation on the next? Has it not been known to denounce a landlord (in Ireland) on the front page for exacting his rent, and a tenant (in England) on the back page for the non-payment of his?

But all these are little things—"legitimate business," and in the "ordinary way of trade." It is only when they are found out that they matter. In a state of society like that we live under, where the

<sup>1</sup> It may be worth preserving for future reference the following particulars:—The second reading of the Leaseholders Enfranchisement Bill in the House of Commons on Wednesday, May 1, was supported by 124 Gladstonian Liberals, including Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Mundella, and Sir George Trevelyan; 13 Irish Nationalists; 11 Conservatives: Sir George Elliot, Sir E. Lechmere, Sir John Puleston, Admiral Mayne, Colonel Hughes, Messrs. Holloway, Kelly, Mallock, B. Robinson, Seton-Karr, and Whitmore, and eleven Liberal Unionists, including Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Caine. The majority which rejected the bill was composed of 172 Conservatives and 15 Liberal Unionists.

hurry-scurry of competition is so severe, and where a poor journalist has to please so many people, or at least to avoid offending them—shareholders, advertisers, readers, and political patrons—the wonder is that he has even a few rags of honesty left wherewith to drape his naked wickedness—or wicked nakedness. It is only when he would persuade one that those rags are a prophet's mantle or the gown of a grand inquisitor that one's rage rises and one feels inclined to fling the "confumelious stone."

## THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

### SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

(Continued from p. 138.)

WHILE this is going on the riots still continue in Suffolk and Norfolk, and rioters are even beginning to advance into the Fen country. At Cambridge, the mayor and respectable citizens are much alarmed at seeing strange groups of countrymen loitering in the market-place armed with large and heavy sticks. A cry of panic goes through the town; these must be the Fen rioters. So, as it was in France in the Great Revolution, when the cry of "The Brigands are coming" rang through the land, the valiant shopkeepers of Cambridge formed themselves, not into a National Guard, but were sworn in as special constables to the number of three hundred, and Cambridge is saved from imminent riot and pillage. Thus panic spreads far and wide. That these people have some cause for their panic is made evident by some events that occur a few days afterwards. The people of Littleport, aided by some of the Suffolk rioters, gather in the night and attack the house of the Rev. Mr. Vachel. The reverend gentleman meets them at the door with a loaded pistol, but he is rushed upon and disarmed, and is soon flying over the fen country with his wife and daughters. It may surprise some of you that the people should attack ministers of the gospel and shopkeepers, but those who know anything of rural life know very well that these people are among the most brutal of village tyrants, and the only surprise is that they got off so lightly. The Rev. Vachel is also a country magistrate, another good reason for popular detestation. Well, the rioters are now in possession, the house of the reverend gentleman is pillaged, and they levy contributions of food and money from the respectable inhabitants. The Littleport rioters then start for Ely, a quiet cathedral town standing in the midst of the marshes, which even in these days of railroads and telegraphs carries one back into the distant past. These dangerous rioters are armed with every deadly weapon they can find. At Ely they are joined by the lower classes, and the respectable inhabitants are persuaded to part with a good deal of portable property. Butchers, bakers, grocers, and millers hasten with alacrity to supply the hungry rioters with a good store of victual in case a worse thing befall them. One confiding miller, a Mr. Richards, advances them £50 without the slightest security. Having thus spoiled the Egyptians the rioters return home.

Meanwhile, the yeomanry and troops are gathering, and advancing upon the lair of the insurgents. Littleport is surrounded; the insurgents retreat into the houses, from whence they fire on the troops. For a few minutes a sharp conflict is kept up, but the rebels at last give way and flee in all directions. They are pursued mercilessly by the cavalry, and seventy-three prisoners and sixty guns are captured by the friends of law-and-order. Five young men are afterwards hanged as the leaders in this revolt of hunger; they die with firmness and courage.

The effect of these disturbances was seen a few days afterwards, for at a meeting of the Lord Lieutenant and magistrates of the county of Suffolk, it was resolved, "That the most patient and careful attention should be given, with a view of tracing the causes of these disorders, and of relieving, as far as circumstances will permit, the present distresses of the labouring poor." It is strange that these gentlemen could not think of this before the people were forced into revolt by hunger and starvation. It seems that riots have their uses after all.

After the disturbances in Norfolk, the wicked pitmen on the Tyne begin to give trouble. It does not appear that they burnt any houses or broke any windows, but they had the fearful impudence to go on strike for higher wages, but fortunately, through the prompt and vigorous action of the magistrates, aided by two troops of cavalry, this sedition was nipped in the bud. Eight of the leaders were taken into custody and committed to prison, and the strikers who had dared to complain that their wages were inadequate, taking into consideration the high price of bread, were driven back like slaves to their work. And this in a country that talked over patriotic dinner-tables of its boasted freedom!

But despite the laudable exertions of the magistrates, the Eastern Counties are still in a very unquiet state. There are riots at Downham and Southey, where the labourers insist upon 2s. a day for their labour and fix the price of bread. Troops of yeomanry are hurried hither and thither to quell these smouldering embers of insurrection. Numerous arrests are made, and droves of prisoners are brought into Norwich. The insurrection has spread to Essex, where bands of men are marching about armed with axes, saws, and spades, and smashing machinery in every direction.

At Halstead a furious riot breaks out, the people liberating four prisoners who had been lodged in the House of Correction for machine-

breaking. A police constable takes refuge from their vengeance in the shop of a local tradesman, the shop is furiously attacked and every window smashed to pieces. The people of the town are joined by friends from surrounding villages, who are armed with bludgeons, pitchforks, and other agricultural implements. The yeomanry, a force composed of slave-drivers, landlords, and farmers, is called out; the riot act is read, and the crowd is charged several times, but without effect, the cavalry recoiling before these desperate mutineers, who, entrenched in the churchyard amid the tombstones, do so bespatter them with brickbats, stones, and other missiles, that the yeomanry flee before the rioters, and window-breaking and attacks upon the houses of the middle-classes go on triumphantly. It isn't till the next day, when troops arrive from Colchester, that the riot subsides.

In Devon there are incendiary fires, and the whole town of Honiton is thrown into panic by their frequent occurrence. The watch patrols the streets throughout the night, and large vessels are kept filled with water stationed at frequent intervals in the streets. This, however, does not prevent a large farmhouse being burnt to the ground about a mile from the town.

An amusing illustration of the fearful funk into which the respectable classes were thrown at this time, is furnished by an incident that occurred at Maidenhead on July the 5th. The authorities of this small town were thrown into a terrible state of alarm by hearing that some miners were approaching, and dragging a coal waggon filled with coals. There being no work for them, they had adopted this means of soliciting the contributions of the charitable. It appears they had dragged this waggon all the way from Staffordshire. Now you would have thought there was little to be alarmed at in this, yet the news reaching London police officials were horribly frightened. Bow Street runners were sent to Maidenhead, the military were put under arms, special constables were sworn in, and all because some forty men were dragging a waggon of coal to London. The miners were met at Maidenhead thickets by the combined forces of the law, and were warned that they must not come any further or the consequences might be serious. The business ended by the magistrates of Maidenhead buying the coals and giving the miners a present of money, and the colliers returned back to Staffordshire. Several other parties were met with and sent home in a similar way.

On the 20th of July a terrific storm broke over England, with thunder and lightning, and one of the heaviest showers of rain ever known. Floods swept in torrents over the land, carrying away hay and corn, and destroying the crops in all directions. Thus the country was menaced with famine in the coming winter. But already matters were bad enough in the iron districts; factories are closed, and multitudes of workers wander crying for relief. Charity was exhausted, and many families were forced to eat cabbage stalks and the refuse of their little cottage gardens, the only food they could obtain. It was evident that matters would go from bad to worse in the winter that was coming.

The spirit of revolt is spreading far and wide in England, and on the 25th of August the prisoners in Newgate break out into sudden rebellion. A person visiting the jail loses his watch, a very natural occurrence in those days, when the prisoners were confined in a large common room during the day where their friends could see them, only being locked up in separate cells at night. The keeper orders the prisoners and their friends to be searched, but these men revolt against this indignity, and expel the officers and turnkeys of the prison from the wards in which they are confined; they tear up the iron railings of the stair-ways for weapons, and barricade the entrance to their wards with the prison furniture. The keepers fire some shots, but fear to attack these desperate insurgents. The jail is surrounded by a strong force of constables to prevent the prisoners escaping over the roof, or breaking through the walls of the jail into the street. They do attempt to break through into Warwick Lane, but the walls are too thick and they are ultimately forced to surrender by pangs of hunger on August 26th. Thirty of the most prominent of the rebels are picked out and placed in solitary confinement.

A band of robbers is captured at Saffron Walden, Essex, on the 12th of October. It is admitted by the ordinary press of the time that it is poverty that has forced them to this irregular method of living, for the poor men in the neighbourhood cannot earn higher wages than 6d. or 8d. a-day. These robbers were in the habit of attacking the houses of farmers and gentlemen, and in the course of their operations one man had been shot in his house. The band numbered twelve altogether, and a man, his wife, and three sons were among the number. Many worthy people were very much shocked at the levity and indifference displayed by these rebels against law-and-order upon their arrest.

On October 16th, some Luddites, disguised and with blackened faces, appear at the village of Loughboro, near Leicester, and smash numerous lace-making machines that were producing shoddy goods and being worked under price. The leader of this mysterious band addresses the workmen employed in the factory, and tells them that if they can tell him where there are any other machines being worked under price they will go and serve them in the same way. Luddism evidently contained in it the elements of modern trade unionism. It must be remembered that at this time combinations for raising wages among working-men were forbidden by law, and that in consequence they always took a secret form. Any man joining in a combination, however peaceful and orderly, could be sent and were sent to prison for two or three months. Trade unionism was yet in its infancy, and, in fact, barely existed except in a very temporary and badly organised form. Despite these laws strikes occur, though they are usually



treas riots and rebellion and are put down by all the force at the comand of the government.

At this time there is a big strike among the men at the Tredegar Ironworks, Newport, who determine that as hard work only brings starvation, they might as well starve without work, and on the 21st of Octr they are out on strike. The strikers march through mountain passes to Merthyr Tydvil, intending to bring out their comrades who are employed at factories there. The magistrates at Merthyr Tydvil swear in special constables, and, arming them with pikes, station them in a narrow pass in the mountains to oppose the onward march of the strikers. The two opposing forces come face to face, and the strikers charge on the specials, who bolt, leaving their weapons in the hands of the insurgents. The strikers march on to Tydvil, are joined by the workmen there, and extinguish every blast furnace throughout the town. The strike spreads over the whole district, and the strikers at last amount to some 12,000 men. The military are called out, but are used simply to prevent the strike spreading, and the strikers are at last forced by hunger to return to their work, and yet a rich man's press owns that the strikers could hardly find subsistence at their low rates of wages.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be continued.)

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 18, 1889.

12	an.	1539. Suppression of monasteries in England. Strafford beheaded. 1794. Madame Elizabeth guillotined. 1796. Babeuf's conspiracy suppressed. 1809. Joseph Hanson, Esq., sentenced to six months' imprisonment and fined £100 for "aiding and abetting the weavers of Manchester in a conspiracy to raise their wages." 1839. Outbreak at Paris.
13	Mon.	1848. Insurrection at Vienna. 1872. Moritz Hartmann died.
14	Tues.	1645. Battle of Naseby. 1649. Dr. Dorislaus assassinated at the Hague. 1820. Henry Grattan died. 1885. Louis Riel taken prisoner.
15	Wed.	1723. Christopher Layer hanged for high treason. 1800. James Hadfield fires at George III. in Drury Lane Theatre. 1820. Henry Hunt sentenced for sedition. 1847. Daniel O'Connell died. 1848. Trial of Smith O'Brien for sedition. 1871. Russian police armed with revolvers. 1881. Second secret press of the <i>Will of the People</i> captured with bloodshed.
16	Thur.	1771. Robert Owen born. 1848. Trial of T. F. Meagher and John Mitchell for sedition. 1871. Owen Centenary Festival in London. 1871. Vendome column destroyed in Paris. 1882. Prosecution of the <i>Freiheit</i> for an article on Phoenix Park murders.
17	Fri.	1802. Action of John Hevey against Major Sirr for assault and false imprisonment, Dublin. 1826. Notice "to the friends of the Social System" that New Harmony is over-crowded and no more can be received. 1880. Trial of Dr. Weimar, Hero as a Doctor of the Russo-Turkish War, for assisting Solovieff in attempt on Alexander II.; sentenced to 20 years in mines; died there, 1882.
18	Sat.	1756. War declared against the King of France by George II., "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland." 1839. Riot at Glasgow. 1843. Monster meeting for Repeal at Charleville, Ireland; 300,000 said to be present.

## WORN-OUT MACHINES.

HERE is a pretty fair specimen of the educational focus of editors of the capitalistic press, who undertake to answer their correspondents on social matters. In the *Family Herald* dated Saturday, May 4th, appears the following:

"FIRE-HOSE.—It is true that some firms cast aside their old servants with less compassion than they would bestow on an old horse; and we are sorry that you have such gloomy forebodings. As things go, your wages are not bad, and you would be mad to risk the loss of your situation. Take time, compose a plain simple statement of your plans regarding leather gear, and send it to one secretary at a time. There is no hurry, and you may even introduce yourself to the locomotive superintendent at your junction. But be very wary; for employers rarely care to retain the services of a man after he has once shown signs of being unsettled. Mind, above all things, that you cannot afford to nourish personal pique. No man on earth is necessary; and you may easily drift off into the forlorn host of the unemployed if you once exhibit the least temper or resentment at one of the slights which the best of us must sometimes endure."

The above, to speak plain, means that the poor "old" servant should sacrifice all manhood, and cringe and crawl to an exploiter that has had very likely the best of his days. How very funny to a Socialist the last sentence reads, "No man on earth is necessary," etc. To be logical, perhaps the best thing that could happen would be that the man who penned such an absurdity should go and hang himself, and prove to the world that he means what he says. We of the Socialist camp shall still go on preaching discontent, and old machines and young machines who are suffering from exploitation on all hands can take heart, for there is still left enough manhood on the part of Socialists for the carrying out of the entire abolition of the opportunities of masters to show spleen and spite on those men, or even women, who care to show what we understand as an expression of discontent, as against the above statement, an "exhibition of temper."

WM. BLUNDELL.

Individualism is only a tenable creed if it is thorough-going and consistent, if it bases itself upon first principles. To pretend to individualism while upholding all the worst encroachments upon individuality, in the shape of robbery from the common stock, with its consequent restriction of individual liberty to the right of starving in the public highway, is a sham, and a delusion.—(Grant Allen, on "Individualism and Socialism," *Contemporary Review*, May, 1889).

## REPUBLICS EN FÊTE.

NEW YORK, APRIL 29TH, AND PARIS MAY 6TH, 1889.

STAND back, you Emperors and Kings!  
Back—back, from out our way!  
Of great Republics now Earth rings,  
And Presidents, to-day.  
You've had your innings far too long,  
And henceforth you must learn  
Free-chosen rulers, wise and strong,  
To-day will have their turn.  
The many have both votes and eyes  
To will no fools shall play  
With laws and rights we've learned to prize;—  
Back, kings, from out our way!

Yes, we remember Athens rose  
To greatness with no kings,  
And, ere her sunburst knew its close,  
What glory from her springs!  
Thoughts that her freemen spoke endure  
And rule us here to-day:  
Ah! had her chainless days been sure,  
How long had been her sway!  
But hers was but the life of towns  
That Philip's hordes could slay;  
Now emperors dread republics' frowns,—  
'Tis kings that cringe to-day.

Rome, free, was first in strength and fame;  
Her freedom was her might;  
'Twas when her sons but slaves became  
That rule from her took flight.  
Republican, her awful word  
Shook empires to the dust;  
A slave, she dared not grasp the sword  
'Neath tyrants' frowns and lust.  
She fell, to teach us, wise at last,  
To loathe imperial sway.  
The days for emperors are past,—  
Back, kings, from out our way!

Remember Italy's great time,  
When her republics rose,  
When Florence and Milan, sublime,  
Could scoff at Freedom's foes;  
How Switzers, free, struck for Man's rights,  
Won well, with blood and steel;  
How Marston Moor's and Naseby's fights  
Enthroned our commonweal;  
But Cromwell died, and with him past  
Our kingless rule away,  
Our first Republic, not our last;  
Back, kings, from out our way.

Paris, this hour thine eyes are lit,  
Bright with a joy divine,  
As France recalls, with memories fit,  
Her days of '89.  
Then, like a Samson, she arose,  
Defeat to kings to deal,  
And hurled a crowned head 'mongst her foes,  
And levelled his bastille;  
Kings and you emperors, shun to speak  
The hate you fain would say;  
To-day, Republics are not weak;  
They're fawned upon to-day.

And thou too, thou of fifty States,  
Of nations yet to be,  
Laugh at the Old World's sneers and hates;  
What are they now to thee?  
The flag thy Washington flung out,  
Stream high its banded bars;  
To-day, thy sixty millions shout  
Beneath the stripes and stars.  
Speak smoothly, Bismark, to the power  
That law, to earth, shall say,  
Republic, that o'er all shall tower;  
Back, kings, from out its way.

Yet, O Republics, hold it true,  
Your rule we only prize,  
Because we surely look to you,  
Than kings, to be more wise;  
We throne you not for empty fuss,  
But that your rule shall give  
A fairer, dearer life to us,  
That all may nobly live;  
From all, for all, your power you hold  
To bring man's better day;  
That Earth may know its age of gold,  
Back, kings, from out our way.

Greenwich, S.E.

W. C. BENNETT.

In every country which enjoys the European system of civilisation, the right of property has ever been in a state of evolution, always tending to give a greater degree of independence to the individual owner; in other words, the evolution has always worked in favour of individual egotism. Who can say that the evolution is now complete, or that we have yet realised the highest ideal system in the disposition of our property? A progressive evolution is for every society one of the conditions of existence. The right of proprietorship cannot, therefore, remain stationary.—*Charles Letourneau*.



refineries must therefore depend on foreign importations. Let us therefore take the quantity of raw sugar imported and the amount retained exclusively for refining :

	Imported and retained for home consumption.	Net for refining.
1855	cwts. 7,259,148	cwts. 6,451,331
1860	" 8,506,882	" 7,529,960
1865	" 9,878,933	" 8,685,279
1870	" 11,542,937	" 10,405,311
1875	" 14,807,628	" 12,711,386
1880	" 15,722,532	" 13,061,938
1883	" 18,516,416	" 16,321,447
1886	" 14,621,414	" 11,952,560

Here we have a decline on 1886, but take the two next years. Net consumption of the United Kingdom :

1886. Tons.	1887. Tons.	1888. Tons.
1,146,414	1,173,338	1,182,618

Here we have an enormous increase in the quantity imported and retained for home consumption, also in the quantity for refining purposes. This does not include the sugar used in brewing, etc.

But it is contended that the rapid development of beet-root sugar is destroying the cane-sugar trade. The rapid development of the beet-root none deny, but that it has destroyed the cane-sugar trade is not true, as the following will show. Imports of

	Raw cane sugar.	Beet-root sugar.
1855	cwts. 6,952,122	cwts. 372,011
1865	" 9,280,728	" 963,796
1875	" 14,105,968	" 2,158,743
1880	" 11,803,097	" 5,198,516
1882	" 14,534,870	" 5,304,355
1883	" 11,949,337	" 8,417,299
1886	" 9,359,523	" 6,774,560

And taking the estimated production of the whole world for 1889, we have the following :

Raw Cane Sugar. Tons.	Raw Beetroot Sugar. Tons.
2,432,000	2,808,000

But it is objected that the increase in our imports of raw cane sugar is from foreign countries and not from British possessions. Undoubtedly such is the case. But we import the raw material for many of our textile trades, and do not reject it because it comes from foreign countries. Then as far as the West Indies are concerned, the planters there (largely non-resident) have been complaining for at least half a century. In 1840 a Committee of the Commons reported that "Our West Indian colonists enjoyed a monopoly on the sugar imported into the United Kingdom of 6½d. per lb., equal to a tax of £6,000,000 a-year. That, including the interest on the £20,000,000 we paid them for the abolition of slavery, we were paying them £7,000,000 a-year to induce them to take £3,000,000 worth of our manufactured goods." And how was that monopoly secured. By an import duty of 24s. per cwt., which operated as follows :

	Price per cwt.	Duty per cwt.	Per cent. of duty.
Common raw sugar	25s.	24s.	96
Middle quality	28s.	24s.	86
Fine	37s.	24s.	65
Double refined	70s.	24s.	34

Here we see the rich paid a duty of 34 per cent., the workers a duty of 96 or 86 per cent. Shall we restore that monopoly which worked such ruin and oppression in years gone by? We condemn non-residence on the part of landlords, Irish or others; and we have to some extent got rid of non-residence in the State Church; and shall we legislate for the aggrandisement (by re-enacting a monopoly) of a gang of non-resident West Indian planters?

We are told that the present agitation is largely due to the action of the sugar-refiners of London and Liverpool. Is, then, the trade of either of those towns declining? is it even stationary? What are the facts of the case? Let us see, taking the years

	1840.		1880.		1883.	
	No. of refineries.	Output. Tons.	No. of refineries.	Output. Tons.	No. of refineries.	Output. Tons.
London	30	137,280	15	191,000	15	260,000
Liverpool	13	85,280	12	205,000	10	250,000

True, complaints come from Bristol, and even from Greenock. But the latter town has not much to complain of.\* In 1840 the number of refineries there were 17, and the output 126,880 tons per annum. In 1880, number of refineries 10, and the yearly output 241,000 tons. In 1883 the number was 9, and the output that year 237,000 tons. At Bristol there has been a decrease in the production. And why? Simply because they adhere to the old mode of manufacture. Yet we are told by Parliamentary Paper 325, 1884, p. 55, that the two refineries there have done fairly well throughout, and that while the freight to Liverpool of beet is 12s. 6d. per ton, and to the Clyde 15s., it is only 7s. 6d. to Bristol; and that there is room in Bristol for another refinery, if started on modern principles, etc. Taking Great Britain as a whole, we find the following :

1840.		1880.		1883.	
No. of refineries.	Output. Tons.	No. of refineries.	Output. Tons.	No. of refineries.	Output. Tons.
66 or 67	423,120	39	700,000	36	816,000

Then it is complained that we import large quantities of refined sugar, and that such imports ought to be restricted, if not prohibited.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HATED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages: None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

T. J.—The question you raise is an old one; on Feb. 16, 1845, at the Finsbury Institution, Goswell Road, Mr. William Cooper lectured "On the Writings of that Eminent Social Reformer, Charles Dickens, Esq.," and the discussion afterwards was on "Are the writings of Dickens in accordance with the philosophy of Robert Owen?"

A. L. (AUTONOMIE), and others.—If you pay no heed to our oft-repeated requests, and send in reports and notices too late, you can hardly expect their insertion.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 8.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SPAIN	PORTUGAL	AUSTRIA	DENMARK	SWEDEN	WEST INDIES
Church Reformer	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
Justice	Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
Labour Elector	La Revolt	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
Labour Tribune	Pobudka	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Berlin—Volks Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
Postal Service Gazette	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Berlin—Volks Tribune	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
Railway Review	Belgium	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
Social Demokrat	Ghent—Vooruit	Berlin—Volks Tribune		Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
Unity	Antwerp—De Werker	Berlin—Volks Tribune		Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
Worker's Friend	Liege—L'Avenir	Berlin—Volks Tribune		Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor
		Berlin—Volks Tribune		Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Wien—Gleichheit	Social-Demokraten	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Cuba—El Productor

### THE SUGAR TRADE.

For several years an agitation has been going on in reference to the sugar trade of the country. That agitation at the present time is assuming large proportions in different parts of England and Scotland, and is likely to become more intensified very shortly. The rise in the price of sugar of some 30 per cent. which has already taken place, and the further rise that is sure to follow, is creating great uneasiness among numbers of the poorer classes, whose enjoyment of the common necessities is always too limited.

Again, large numbers of the working classes have been led, by some means, to approve and support the present policy of the Tory Government in favour of the abolition of the so-called bounties, under the impression that the sugar industry of Great Britain has been and is being ruined by the importation of what is called bounty-fed sugar from the Continent. We are also assured that our West Indies are being ruined, and that if the bounty system is not got rid of, the British empire will go to the dogs. For years past we have been told that the sugar trade is declining, and that thousands of men were out of employment in consequence. It is necessary therefore to enquire into the truth of these statements, to see how far they are true and how far they are false.

To begin with, we must bear in mind that we do not produce the raw material, either for cane or for beet-root sugar, and that our

It is quite true we do import refined sugar. It is equally true that we export (of British produce) refined sugar. And the imports and the exports fluctuate in different years, and will continue to do so.

	Imports of refined sugar into United Kingdom.	Exports of refined sugar (of British produce) from United Kingdom.
1877 ...	171,000 tons	56,000 tons
1880 ...	152,000 "	48,000 "
1883 ...	162,000 "	58,000 "

We hear a great deal about our imports, but not a word about our exports.

Let us now take the question of Labour. When I have heard it stated that tens of thousands were out of work as a consequence of our cheap sugar importations, I have always inquired where and when were these tens of thousands employed. The gullability of John Bull is a very elastic quality, and he has been gulled pretty well with regard to the sugar industry of Great Britain. Not only has the quantity of British produce increased enormously, but the number of the employed has also increased very largely. True the number employed has not increased in proportion to the increase in the output. In the sugar trade, as in every other department of production, labour-saving machinery is the rule, and will continue to be so. But in the sugar trade the number has continually increased, and is increasing year by year. Take the following from the census returns:

No.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.	1884.
Employed.....	2,820	3,756	3,833	4,484	5,200

Place these figures by the side of the following, and then ask the question, What has the sugar industry to complain of? By the census returns for 1881 we find the number employed were in the

	1871.	1881.	Decrease.
Silk Trade.....	80,132	60,595	19,557
Hosiery Trade .....	44,203	38,823	5,580
Glove Trade .....	22,590	15,524	7,066
Gun Trade.....	11,576	7,741	3,835
Lace Trade .....	48,383	44,144	4,239
Shoe Trade (1861) .....	246,493	216,557	29,937
Farmers.....	249,907	223,943	25,964
Market Gardeners .....	98,069	65,882	32,187
Agricultural Labourers ...	963,348	870,798	91,550

In all these trades production increased, while the number employed decreased. But in the sugar trade there was an increase in both.

In a Parliamentary paper issued in 1881 (No. 317), at page 14, we have the following:—No. 7, Men and boys per 100 tons (soft sugar) output per week; if output not exceeding 400 tons per week, 35 men and boys per 100 tons; if output over 400 tons and not exceeding 800 tons, 30 men and boys per 100 tons; if output over 800 tons and not exceeding 12,000 tons, 25 men and boys per 100 tons.

Thus we find that the greater the production, proportionately, the less the number employed. We also find that whereas in 1868 the average output per man was 126 tons per annum, in 1880 the average was 173 tons.

Now as to the gain to the people by cheap sugar. In the Parliamentary paper, No. 325, page 52, we have a very important table. Taking the years 1871 to 1883 inclusive, we have it shown that the average reduction in the price of sugar was 2s. 6d. per cwt.; that the yearly saving rose from £1,646,948 in 1871 to £2,706,808 in 1883; and that the total saving during the thirteen years was £28,290,459. Then we must take into account the jam and the confectionery trades, so largely developed during the last twenty years, and due almost entirely to cheap sugar, and which give employment to some 75,000 persons.

Looking at the whole subject, I am surprised that any man, and especially any one claiming to speak on behalf of the working-classes, should support a reactionary policy for the further aggrandisement of a mere handful of capitalists belonging to the sugar industry. Not that I am in favour of the bounty system; far otherwise. But that is a matter for the consideration of the bounty-paying nations, and not for us. And the strangest thing is, that even working-men should be found foolish enough to go in for dear sugar to enrich the capitalist class, and to support a government in its reactionary policy—a government ready to drag England at the heels of the European despotisms, and to execute the orders of the Continental despots.

J. SKETCHLEY.

**BUSINESS NOWADAYS.**—Employer (to new clerk): This package of money you've just counted is two half-crowns short. New clerk: How do you know? You said you hadn't counted the money.—"I said that to test your honesty. I hardly know what to do about it."—"I can help you out; you take me into partnership, and I'll do the stealing for the firm and you can do the lying, and we'll make things hum."

**AN EXPLANATION.**—Several comrades in the North having expressed surprise at the absence of F. Kitz from the Blackstone Edge Demonstration, it is thought advisable to insert the following explanation. Some weeks ago, a Mr. J. M. Hutchison wrote on behalf of the organizing committee to the Socialist League, asking them to send a delegate to represent the Socialist League at the meeting; F. Kitz was elected, and his expenses guaranteed. Suddenly it was discovered by Mr. Hutchison, on April 30th, that there would be too many speakers, and, as funds were low, F. Kitz had better not attend, and the epistle containing this notification was signed, "Yours fraternally, John M. Hutchison." To that letter a reply was sent, stating that no expense would fall upon the organising committee, as the cost of the League's delegate would be paid by the Socialist League, and that the real reasons had better have been stated for the exclusion of the League delegate. Since then there has been no more letters from "Yours fraternally, J. Hutchison."

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE American Federation of Labour has issued charters for 130 organizers. Several general organizers will be kept on the road all the time, while others will devote their time to certain localities.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union, which has lately seceded from the Knights of Labour, has obtained a charter from the American Federation of Labour. This Union has thirty-seven local branches scattered through the shoe-making districts.

The cigar-makers are in a bad way. Work is very scarce, the pay miserable, and plenty of non-union men about. Some cigar-makers are forced to work for wages as low as 4 dols. a week, and the "iron scab," as the men are calling the cigar-making machines, is rapidly making work harder to secure.

Major Roche of Chicago left office on the 15th inst., and his last official act was the reinstatement of Ex-Captain of the Police, Michael J. Schaak, and yet we were told by the present "boodling" editors of Spies' old paper, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, that one of the reasons why they supported Roche and his party, was that he had suspended Schaak. O shade of Spies!

Blacklisting has killed a prominent labour agitator. On Thursday, the 17th of this month, a friend of Charles Turcell, a New York Knight of Labour, called at the latter's home and found him lying unconscious on his bed. He had taken a dose of morphia, and died about midnight the same day. Turcell, who had been a clothing salesman, lost his job in July last year, and has been unable to get work since, owing to being blacklisted by all employers of labour. Only a few days before his death he told a friend:—"Whenever I feel that I am likely to become a burden to my friends or the world in general I shall leave it." He was a widower, and left four children. Turcell belonged to the conservative wing in the Knights of Labour, and was an active opponent of the Home Club, the Radical faction in District Assembly 49, New York. If Conservative agitators are treated in this way, what can we expect will be done unto the Radicals. Blacklisting, it appears, indeed, has more effect than boycotting.

To expect sympathy with poverty from a Yankee would surely be demanding too much, but anyhow, I hardly thought it possible that even Yankees would be low-minded enough to utilize poverty to provide them with "pleasure." However, I have been in error. Some days ago the plutocrats of Spencer, Mass., held at the town hall a "poverty ball." Each participant in this "grand" affair wore the most sadly dilapidated garments imaginable, and "poverty" is said to have been the air of the evening. The dancing orders were printed on shoe tags, and the menu on fringed brown paper. At midnight the gormandising began with the finest viands, furnished by the most noted purveyor of the town. This was no poverty affair. Of course, anything is possible in a country where everything is conducted on the "Sand-the-sugar-and-come-to-prayer" plan. And yet people dare to speak about the horrors of a revolution! Indeed, what's to be wondered at is, considering the brutality and the provoking attitude of ruling classes, that there are so few revolutionary "horrors." If every poor man, when his chance comes, "would do unto others as has been done unto him," how—well, my experience in life suggests things to me too ghastly to allow the subject to be pursued any further.

Herbert Spencer is reported to have written to a friend in Chicago that he does not think the "railroad morals" and policy of the United States any worse than those of England. President Adams, of the Union Pacific, a short while ago, in a lecture delivered at Boston, Mass., declared that the "morals" of American railroads were based on the plan, "Let him take who has the power, and let him keep who can." Now, if American railroads are so bad, how bad must the English be? It appears to me it is a case of "pot and kettle." Mr. Spencer says he has put himself at the head of a railroad reform league in England, as he claims that there has been more corruption by railroads in the House of Commons during the past ten years than has taken place in federal and State legislatures in the United States during the entire history of railroads. There are, he adds, over 180 members of Parliament who are simply the agents of railroads and similar corporations. Most of these are lawyers who owe their election to the roads they serve. These people serve their masters and supporters of new projects, and make no *sub rosa* statement of the number of votes they can command in the House, but proclaim it openly. And yet English revolutionary Socialists are seriously asked to reform this den of thieves, or, anyhow, to use it as a means of propaganda. Touch pitch and you get dirty!

The triangular fight between Claus Spreckels, jun., the California Sugar King, the Sugar Trust, and the peoples of the States of New York and California proceeds merrily.

It will be remembered by the readers of the *Commonweal* that some time ago Judge Barrett decided that by joining the trust the North River Sugar Company had violated its charter. A receiver of the Company was in consequence appointed. Two more suits are pending against the trust, viz., of the people of California against the American Sugar Refining Company at San Francisco, and of the people of New York against the Havemeyer and Elder Company at New York. All at once it was discovered that both companies had assigned to three individual members of the trust, and that the suits, in consequence, most likely will be dismissed. The trust, apparently, is preparing for stormy weather. Mr. Havemeyer, the leading man in the concern, when interviewed about the affair, coolly said, "We have to get there somehow. The trust, under some form or other, has come to stay." Of course, the people will gradually find out that trusts cannot be killed by law, and that it is nonsensical on their part to furnish the fighting forces in a battle between two would-be monopolists in the struggle for supremacy. Spreckels, who desires to bring the trust to his terms, has discovered that the legal machinery is too ponderous to stifle the octopus; so he is trying the "help yourself" method. He is building large refineries on the Atlantic seashore, and, what is more, he is trying to corner his antagonist by cornering all the raw sugar. It is reported that he quietly sent his agents to Cuba, the West India Islands, Demerara, and Brazil, and has bought up the greatest part of the present crop. There is only a very small stock of raw sugar on hand. It is also said that it is Claus's plan "to turn toward Europe the tide of his great sugar production for the next few weeks, and, while pocketing the profit on the rise there, the United States will be left practically without sugar. Just as prices begin to lower in Europe, and have reached the highest figure in the States, he will cut off the supply abroad, and sell at his figures his stuff in the home market." His friends say he can keep up this game of see-saw all through the summer. He will have conquered the trust, make a fortune, and the people—that stupid aw—will pay the bill.

Boston, Mass., April 22, 1889.

HENRY F. CHAPMAN.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The pipe-moulders employed by Cochrane and Co., near Middlesbro', have been conceded an advance of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

The strike of ironworkers at Millom and Askam, which has lasted about ten weeks, shows no sign of coming to an end.

The London Society of Compositors have resolved to send two delegates to the Paris International Congress in July. One of them is A. G. Cook, their librarian and a member of the London School Board.

The Cigar-Makers' Mutual Association have been taking a vote on the eight-hours question, with the following result: eight-hours working day, 324 for, 155 against; obtaining it through parliament, 229 for, 101 against.

**CARPET MAKER'S WAGES.**—The Master Carpet Maker's Association has given notice of a 20 per cent. reduction in wages on piece goods, and 10 per cent. on "square." The reduction will be resisted at Dewsbury and Heckmondwike.

**BARNSELY BUILDERS.**—The masons and bricklayers of Barnsley and district struck work last week, with the view of enforcing an advance in wages of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d., to make the price 8d. per hour. The masters offered  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. The bosses have now conceded the demands of the men.

**WELSH IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.**—The proprietors of the Ebbw Vale Company on Saturday, advanced the wages of the whole of the iron and steel workers in their employ 5 per cent. The proprietors of the Cyfartha and Dowlais Iron and Steel Works have granted their men an advance of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

**TYNE ENGINEERS.**—At a meeting of the Executive Council of the Federal Board, held at Ord Arms on Tuesday night, the notice regarding the second advance was discussed, and it was decided that negotiations should be opened with the Employer's Association, and that individual action in the shops must be avoided.

**BIT FORGERS AND FILERS.**—On Saturday the Walsall and Bloxwich bit forgers and filers gave fourteen days' notice for a 15 per cent. advance of wages, negotiations with the employers for an amicable arrangement of the matter having so far failed. About 400 workmen are concerned, about one-half of whom are in the trade society.

**CUMBERLAND COAL WORKERS.**—At a conference of masters and men, the masters agreed to an advance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to be paid from next "making-up" day, and to continue till end of June. It was also arranged that the masters would meet the men directly any advance took place in the price of coal, with a view to giving the miners a share of such improvement.

**GREENOCK BAKERS.**—At a meeting of operative bakers in Greenock held on Wednesday, May 1, the following rule was adopted:—"That the week's work shall consist of 55 hours—9 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours on the first five days of the week and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours on the Saturday—it being imperative that the day's work shall not commence earlier than 5 a.m., and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours' to be allowed for meals."

**IRISH FEDERATED TRADE AND LABOUR UNION.**—On the 4th, at the Angel Hotel, Dublin, the first meeting of the Irish Federated Trades' Congress was held, and the Irish Federated Trade and Labour Union was formed. It was almost the 76th anniversary of the first meeting of the Hibernian Philanthropic Society, which was formed May 3, 1823, to apply Robert Owen's plans to Ireland.

**BURNLEY MINERS.**—A mass meeting was held on the 2nd to consider the strike which has been going on at one of the local pits. The president of the federation reported an interview with the manager of the pit, and the settlement of the strike. The meeting confirmed the action of the Nottingham Conference, the determination being expressed to demand 10 per cent. advance in common with the other mining communities at the end of June.

**RAILWAY SERVANT'S WAGES.**—At a meeting of the signalmen employed on the North British and Caledonian Railways, held at Edinburgh on Sunday, it was unanimously agreed to support the following proposals put by Mr. Henry Tait:—Boxes to be divided into three classes: Third class boxes to start at 2ls. per week, and rise 1s. yearly to 24s. a-week; second class boxes to start at 25s. per week, and rise 1s. yearly to 27s. per week; first class boxes to begin at 28s. per week, and rise 1s. yearly to 29s. per week; relief signalmen to be paid at the highest rate, and 1s. 6d. per night allowed for lodging money; time and quarter for all overtime, and time and half for all Sunday duty, the latter to commence at midnight on Saturday to 12 midnight on Sunday. A number of men joined the Edinburgh branches of the society at the close of the meeting.

**THE SALT UNION.**—On Friday 3rd, a meeting of the Winsford Salt-makers' Association was held on the Bowling Green, Winsford, to receive the replies of the Salt Union to the grievances formulated last week. The directors stated in their reply that they could not concede all the demands of the workmen as to the hours of work, and with regard to other demands, some were granted and some refused. The following demands of the workmen, as the outcome of the meeting, will be presented to the Salt Union:—(1) That work be discontinued at 4 o'clock, and that early and late loading be done away with; (2) that every man is put in his place again, failing which a general strike will take place; (3) that every man out of work have a fair share of work; (4) that there be four men where three are now employed; (5) that firemen finish work at 9 o'clock on Saturday night and commence at 2 o'clock on Monday morning; (6) that each man draw 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  tons at a draft; (7) that 2s. per ton be paid for bag salt and 1s. per ton for Monday morning salt.

**LEITH SEAMEN.**—The local branch of the Union brought pressure to bear on the London and Edinburgh Shipping Company. On Saturday week the crew of the 'Meteor' demanded an increase from 28s. to 30s. a-week, and this request was acceded to before the ship sailed. On Wednesday 1st, before the 'Iona' sailed for London, the crew made a similar demand, but sailed on being promised a rise commencing from the end of the week, the terms also including that the same men should be kept on. At present the same company's steamer 'Marmion' is lying alongside in the Victoria Dock. On Friday, the crew ought to have gone on board to work as usual, but they held out for same increase as crews of the other vessels. The secretary communicated with the company, when the following agreement was come to:—"We accept the notice that 'Marmion' men complete the 28s. per week agreement at end of the present week, ending Tuesday, 7th of May, the new agreement to begin from that date." Whether the new agreement will be similar to that made with the other crews is not known.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### BELGIUM.

The Socialist Co-operative Society "Vooruit," at Ghent, has inaugurated, amidst brilliant fêtes, its new bakery, and it may perhaps interest those who care for such co-operative institutions, to know how "Vooruit" came into existence and how it progressed. At Ghent the organisation of the working classes began really in 1857, and in 1865-1867, at the time of the rapid growth of the International Workingmen's Association in Belgium, the old city of Van Artevelde was fairly well organised. The fall of the Commune of Paris, and other political causes, made Socialism nearly die out in Flanders. The movement in favour of the co-operative and the relief fund societies was practically started about the year 1873. Some thirty Socialists erected the co-operative bakery "De vrye Bakkers" (the Free Bakers). The first eighteen months were very hard to pass through, and it seemed to all interested as if complete ruin had been near at hand. But the revival of Socialism in 1874 and 1875 caused hundreds of workers, who chiefly were non-Socialists, to join the co-operative movement. This was a new sort of danger, because scores of workers had merely joined for the sake of reaping the pecuniary benefits of the institution, whereas the founders, who were Socialists, organised the co-operation only as a means of propaganda towards the realisation of their social ideas. A split was unavoidable, and came about in 1881, when the Socialists, numbering fifty men, borrowed 2000 francs from the "Broederlyke Weversmaatschappij" (Weavers' Fraternal Society) and founded therewith "Vooruit" (Forwards). After three weeks, the members numbered four hundred, and all the new comers were warned that the society was a Socialistic one, and that a large part of its benefits was to be devoted to the propagation of Socialism. In 1883, "Vooruit" inaugurated their present house on the Garen markt, and were the first to introduce in Belgium the kneading-machine and hot-water ovens. In the same year they built extensive premises for their bakery, and others for reading and concert rooms. At the present time "Vooruit" has 4,000 families as their members, and provides these with nearly 100,000 lbs. of bread weekly. In 1885, 1886, 1887 they helped Belgian and French strikers with considerable quantities of bread, and besides distributed among strikers in Flanders over 50,000 francs. The society has bought Place de l'Industrie, 7,000 square yards of ground, whereupon they have built their magnificent model bakery with eight hot-water ovens and all the most recent mechanical improvements. In their place on the Garen markt they have their printery, where the daily Socialist paper *Vooruit* is produced. In the rue des Char-treux they possess a shoemaker's shop and considerable factories for boot-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and cigarmakers. There also is their hall for athletics, several installations for working-men circles, and a beerhouse. Place de l'Industrie, they have built three coal-warehouses. Further, they have three chemist shops, one grocery, one drapery, one hosiery, and with these three concerns alone their business amounts to 350,000 francs yearly. "Vooruit" employs 150 clerks and workers of every description, and its total yearly business amounts to two million five hundred thousand francs. We earnestly hope that our friends of "Vooruit" will never forget that co-operation is only, at its best, a very mild means of furthering Socialist ideas, and that, at its worst, it can even become directly opposed to Socialism altogether. History tells us a number of examples, illustrating our assertion.

### GERMANY.

The Elberfeldt monster-trial seems not yet to be ripe for a "public show." Up to the present date there are 128 accused, 408 Crown and other witnesses, an indictment of several hundred yards in length, and so on. But all this will not do. Last week, it was stated by the reptile Press of Bismark's Fatherland that the whole Social-democratic fraction in the Reichstag was to be charged as well, and even to have the first and most prominent place upon the roll of "criminals." This week, it is said that these comrades may not be indicted at all, and now, the last intelligence from Elberfeldt is to the effect that the date of the trial and the real number of persons to be dealt with cannot as yet be definitely ascertained. What does it all mean? Perhaps only this after all: *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus*. The mountain in labour brings forth a mouse.

At Osnabrück we shall soon have another Socialist trial. Numerous persons have already been examined, and others are anxiously wanted. Of course, the same "crime" as everywhere has been perpetrated, viz., secret conspiracy, in other words, humbug.

For some time past have the tailors and needlewomen of Hamburg been on strike. The strike committee there requests all those engaged in the tailoring trade not to come over until they declare the finish of their struggle. At Frankfort-on-the-Maine, the potters have resolved to leave working, and equally request their fellow comrades in the trade not to accept work there under any circumstances whatever. At Itzehoe, the strike of the brick masons and carpenters is still lasting, and the committee declare that they will endeavour to hold to the utmost of their power. A certain number of engineers are also at strike at Nürnberg.

### RUSSIA.

In one of our last issues we have said that the bomb affair at Zurich was come to an end by the expulsion of three or four Russian comrades. More recent information shows that this is not to be the case. Arrests of Russian students continue to be effected day after day, their photographs are at once taken and put into the so-called "Verbrecheralbum" (Album of Criminals!), their houses are carefully searched by the federal police authorities, even the Russian library has been closed by the Swiss Cantonal magistrates, who seem to act under the direct influence of the Petersburg government. Sixteen more students have been sent to jail, and it is feared that wholesale expulsions are going to be ordered.

Besides, rumours are still current to the effect that the Czar has been wounded by a bombshell thrown into the Palace by an officer of the Imperial Guard. Whether this be true or not, the *Révolte* asserts that he has not been, last Thursday, at a parade where, for reasons of etiquette, his presence would otherwise have been of necessity. Has he really been wounded? The telegraph explained his absence by saying that a plot had been discovered. Perquisitions and arrests are made on a very great scale in nearly all the larger towns, especially in Western Russia. The revolutionary movement, somewhat relaxed of late, has started afresh with renewed vigour, as is shown also by the Russian press abroad. A new paper (*Free Word*), has come to light; another one is announced to appear shortly. At New York, the Russian exiles have put themselves together for the publication of *Znamia* (the Flag), of which the tenth number has just come out.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, June 3, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th, at 13, Farringdon Road. Agenda has been sent to Branches.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Clerkenwell and Mitcham, to end of February. North London, and St. Georges East, to end of March. Bradford, Hammersmith, and Leicester, to end of April. East London, to end of May.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Defence Committee** (Berner Street).—Collected at Mile End Waste, 4s. 4d.; T. Bolae, 2s.; E. B. B., 10s.; Ipswich, 5s. 3d.; East London Branch (S.L.), 4s. 1d.; collected on Clerkenwell Green by Clerkenwell Branch (S.L.), 4s. 3d.; E. Snelling, 5s.; Fulham Liberal Club, 5s. 4d.; Mimosa, 5s.; and Manchester International Workmen's Club, 6s. 3d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; Samuels, 1s.; B. W., 6d.; Wess, 1s.; Schmitt, 1s.; H. H. S. 6d.; M. Morris, 6d.; and J. Wood, 2s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Mile End Waste*.—Good meeting on Saturday; speakers were Cores, Mowbray, and Davis; fair sale of *Weal*. *Victoria Park*.—Good meeting on Sunday addressed by Davis and Schaack, and fair sale of literature. *Regents Park*.—Large meeting last Sunday, Mrs. Schaack, Cantwell, and Nicoll were speakers; good collection and 27 *Commonweals* sold.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road station on Sunday; speakers were Dean, Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., Crouch, and A. J. Smith; 35 *Commonweals* sold; choir sang. We have had a little disagreement with the teetotal party at this station, but have now arranged matters suitable to both. At Weltje Road at 7, good meeting; speakers were Kitchen, Lynes, sen., Maughan, and Sparling; 16 *Commonweals* sold. Good meeting at Beadon Road in morning, Tarleton and Morris speakers; 13 *Commonweals* sold.—G. M.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 29th ult., comrade George Cooper read a smart paper on "Our Individuality" to good meeting; Thompson in chair; discussion carried on by Duncan, Leatham, Duncan, sen., and Cooper, who replied. At Castle Street on Saturday night, good meeting addressed by Aiken, Duncan, W. Cooper, and Leatham; questions at close.—L.

**BRADFORD.**—On Tuesday, April 30th, Maguire lectured at Laycock's on "Working Men and the State"; fair discussion, W. Sugden, the Labour member on the School Board opposing; Paylor and Mitchell fairly settled the opposition. Two waggons filled with members and friends, went to Blackstone Edge on Sunday, having a most enjoyable time altogether, though we were disappointed at the absence of Kitz. It is a splendid opportunity for propaganda, which another year we on the Yorkshire side hope to make more of.—P. B.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Monday, April 29, J. Gilray read an essay on "The Social Creed of Christianity" to a Church Society. This creed, he held, committed them to Socialism; discussion at close. On Thursday, May 2nd, animated discussion in our meeting-room as to what should be our attitude to the rising labour party. General finding was freedom to the individual to work as he saw fit along with that party, but that the work of the League was education in Socialist principles. Three of our members attended Mr. Hardie's meeting here on Saturday, one speaker urging that Socialism be declared to be the final aim of the Parliamentary Labour Party's programme. On Sunday, John Smith and Burn co-operated with S.D.F. in speaking to good meetings in the Meadows.

**MITCHAM.**—Good meeting in the morning addressed by Kitz and Brooks; a local Christian wanted our audience to attend church; heckled about Genesis he failed to satisfy us as to where Cain obtained his wife, and being reticent on other points the audience minded him not. In the evening our visitors from the L.E.L., L.U., S.D.F., and S.L., held a large meeting on the Fair Green; speakers were W. Mowbray, Kitz, Brookes, Mainwaring, Barker, Pope, and a comrade of the S.D.F.—K. F.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday morning, a large number of *Commonweals* were distributed at the surrounding villages. In the afternoon, Darley and Poynts addressed open-air meeting in the Market Place, which was somewhat disturbed by an individual who was intoxicated. In the evening no meeting was held. On Monday evening, Mr. Roberts delivered a second lecture in the Gordon Hall, subject, "Organic Life" which was very interesting; chair taken by W. Moore.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—On May 2, Snell gave us a capital review of Miss Howell's "A More Excellent Way" at the club. On the 5th, good meeting was held in the Market Place; Peacock and Rooke spoke; literature sold well, and 1s. 4d. collected.—R. P.

**YARMOUTH.**—Two meetings on Sunday. At close of afternoon meeting, questions were asked, and answered to general satisfaction. Adams and Morley of Norwich gave good addresses at both meetings, which were attentively listened to by good audiences. 5s. 6d. collected for propaganda.—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressive Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday May 4th, H. Sutton Frizelle lectured on "Why I am a Socialist." There was a large attendance and a lively discussion; O'Gorman, Conlon, Landye, and O'Donlevy supported the views of the lecturer.

**IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.**—A lively discussion has taken place here the last three Sunday nights on the Irish Question. Creed opened, and others who took part in the discussion were Khill, Southron, Day, Bishop, and Thomas, who caused some enthusiasm by pointing out that the Irish would not be free until they had free use of all natural resources. Several strangers were present, and they enjoyed themselves very much, and we are very hopeful as to future results.—M. C.

**HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB**, 5 The Grove, Mare Street, Hackney.—Monday May 13, at 8.30, Graham Wallas, "The True Radical Policy."

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F.**, New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower March, Lambeth.—Sunday May 12, at 8 p.m., H. M. Hyndman, "Human Society as it Might Be." Tuesday 14, at 8, Sidney Webb (Fabian), "The Failure of Radicalism."

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (1-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Sunday May 12, at 8.30 sharp, lecture by F. Charles, "What's to be done during a Revolutionary Period."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday May 12, Business Meeting at 7.30; members, attend. Sunday 19th, H. Halliday Sparling, at 8 o'clock, "Rent, Interest, and Profit."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 12, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Thursday May 16, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 17, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary. On Wednesday May 15, lecture by Rev. Stewart Headlam, "The Sins that cause Poverty." 22nd, H. Halliday Sparling, "The Evoluted Cannibal."

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday May 14, at 7.30, lecture by comrade Mitchell.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets on Mondays at 8 p.m. Members wishing to join in our Saturday afternoon propaganda excursions are requested to assemble in Rooms on Saturdays at 4.30.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class at comrade Hadley's every Friday at 8 p.m. *Commonweal* sold by Mr. Hous, newsagent, George Street.

FRIENDS WILLING TO AID in forming Branches in the undermentioned places are asked to write to the addresses given: *Liverpool*—W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Chapman St. *Waltham and Camberwell*—3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green. *Wimbledon and Merton*—F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. *Hoxton*—H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. *Streatham*—J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 11.

8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Cores and Brookes.

SUNDAY 12.

10.30..... Latimer Road Station..... Maughan, Lynes sen., Dean  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mrs. Schack and Cores  
11.30..... "Canterbury Arms"—Kilburn Road ..... Mainwaring  
11.30..... Hammersmith—Beadon Road..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Nicoll  
11.30..... Regents Park ..... Sparling  
11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... W. S. de Mattos on "Capital"  
3.30..... Hyde Park..... Mrs. Lahr and Davis  
3.30..... Victoria Park..... Mowbray and Mrs. Schack  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Nicoll and Brookes  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green..... The Branch

TUESDAY 14.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

THURSDAY 16.

8 ..... Ossulton Street..... Nicoll.

FRIDAY 17.

8.15..... Hoxton Church..... The Branch.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

### SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

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**HATCHAM LIBERAL CLUB**, Portland House, New Cross Road.—Sunday May 12, at 8.30, Hubert Bland, "Where Radicalism Fails."

**SHEFFIELD.**—St. George's Liberal Club.—Mr. J. Sketchley will lecture on Monday May 13, at 8 p.m., on "Work and Wages."

**FARNDALE LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, 35 Bedford Road, Brixton.—Thursday May 16, at 8.30, Hubert Bland, "Where Radicalism Fails."

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

No one will wonder that the second reading of the new flogging bill has passed the House of Commons with a large majority. It was a matter of course that the present house would not lose an opportunity of showing how reactionary it is. But after all this was not, and was not likely to be, a matter of party; the Quaker Pease being as hearty in voting for it as any of the older kind of oppressor of the people. The vote was essentially the vote of the unthinking middle classes, and the debate was thoroughly in accordance with it.

It would be mere waste of time to take in hand the various forms which the ferocity and folly of these Philistines of Philistines took; but one may say that there were two lines taken up by the defenders of the measure. No. 1 was the effectiveness of brutality as a deterrent of brutality, and No. 2 was the exaltation of the moral duty of making the enemy whom you have caught pay for the enemy whom you cannot catch. On the one hand rank cowardice, on the other stupid revenge are the motives of such legislation.

With such cowards and ruffians as the reactionists of the House of Commons it would be loss of time to argue; and it would, of course, be no less a waste of time to prove to Socialists that while the gigantic wrong of class robbery supported by violence is overshadowing us like the deadly upas-tree, individual theft of any kind cannot excite much moral indignation in us; but since this paper will, it is hoped, fall into the hands of open-minded persons who have not yet learned what Socialism is, we may as well point out first that severity of punishment does not deter persons from committing offences which they are forced into by their surrounding circumstances; and next, that if it did, it might be possible to buy this benefit too dear; and that the price which these severe moralists and benefactors of their kind are prepared to pay for a diminished list of violent burglaries, is the degradation of the whole public.

Furthermore, these wisecracks might if they had read a little history (but fancy an M.P. reading history!) have noted that however pleasant revenge may be, it is an expensive pleasure, and that cowards should not meddle with it. And it is not easy to believe that the shopkeepers who want to add new tortures to our criminal law would venture on doing so if they really understood the necessary consequences of driving violent and brutal men (men made violent and brutal) to despair, and that what their precious bill will do will not be to deter the "criminal class" from burglary, but to egg them on to murder. It will probably, if it becomes law, prove the death-warrant of many a quiet householder, who might otherwise have gone on sanning the sugar and calling to prayers for many years.

But really it is a sickening job arguing about a set of cowardly and hypocritical pirates who have got just one idea into their heads on the subject of theft, which is that they alone amongst all the world should be allowed to rob with violence and then escape the consequences of robbery by violence.

W. M.

For far too long those who "go down to the sea in ships" were helpless, unorganised, and dumb under oppression. Even England, "mistress of the waters," left her sons to perish by sea, as she left them by land, wholly unheeded so long as their deaths were due to the profit-making greed of her capitalists. And they themselves seemed well-nigh content it should be so. But they have begun to move like the rest of the workers everywhere, and they have now a tremendous union, and an organ of their own. That they may meet with the success they deserve, and not be content for long merely with the objects they set forth in the platform to be found in another column, but go on to form the Navy of Labour which shall complement the Army of Labour that is growing so rapidly, is our earnest wish.

The rabid philanthropist makes himself a nuisance everywhere, as

indeed he seeks to do, counting it to himself for righteousness that he makes religion, temperance, or anything else, stink in the nostrils of the ordinary man, however admirable the things may be in themselves. The other day at the County Council there came up a question whether the licence of a certain public-house should be preserved or no. There were only a few—seventeen, as the division showed—in favour of its preservation; it was quite obvious from the very beginning of the debate how the vote was going. But Mr. F. N. Charrington could not let the opportunity pass for a speech of the most approved Chadband-Stiggins type, with a raw-head-and-bloody-bones addition of iron bars and broken skulls, etc.

Now, nobody familiar with the working class, or any other class in this country, can deny that the lessening of drunkenness is a most desirable end; and in these days of adulteration it would be quite as well in most cases to drop drinking altogether. But just when one has admitted so much, and perhaps begun to feel a little inclined oneself to do a little in the direction of discouraging the drinking habits of the people, along comes the Chadband or the Charrington with a scream of contempt for anything but his own doctrines.

"Think of your soul's welfare, and never mind your wages. Be sober and miserable and obedient, and everything your masters tell you, and you'll go to heaven. The more you suffer here, the happier you will be above. Be sober and save, and become yourself a capitalist. Don't ask for justice; all that's due to you is charity. Crawl and crouch and pray and snivel and whine, the more you abase yourself before your betters here, the higher you will be exalted hereafter."

A man is often measured by the company he keeps, and so is a principle. So when Temperance comes, as it nearly always does, mixed up with such doctrines, and also comes armed with a bludgeon with which to batter down anybody not actively on its side, what is one to do? To allow, even for a moment, that temperance or total abstinence, or anything of that kind, is a radical cure for all social ills, is impossible for a Socialist. If you do not swallow that pill, however, and swear by water, you are damned as a drunkard, and held up to opprobrium as a preacher of excess.

All that one can do is to keep one's temper as well as may be, and explain the true position of affairs; that so long as the wage-system lasts, so long will wages tend to a minimum marked by the amount required for bare subsistence; that so long as wages remain at this minimum, squalor, disease, and misery must be the lot of the working folk; and that so long as they are squalid, sick, and wretched, they will be drunken and degraded.

S.

### OKLAHOMA AND VIENNA.

It is now an axiom in evolution that "the life history of the individual is an epitome of the life history of the race," of course conditioned and varied to some extent by immediate environment. The ontogeny and phylogeny of sociology is as much a certainty as in any other branch of evolution, but it is seldom that the student has so good an opportunity of observing and proving this truth in evolution as the newspapers have furnished in their reports of the rush in Oklahoma and the tram-slaves' strike in Vienna. The same papers gave reports of John Morley's plain talk to his labour constituents, and in the simple fact of reporting the first two events gave John the lie. With sturdy John, as with all the so-called philosophical Radicals, "thrift" and "self-help" are the sole saviours of Labour. Events in Oklahoma show how small a chance bare Labour ever has to get ahead of Capital and Privilege.

The treatment accorded to the native peoples of America by the whites has been precisely the same as that dealt to the natives of Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and, in short, to the natives of any land where once a few whites have been allowed a footing. The record of United States officialism in dealing with the Indian is one long

history of shameless trickery and fraud, backed up by brutality and force; law-'n'-order of the most approved type, as explained by the poet—

"Laws, as we read in ancient sages,  
Have been like cobwebs in all ages.  
Cobwebs for little flies are spread  
And laws for little folks are made;  
But if an insect of renown,  
Hornet or beetle, wasp or drone,  
Be caught in quest of sport or plunder,  
The flimsy fetter flies in sunder."

For some fifteen years a struggle has been carried on, partly by show of legal method and form, and partly by brute force, of the most nakedly old-fashioned form expressed by the lines—

"Let him take who has the power,  
Let him hold who can."

This particular struggle began when a few adventurers, headed by a Captain Payne, who having held the position of Sergeant-at-Arms of the Kansas State Senate, was able to make use of friends at court when he proceeded to utilise the knowledge he had gained of the district in question. A company was formed with a large capital for the purpose of backing up a party of desperate men, who then proceeded—to use a digger's term—to jump the Indians' claim. This party managed to evade (?) the troops, and effecting a lodgment founded a settlement. It must be noted here at once that the capitalist is already on the scene. £500,000 is a small sum to *subscribe* with the hope of controlling the fee simple of some two or three millions of acres of land. After a week or two these settlers were, however, dislodged and arrested by troops, but were only kept in prison a couple of weeks, long enough to make them heroes and short enough time not to deter numbers of men ready to be recruits for the new land. By this means in course of a few years something like a firm hold had been secured, and then of course something like a claim for consideration could be dodged up with which to go formally before the Legislature, and then comes in the very useful help of the quite respectable people who *sub rosa* find funds for *exploration*, and votes in the House to make a state title to the stolen lands.

Having next gone through the sham of buying from the natives their birthright, for the merest mess of pottage, in the shape of new allotments or reservations in more inaccessible districts, then comes the proclamation which throws open the new land for the benefit of the pioneers of civilisation (?), the settlers who shall make the land fruitful in every inch, and give reason for new capitalist dodges in shape of new railroads, markets, and all the other blessings which accompany civilisation to-day.

One of the first of these blessings, if not the very first, of course, is law-'n'-order, a recognised system of authority, and it is somewhat sad to find civilisation discounted at the very start by the fact that the bitterest curses are being hurled at the men elected—by popular ballot too—to be lower marshals, etc., for having used their power and influence to secure the most advantageous plots of land. It is hard to believe, impossible to understand, why, if America be such a paradise for the poor and the struggling, that so many should be willing to suffer the hardships of miles of travel to get a new start as for weeks have been marching towards Oklahoma.

When the day broke which was to allow the people on this tract of land, 50,000 people were ready to "Rush for the Spoil," "La Terre," and in a few days thousands were in as mad a rush to get out of the country. Death by cold, by starvation, and by murder had prevented many rushing back, and others remain because absolutely without any hope of reaching any part where they could get a new start, all their money gone in fares and food at excess rates. Railway companies, food rings, and frauds of every sort have, as usual, utilised the boom to eat up the small capitalist, the thrift man, and afterwards will eat up one another.

The state of things which in settled countries has been brought about by gradual steps of force and fraud, and fraud and force, in this new state were exhibited in every stage in a few hours. The man with the most dollars could buy the fastest horse, and could reach the best plot to claim as *his own*; had the best chance of hiring as his own private police the men whose capital had been all used up in reaching the land of promise; had the best chance of winning the election to public office—by buying votes with food—and the best chance of securing immunity for any and every act he should commit to secure his hold on what his dollars had put him in possession of. In a few hours an election for municipal officers had been held, a newspaper started, and a bank opened, one city, Guthrie, divided into lots and all sold. By the next morning some people were dying of cold and starvation, and several men shot in quarrels over disputed claims to land.

Reading every available report, and reading between the lines also, it is easy to see that in Oklahoma in the course of a few days, even hours, every hideous detail which goes to make up our vaunted civilisation was exhibited in its worst form; that in Oklahoma in less than a week a whole life history of society making was given in brief, at the same time that one detail was being given *in extenso* in Vienna.

In Vienna as in Oklahoma, the capitalist rules the roost. In both cases the government and the general body of the community have been the slaves of capital; by turns the capitalist tricks the government and the people, or boldly defies. The tram company in Vienna by use of capital secures a monopoly agreeing to certain rules; having secured its monopoly, sets aside as of no moment all idea of keeping

any other part of the covenant than to make dividends. It is only when its extreme use of its powers as monopolist employers of labour have driven its slaves to revolt, that the full results of this power is felt. It is only when all the horrors of a land war and rush to Oklahoma is seen, that the rotten state of things in America—as in every capital ridden land—is fully appreciated, and in both cases the only solution is the same.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

### A LESSON FROM ARGENTINA.

WHILE the debased dunces of the English daily press are amusing their readers with little nothings about parties, the world outside the range of these little minds does things which Anarchists may well applaud. The finance minister, Mr. Varela, of the Argentine Republic had courage enough to lay hands on the sacred ark of the present system—he closed the Bolsa or Exchange for some days, and the police held the keys. His reason for this act was based on the fundamental law of the State, which declares that personal gain shall not set aside the law for the general public good. This law the Bolsa gamblers had infringed by trafficking in the minted currency of the country, to make gains by withholding from circulation gold which had been minted, causing wild confusion in all financial transactions and paralysing trade. To such an extent had this proceeded, that in a proposed transfer of a banking account at Buenos Ayres to a London bank, paper might be taken at the same amount, but gold was not to be had except at the rate of £49 only for the £100 to be transferred. This in a country rich in gold and other metals in the soil, and with a great quantity already coined at great cost to the State.

To such a pass had the absorption of gold coin attained, that Signor Pechico in the Senate proposed the use of leather money, which, having no intrinsic value, would not be used for gain by trafficking in its varying premiated values.

The *Buenos Ayres Herald* of March 22 thus records the event:

"Last night at a late hour Mr. Varela signed two important notes which burst like bomb-shells in the quarters where their contents first leaked out. It was not considered probable that H. E. would proceed to extremities with the Camara Sindical, but as if scenting danger in the breeze on being made aware of the Camara's intention to fight the battle out, H. E. without a moment's hesitation ordered the chief of police to close the Bolsa hermetically, giving right of entry solely and only to the president and members of the Camara Sindical and porters in charge of the establishment. H. E. then turned his attention to the Camara Sindical itself and sent it a stiff note, advising the members of the measures adopted, adding that their attitude could only be ascribed to one of two causes—either that they were unable to procure the fulfilment of the decree, or that they deliberately set it at defiance. It is due to the minister to state that these measures were rendered a necessity by the action of the Camara, who put the fat in the fire by forwarding H. E. a note in which his authority to interfere in the Bolsa is respectfully disallowed. Only one of two courses was thus left open—battle or retreat—and with the vigour and energy which has characterised the minister's action throughout in the matter, he has elected for the former. This keynote of alarm will create consternation and no small confusion, not only in the ranks of bulls, bears, stags, and guttersnipes, but in the commercial world generally. What are merchants to do for their gold? What are brokers to do for their commissions, shipbrokers for their freights, and produce-brokers for their clients? The Bolsa with its traditions and memories was a meeting-place for all, worthy of the vast business interests worked from its centre and with which it rose, progressed, and thrived. It would be of course absurd to suppose that such a vast institution can have its career thus untimely blighted. Mr. Varela is neither Vandal nor Goth. He seeks not to desecrate nor destroy the temple, but to purify it, and his interdict will only have a momentary duration. But in any case, whatever issue may arise or determination be come to, it will take more than a minister's note or a police commissary's influence to crush the Bolsa de Comercio."

That's all right from a commercial point of view; it *will* "take more than a minister's note or a police commissary's influence to crush and uproot the Bolsa de Comercio." But all the same, rude hands have been laid upon the "temple," and if "purification" once begins, who shall say where it shall end?

A later mail says that after four days the Bolsa was opened by permission of the minister of finance, who, however, had shown that he looked upon the currency of a country the same as he would upon the water-mains or lamp-posts, as public property for general use, not for private individuals or companies to get hold of and keep back until enormous ransoms were paid to the gamblers and Bolsa thieves who had seized them.

H. KING.

### THE COMMUNE IN AUSTRALIA.

By last mail we hear of successful Australian celebrations of the Commune of Paris. On Sunday, March 17th, the Sydney Branch of the Socialist League held an open-air meeting in the Domain in the afternoon at 3 p.m. In the evening a meeting was held at the Rooms, 533, George Street, when addresses were delivered on the Paris Commune by A. M. Pilter, W. H. McNamara, A. Crockett, Léon Planchenault, and others. The following resolution was carried at each meeting:—"That this meeting expresses the deepest sympathy with the heroic attempt of the workers of Paris to overthrow the domination of the classes that live by the robbery of labour, and looks forward to the time when the distinction of classes will be abolished, and the hopes for which so many workers have sacrificed their lives will be realised in the true society of the workers of all countries." Appropriate songs and recitals were also given.

The Melbourne Branch held its demonstration on the 18th, at which J. A. Andrews, Rosa, Petrie, and others were speakers.

At Brisbane, and other places where our friends were not strong enough to hold public meetings, they met together to encourage one another, and to strengthen their hands for work.

"GETTING ON."—An example of the remarkable change that has come over Mr. Bradlaugh's position in the House of Commons, since the days when a majority of the House were in arms against him, was forthcoming at question-time the other day. Among the many absentees were Lord Charles Beresford and Mr. Lockwood, who, both having notices of motion, placed them in the hands of the member for Northampton. The House laughed to hear Mr. Bradlaugh rising "on behalf of Lord Charles Beresford" to give notice of his intention on that day month to move his resolution on the organisation of the navy. But Mr. Bradlaugh has been getting on for some time, and is now rather a favourite with the Conservatives than otherwise.—*Court Journal*.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## GERMANY.

In Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia, a strike of considerable importance has broken out among the miners, which from day to day is assuming wider dimensions. Very nearly one hundred thousand men have left working, and they seem well decided to stick to their demands, viz., an increase of 15 per cent. on their wages and a shortening of their work hours. Soldierly of all arms have been concentrated in these provinces, and General von Albedyll, commanding the Westphalian Army Corps, has gone from his headquarters at Münster to Gelsenkirchen to direct the movements of the troops. Of course, in Germany as elsewhere, the usual course which is adopted for the regulation of the conditions of work consists in bringing on the spot as many soldiers as possible, and in ordering them to shoot right and left on unarmed men, who are merely asking not to be kept any longer on starvation wages. The presence of so many soldiers has already resulted in a lamentable loss of life, and threatens to bring still more about. Collisions are frequent between the military and the men on strike. Already a dozen people have been shot dead, and many wounded, including women and children. Whenever the strikers gather in order to discuss their interests the troops order them to disperse, and if they are not very quick in doing so fire is soon opened on them and "order restored." At Bochum the soldiers even shot dead two or three persons and wounded several others who had nothing to do with the strike, but had just arrived by rail. Near Dortmund they killed a number of colliers after having really provoked them to resistance. At Gladbeck three miners were shot dead, and ten or twelve severely wounded. At Brackel, another conflict between the military and the strikers ended with the result that three men were killed and a number of others wounded. That is the way in which the stupid representatives of law-'n'-order believe they will bring about an understanding between the mine-thieves and those who are employed as slaves on their own property.

## BELGIUM.

The scandalous trial for high treason against our comrades Georges De-fuisseaux and some twenty others, is now going on at the Court of Assize of Mons, in the province of Hainault. We intend to report fully this case as soon as the proceedings are terminated, which will not be before another week. But we must say, however, that this trial is one of the most disgusting illustrations of the abominable way in which the governments are continually getting up plots by their own agents, in order to ruin a movement and send to prison its supporters. The counsel for the defence have decided to call as witnesses the Premier of Belgium, one Beernart, who received the *agents provocateurs* in his cabinet at midnight to give them his instructions, the Minister of Justice, one De Volder, who encouraged the sinister *provocateurs* to use "violent language" underlined by dynamite explosions, and some other "big" personages. The indignation is general among the Belgian working-classes and part of the bourgeoisie; they ask for the complete acquittal of all the accused Socialists. We shall see.

## SWEDEN.

The last Swedish Socialist Congress, which was convened at Stockholm, has come to the following results. In all the questions discussed there has been a majority with moderate views against a strong minority holding very extreme opinions. The majority thought it to be premature to sever there and then all connection with other political organisations. For instance, they found it expedient to unite with such parties as, at the elections, honestly and earnestly claim universal suffrage and popular rights. The minority was of opinion that Socialists have to stand aloof from all other bourgeois parties, as these parties amalgamate more and more in one reactionary mass. The majority declared religion to be matter of private concern, whereas the minority wished it to be understood that all religious creeds must be condemned and propaganda made against their spreading. The question whether the Socialist party thought it necessary that, in order to realise their aims, physical force should be resorted to, was negatively by 18 delegates against a minority of 16, the following resolution being carried: "The Socialist party does not aim at a violent revolution, but if the blindness and the egoism of the ruling classes do provoke such a course, the party will be prepared to use any means in order to secure for the people the most abundant results of their struggle." The minority pleaded for forcible action, and wanted the proceedings on that question to be carried on with closed doors. In the case of a revolutionary movement breaking out, the Socialists were of opinion that they might possibly find good help among the military, the permanent army in Sweden being almost entirely recruited from the poorest classes of the population. As to the organisation of the party, an executive of seven members, with an equal number of substitutes, has been elected to direct the movement. The whole country has been divided into three districts (Stockholm, Malmö, Gothenburg) which carry on their propaganda on their own lines, each district having an official organ—*Socialdemokraten* for Stockholm, *Arbetet* for Malmö, and *Folkes Röst* for Gothenburg. At Novoköping exists also a local paper *Proletären*.

On the other side, it is said that the Swedish Government is about to submit to the deliberations of the Riksdag a Bill cut after the pattern of the German muzzle-laws against the Socialists.

## SWITZERLAND.

The daily papers have reported at length the case of a certain Wohlgemuth, police inspector at Mülhouse, and a tailor of Basel named Lutz. The Swiss Federal Council have now settled the matter by the following decree: "The Federal Council, considering that August Wohlgemuth, police inspector at Mülhouse, has committed on Swiss territory acts of which the results are of a compromising nature for the internal and external safety of Switzerland; considering further that the act of tampering with Balthazar Lutz, of Bavaria, residing at Basel, has resulted in creating agitation among the workers of Basel, Alsace-Lorraine, and the Duchy of Bade; that among other manoeuvres, Wohlgemuth wrote to Lutz 'to act unscrupulously'; decides that Wohlgemuth be expelled from the Swiss territory. On the other hand, considering that Lutz, tailor at Basel, has accepted the rôle of an *agent provocateur* and the monies offered to him for agitating amongst the workers of Basel, Alsace-Lorraine, and the Duchy of Bade, and that he has accepted to report to Wohlgemuth, decide that Lutz be expelled from the Swiss territory." *Der Sozialdemokrat* contends that Lutz, who belongs to the German Social-Democratic party, has only acted in the way he did in order to be better enabled to catch the German officer at work, and we think it but fair, without expressing an opinion ourselves, to state what our German colleague has to say about him.

## HOLLAND.

Last Saturday our friends at the Hague decided to have a lark, and they resorted to a tolerably good joke. Some Socialists succeeded in effecting an entry into the Great Tower, and replaced the old dirty yellow Orange standard by a red flag bearing a Socialist inscription, which was not discovered until broad daylight. The flag was of course then removed, and the dirty Orange rag restored to its place. A judicial inquiry has been opened; dear me! The *Star*, in its extreme Radicalism, calls the joke an *extraordinary outrage!*

## FRANCE.

A new Socialist revolutionary paper will be started at Lyons on the 23rd of the present month, with comrades Augier, Servelle, Chabrat, and Humblot as editors. It is to be entitled *Le Flambeau Rouge* (The Red Link), and the offices of the paper are established at 51, Rue des Trois-Pierres. The terms for subscription are very low, 1s. 2½d. per quarter for England and America. We hope that our Lyons comrades will succeed in their venture.

## AUSTRIA.

The tramway strike at Vienna having succeeded, the bourgeois class are beginning to look after some vengeance. Last Monday, prosecutions were opened against some two hundred participants in the "troubles" in Favoriten and Waehring. The usual kind of charges were preferred against the accused, i.e., violently resisting the public authorities and causing damage to property. The bourgeois Nupkinses scandalously condemned these men, who had merely defended themselves against the brutality of the soldiers, to terms of imprisonment varying from five to fifteen months. V. D.

## HERE'S A HEALTH TO THEM THAT DELVE AND HEW.

TUNE—"Here's a Health unto His Majesty."

HERE'S a health to them that delve and hew,  
With a fal lal la la la la la,  
Whose backs are burdened by the few,  
With a fal lal la la la la la;  
And he that will not pledge this health,  
We'd wish him neither health nor wealth,  
Nor yet a rope to hang himself,—  
With a fal lal la la la la la.

And hurrah for the corn and wine they win,  
Too good to stuff in an idle skin.

Then here's to the day, now dawning fair,  
When all shall labour, and none go bare.

When the cowering slave, with forethought wan,  
Shall fear no more than befits a man.

And the lordly wasters, who but they  
Shall earn their victual an honest way?

So this our parting toast shall be,  
Conversion to the enemy!

C. W. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 25, 1889.

19	Sun.	1796. Paul Thomas Lemaitre, John Smith, and George Higgins acquitted of treason. 1816. Food-riots in Suffolk, and demand for maximum prices, wheat 2s. 6d. a bushel and meat 4d. a lb. 1825. St Simon died. 1886. Strikes in Belgium.
20	Mon.	1793. "Law of Maximum," fixing price of commodities, proclaimed at Paris. 1793. "Insurrection of Prairial" by <i>Sansculottes</i> (Prairial 1, year 3). 1796. Trial of John Reeves for "seditious libel" in his book intitled 'Thoughts on the English Government, addressed to the quiet good sense of the people of England, in a series of letters.' 1820. Murder of Sandt, executioner of Kotzebue. 1867. Sentence on Captain John McAfferty, Fenian. 1887. Private murder in prison of five persons implicated in the attempt of March 13th on the Czar.
21	Tues.	1358. Revolt of the Jacquarie. 1795. Insurrection of the Faubourgs. 1798. Trial of James O'Coigley, Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary at Maidstone for high treason as United Irishmen. 1867. Trial of Edward Duffy for high treason as a Fenian.
22	Wed.	1793. First number of <i>One Pennyworth of Pig's Meat; or Lessons for the Swinish Multitude</i> , published weekly at 1d. by Thos. Spence. 1868. Second prosecution of the International at Paris; 9 prisoners. 1885. Victor Hugo died.
23	Thur.	1498. Savonarola burned. 1851. Lalor Shiel died. 1867. Captain John McClure and Edward Kelly, Fenians, sentenced. 1881. Nihilist manifesto issued at St. Petersburg, offering peace if reforms are granted. 1887. Great strikes among Belgian colliers and ironworkers.
24	Fri.	1744. Jean Paul Marat born. 1804. Trial of W. Cobbett for libel in the <i>Weekly Political Register</i> on the Lord Lieutenant (Earl Hardwick) and other members of the Irish Government. 1808. Weavers' riot at Manchester. 1879. William Lloyd Garrison died. 1885. Rioting at Paris.
25	Sat.	1803. R. W. Emerson born. 1839. Chartist meeting at Kersal Moor, near Manchester. 1848. John Mitchel transported for 14 years. 1871. Strike of 9,050 engineers at Newcastle. 1872. Sérizier, Bouin, and Boudin shot as Communards. 1881. Johann Most found guilty; judgment deferred for arguing of legal points.

Becky Sharp's acute remark that it is not difficult to be virtuous on ten thousand a year has its application to nations; and it is futile to expect a hungry and squalid population to be anything but violent and gross.—*Huxley*.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.*

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#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

- C. J. D.—To work a mine is in French *exploiter*, to exploit it. By exploitation (*l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme*) is meant the working a man as one works a mine, getting all one can out of him anyhow.
- D. O.—J. P. Mendum and Horace Seaver of the *Boston Investigator* are the same who were connected with the *Social Pioneer* of 1844.

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 15.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	SPAIN
Justice	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Labour Elector	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Norwich—Daylight	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	
Railway Review	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	PORTUGAL
Sozial Demokrat		Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Telegraph Service Gazette	PARIS—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
	Le Coup de Feu	AUSTRIA
NEW SOUTH WALES	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Wien—Gleichheit
Hamilton—Radical	HOLLAND	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
UNITED STATES		Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	BEELGIUM	SWEDEN
Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmö—Arbetet
Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
The Truth	Liege—L'Avenir	Göteborg—Folkets Röst
Znamia	SWITZERLAND	WEST INDIES
Boston—Woman's Journal	Geneva—Przedswit	Cuba—El Productor
Investigator	ITALY	
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Baecker Zeitung		

## THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

### SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

(Continued from p. 147.)

Now a few words with regard to the origin of these events which had burst forth in every part of the country. As far as I can see, they were entirely spontaneous, totally unorganised, and were the result of the extreme misery which the masses of the people were then suffering. But now we are approaching a different period in the history of the revolutionary movement—a period of organised attempts at insurrection by men belonging to the advanced wing of the Radical party, who began to think that by their action they could overthrow the High Tory administration, and establish a democratic government in its place. Those days resembled the present in one respect, that the most advanced leaders in the popular movement were to be found in London; and prominent among those leaders were Henry Hunt, Arthur Thistlewood, and James Watson. Hunt was a famous orator, and was immensely popular with the people. He was a man of private means and in comfortable circumstances, and on account of his oratorical powers he was looked upon almost as a god by many of the Radicals. He had, however, none of the qualities of a man of action. James Watson had been a surgeon in the navy, but had left the service at the conclusion of the war. He appears in consequence to have been

in rather reduced circumstances at this time. He also had great influence among the London workmen. Last of all comes the ill-fated Thistlewood. He was the son of a Lincolnshire farmer of some wealth and position. He had passed some time in France during the revolutionary period, and there imbibed his Radical opinions. He perhaps more than any of the others was willing to carry those opinions into practice at any risk.

It appears that Watson and Thistlewood were in the habit of attending the meetings of the Spenceans, which were then held at the "Cock" in Grafton Street; the Spenceans, as I have before told you, being a land nationalisation society. Among other attendants at these meetings of the Spenceans were Preston and Hooper, two Radical workmen, young Watson, the son of Dr. Watson, and several others, not least among them being John Castles, a Government spy. Castles, it appears, had known Hooper for two years, but had only been acquainted with the others a few months before the daring attempt at insurrection which is known in history as the Spa-Fields Riots took place. It appears that Watson and Thistlewood took Castles to some extent into their confidence, and confided in him their plans for upsetting the Government. These, according to this informer, were most elaborate, and included plans for barricading the streets, taking the Tower and the Bank by storm, and setting fire to the Thames generally. As the imagination of informers is great, I do not propose to retail Castles' lies here, but will merely try to relate as far as possible what actually occurred. Ultimately, however, they decided upon leading up to an attempt at insurrection by calling a large public meeting of unemployed, and judging by the spirit of the people whether they were ripe for rebellion. Accordingly a meeting of the unemployed was called in Spa-Fields—then a large open space between Coldbath-Fields Prison and the New River Waterworks—for the 15th of November, at which Hunt was invited to speak. Here a petition was drawn up to be presented to the Prince Regent, and the meeting was adjourned to the 2nd of December 1816. The first meeting was only distinguished by the sacking of a few baker's shops by some hungry people, and it was probably that circumstance which gave Thistlewood and Watson the hope that the people in London, like those in the country, were ready for revolt.

In the meantime Thistlewood and the others employed themselves by moving among the different resorts of the people, and urging them to attend the meeting of 2nd December, giving them to understand that something startling was likely to happen. The bill calling the meeting was also of that description, and ran as follows: "England expects every man to do his duty. Meeting in Spa-Fields at twelve o'clock on Monday December 2nd, 1861, to receive the answer of the petition to the Prince Regent determined upon at the last meeting held at the same place, and for other important considerations. The present state of Great Britain—four millions in distress, four millions embarrassed, one million and a half fear distress, half a million live in splendid luxury; our brothers in Ireland are in a worse state. The climax of misery is complete—it can go no further; death would now be relief to millions. Arrogance, folly, and crime have brought affairs to this dread crisis; firmness and integrity can alone save the country."

On the 2nd of December the two Watsons, Preston, Hooper, and Thistlewood, before the time announced for the meeting, enter Spa-Fields in a waggon, wearing tri-coloured cockades and bearing tri-coloured flags. They are also armed with swords and pistols. The tricolour in those days was looked upon by the middle and upper classes with considerably more dread and terror than they now regard the red flag. The tricolour was the flag of the French Republic, the standard under which the French people had sent a king to the guillotine and many of his old nobility to keep him company. Therefore a flag which is now acknowledged as so harmless that it is used in the Jubilee decorations was then a symbol of sedition and revolt. The tricolour flags borne by Watson and his comrades differed only in one respect from the flag of the French Republicans—one of the colours was green instead of blue. One of these flags bore the following inscription: "The brave soldiers are our friends." Another tricolour was inscribed with an explanation of its various tints—Nature, Truth, and Justice: Nature to feed the hungry, Truth to protect the oppressed, and Justice to punish oppressors. The crowd who were waiting for the arrival of Hunt at the usual meeting place near a public-house known as Merlin's Cave, seeing this waggon decorated by these flags, rushed towards it, and when they had gathered round, Dr. Watson began to address them. He informed them that the Prince Regent had refused to answer their humble petition, and then continued in the following terms: "Are we to go on from time to time and month to month urging upon the father of the people, as he is called, in vain for redress? What! will men with the minds and hearts of Englishmen continue thus for months and years to be starved? How then are we to be restored to our rights? Not by talking, not by long speeches, not by petitions—for our petitions are not heard. They (the ministers) have placed us in a situation of misery—they have neglected the cries of the hungry and starving people; there is not a day in which we pass through the metropolis in which we do not see people starving to death. Are they ignorant of this?" He went on to show that they were not, and urged upon the people to revolt against their misery. His son made a stronger speech, and told the people that if the ministers did not give them what they wanted, they ought to take it. The crowd received this sentiment with loud cries of Yes! Yes! Are you willing to take? said the elder Watson. Yes! Yes! shouted the people. Will you go and take it? Yes! Yes! If I jump down among you, will you take it? Yes! Yes! Follow me said Watson, and seizing a tricolour, he leaps

from the waggon with his son, and the crowd roaring with fury rushes on. The rest of the people in the waggon follow, carrying the other flags. There are seventy police, the whole available force from Bow Street, upon the ground. These rush upon the men bearing two of the flags, one of which has the inscription "The brave soldiers are our friends" upon it, and drag them from them and break the flags to pieces. They, however, let the crowd rush on unmolested. The people pour on to the number of six or seven hundred down Coppice Row and through Cowcross Street to the city. In Skinner Street, Snow Hill, an arms shop is sacked. Young Watson rushes in, pistol in hand, demanding arms. Another young man, a Mr. Platt, in the shop, seized with a fear that Watson is going to shoot him, grapples with him, and in the struggle the pistol goes off and Platt is seriously wounded. The mob then rush through Snow Hill to Cheapside, down to Royal Exchange. The gates of the Royal Exchange are open and they rush through it. The Lord Mayor and some city constables are in waiting, and they charge on the crowd and capture Hooper and the remaining tricolour. The people who have got through the Exchange turn to rescue their comrade, but the gates of the Exchange are closed by constables and Lord Mayor. The rioters endeavour to force the gates, and discharge their guns and pistols through the bars at the upholders of law and order. Finding it impossible to force these solid barriers, they pour off towards Bishopsgate, young Watson leading them sword in hand. They reach Bishopsgate Street, and rushing down Houndsditch arrive at the Minories. In the Minories at that time were several gunsmiths' shops, and two were broken open and pillaged. In one of them near Tower Hill the people found two small field-pieces, and in obedience to orders received from the leaders, a sailor began to sponge and load one. Meanwhile Thistlewood and the elder Watson went on to the Tower. There were a number of soldiers on the ramparts, attracted by the tumult, for many of the crowd were loading and discharging their muskets and pistols in the air, to the alarm and consternation of the timid shopkeepers. Thistlewood climbed on the rails in front of the moat, and called upon the soldiers to join the people and hand over the Tower to the populace. The soldiers made no response to these overtures. Finding that the military would not fraternise, the people returned towards the Minories. They had just reached the top when a wheel came off one of the small pieces. This caused some confusion, and young Watson called on the people to form themselves in military order. But before they had complied with the request the Guards rode into the Minories and the crowd fled in confusion, throwing away their arms in all directions; and the leaders, deserted by their men, were forced to follow their example. Thus ended the famous disturbances of Spa-Fields.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

In answer to our comrade Blackwell's suggestion, and in default of someone else beginning that free discussion he speaks of, I wish to note down a few thoughts suggested by reading the clauses of the Anarchist Congress at Valentinia, as stated by our comrade; premising that I do so in no polemical spirit, but simply giving my own thoughts and hopes for the future for what they may be worth.

I will begin by saying that I call myself a Communist, and have no wish to qualify that word by joining any other to it. The aim of Communism seems to me to be the complete equality of condition for all people; and anything in a Socialist direction which stops short of this is merely a compromise with the present condition of society, a halting-place on the road to the goal. This is the only logical outcome of any society which is other than a close company sustained by violence for the express purpose of "the exploitation of man by man" in the interest of the strongest. Our present "society" dominated by capitalism, the society of contract, is a form of this class-society which has been forced upon those who hold the slave ideal by the growth of knowledge and the acquirement by man of mastery over the forces of nature. The history of "society" since the fall of feudalism has been the gradual freeing of class or slave society from the fetters of superstition, so that it might develop naturally within its prescribed limits of "exploitation of man by man," and that stupendous and marvellously rapid growth in power and resources of modern slave society is due to this shaking off of superstition.

Communism also will have to keep itself free of superstition. Its ethics will have to be based on the recognition of natural cause and effect, and not on rules derived from *a priori* ideas of the relation of man to the universe or some imagined ruler of it; and from these two things, the equality of condition and the recognition of the cause and effect of material nature, will grow all Communistic life. So far I think I can see clearly; but when I try to picture to myself the forms which that life will take, I confess I am at fault, and I think we must all be so. Most people who can be said to think at all are now beginning to see that the realisation of Socialism is certain; although many can see nothing further than a crude and incomplete State Socialism, which very naturally repels many from Socialism altogether. All genuine Socialists admit that Communism is the necessary development of Socialism; but I repeat, further than this all must be speculative; and surely in speculating on the future of society we should try to shake ourselves clear of mere phrases; especially as many of them will cease to have a meaning when the change comes that we all of us long for. And here I join issue with our Anarchist-Communist friends, who are somewhat authoritative on the matter of authority, and not a little vague also. For if freedom from authority means the assertion of the advisability or possibility of an individual man doing what he pleases always and under all circumstances, this is an absolute negation of society, and makes Communism as the highest expression of society impossible; and when you begin to qualify this assertion of the right to do as you please by adding "as long as you don't inter-

fere with other people's rights to do the same," the exercise of some kind of authority becomes necessary. If individuals are not to coerce others, there must somewhere be an authority which is prepared to coerce them not to coerce; and that authority must clearly be collective. And there are other difficulties besides this crudest and most obvious one.

The bond of Communistic society will be voluntary in the sense that all people will agree in its broad principles when it is fairly established, and will trust to it as affording mankind the best kind of life possible. But while we are advocating equality of condition—i.e., due opportunity free to everyone for the satisfaction of his needs—do not let us forget the necessary (and beneficent) variety of temperament, capacity, and desires which exists amongst men about everything outside the region of the merest necessities; and though many, or if you will, most of these different desires could be satisfied without the individual clashing with collective society, some of them could not be. Any community conceivable will sometimes determine, on collective action which, without being in itself immoral or oppressive, would give pain to some of its members; and what is to be done then if it happens to be a piece of business which must be either done or left alone? would the small minority have to give way or the large majority? A concrete example will be of use here, especially as it affects my temperament. I have always believed that the realisation of Socialism would give us an opportunity of escaping from that grievous flood of utilitarianism which the full development of the society of contract has cursed us with; but that would be in the long run only; and I think it quite probable that in the early days of Socialism the reflex of the terror of starvation, which so oppresses us now, would drive us into excesses of utilitarianism. Indeed, there is a school of Socialists now extant who worship utilitarianism with a fervour of fatuity which is perhaps a natural consequence of their assumption of practicality. So that it is not unlikely that the public opinion of a community would be in favour of cutting down all the timber in England, and turning the country into a big Bonanza farm or a market-garden under glass. And in such a case what could we do, who objected "for the sake of life to cast away the reasons for living," when we had exhausted our powers of argument? Clearly we should have to submit to authority. And a little reflection will show us many such cases in which the collective authority will weigh down individual opposition, however reasonable, without a hope for its being able to assert itself immediately; in such matters there must be give and take: and the objectors would have to give up the lesser for the greater. In short, experience shows us that wherever a dozen thoughtful men shall meet together there will be twelve different opinions on any subject which is not a dry matter of fact (and often on that too); and if those twelve men want to act together, there must be give and take between them, and they must agree on some common rule of conduct to act as a bond between them, or leave their business undone. And what is this common bond but authority—that is, the conscience of the association voluntarily accepted in the first instance.

Furthermore, when we talk of the freedom of the individual man, we must not forget that every man is a very complex animal, made up of many different moods and impulses; no man is always wise, or wise in all respects. Philip sober needs protection against Philip drunk, or he may chance to wake up from his booze in a nice mess. Surely we all of us feel that there is a rascal or two in each of our skins besides the other or two who want to lead manly and honourable lives, and do we not want something to appeal to on behalf of those better selves of ours? and that something is made up of the aspirations of our better selves, and is the *moral conscience* without which there can be no true society, and which even a false society is forced to imitate, and so have a sham social conscience,—what we sometimes call hypocrisy.

Now I don't want to be misunderstood. I am not pleading for any form of arbitrary or unreasonable authority, but for a *public conscience* as a rule of action: and by all means let us have the least possible exercise of authority. I suspect that many of our Communist-Anarchist friends do really mean that, when they pronounce against all authority. And with equality of condition assured for all men, and our ethics based on reason, I cannot think that we need fear the growth of a new authority taking the place of the one which we should have destroyed, and which we must remember is based on the assumption that equality is impossible and that slavery is an essential condition of human society. By the time that is assumed that all men's needs must be satisfied according to the measure of the common wealth, what may be called the political side of the question would take care of itself.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE NATIONAL AMALGAMATED SAILOR'S AND FIREMEN'S UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.—Among the chief objects of this recently formed but already very powerful Union are:—(1) To improve the condition and protect the interests of all classes of seafaring men. (2) To establish homes for seamen in all places where the Executive Committee deem it expedient. (3) To make advances of money to seafaring men at low interest on security of their wages and allotment notes. (4) To endeavour to obtain reasonable hours of duty, and to maintain fair rates of wages. (5) To assist members whose interests have been damaged by reason of prominent services rendered to the society. (6) To afford legal assistance, either as plaintiff or defendant, to any member of the society in respect of matters arising out of, or incidental to, his employment as a sailor or sea-going fireman, cook or steward, including claims for wages, damages for breach of contract for wages, compensation for injuries, claims for salvage, alleged liability for negligence or misconduct involving loss or forfeiture of wages or involving penalties, and all claims and liabilities, whether under the Merchant Shipping or any other Act or Acts of Parliament, or otherwise, of what nature soever, so arising or incidental as aforesaid, nevertheless, to the rules of the society; and to provide for the maintenance of members detained on shore till their cases are tried. (7) To use every effort to provide for the safety of ships work in order to prevent loss of life at sea. (8) To provide a better class of men for the merchant service, and to see that all members that are engaged through the Union shall be on board at the appointed time and in a sober condition ready for work. (9) To provide assistance to shipwrecked mariners. (10) To provide assistance to members who are travelling in search of work. (11) To put seafaring men, intending to become members but for the time being unable to pay, on the same footing as paying members, except with regard to financial benefits, by granting them Privilege Cards. (12) And to provide funds for the relief of members in sickness or temporary disablement, and for their respectable interment." Full particulars on application at any of the branches of the Union, or at the office of their organ *Seafaring*, 150, Minories, E.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The strike which originated among the machine boys in the Armagh Spinning Mills Thursday week continues, and five hundred hands are out of work.

Nearly all the boilermakers at Southampton returned to work on Friday the 10th. All the firms but one have conceded the increased wages demanded. The strike has lasted eight weeks.

The Union seamen and firemen at Leith are demanding an advance of 2s. per week, which will make their wage 30s. per week. It is alleged by one employer that he can get men at Rotterdam for 20s. per week.

**SALT TRADE STRIKE.**—The salt workers employed at Newbridge Works, near Winsford, Cheshire, have come out on strike. It is anticipated their action will be followed by the whole of the salt workers in the district, numbering about 3,000.

At a meeting of the employés of the Glasgow Tramway Company held on Sunday, it was resolved to form a Union for all classes of workmen employed by the Tramway Company. Before leaving the hall, 150 of the men enrolled themselves members of the new organisation.

**BEITH CABINETMAKERS.**—At a crowded mass meeting on Tuesday, it was unanimously resolved to demand a reduction in hours of labour and the abolition of piece-work. A deputation was formed to approach the masters, and if an unfavourable answer was received action would be taken on the 1st of June.

**GLASGOW CABINET-MAKERS' STRIKE.**—This strike for an advance of 10 per cent. on day wages and 15 per cent. on piecework is still undecided. A considerable number of Cumming and Smith's men have returned to work, and Wylie and Lochhead's cabinet and chair makers have accepted an advance of 5 per cent.

**AYR SHIPYARD.**—Most of the labourers employed at Ayr shipyard have struck for an advance. There are two sections out, ordinary labourers who have been working for 3½d. an hour, and those who may be styled skilled labourers who have been working for 6d. an hour. The former demand an advance of ¼d. and the latter ½d. per hour.

About a thousand millworkers recently engaged at Shrigley Mills, Killey bagh, near Downpatrick, are on strike for an increase of wages. After an unsuccessful meeting of employers and workmen on the 8th inst. was held, stones were thrown at the employers and a riot ensued. The manager's house and co-operative stores were attacked, and 60 panes of glass were broken in the factory.

**ENGLISH COLLIERS.**—Northumberland soft-coal miners have refused to accept 2½ per cent. advance; they demand 7 per cent. A strong demand for coal and coke for Germany and some Dutch ports continues at Newcastle—another proof of the international interest workers should have in each other's labour struggles. The coals their English comrades dig and are robbed of are thrown at the heads of the miners on strike on the Continent. They supplement the bullets of the Continental capitalists' hired murderers.

**GLASGOW JOINERS.**—The Glasgow joiners, to the number of 200, came out on strike on Saturday 11th. They desire 8d. hourly; their present wage is 7½d. At a meeting in Albion Hall it was reported that several masters who have contracts to be finished before the term have granted the advance. It is believed the strike will be of short duration. *Later.*—This dispute is practically at an end. 89 employers have already conceded the ¼d. per hour demanded, but there are still about 300 men out. Deputations are visiting the shops at work in support of the men on strike.

**NAIL AND CHAIN TRADES.**—In South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire the operatives are agitating for an advance, but owing to employers' operatives being disorganised, no satisfactory decision can be arrived at. In some districts it is feared it will be necessary to resort to a strike. The horse-nail makers' notice for an advance of 6d. per thousand expired Saturday, but the employers say they cannot concede it, owing to machine-made nails being imported from abroad. At meetings of chainmakers on strike Saturday, at Cradley Heath, it was stated that about half of the operatives had resumed work at the advanced rate of wages, and others were determined to remain out until the advance was conceded. Some leading employers have stated that trade will not warrant a further advance, and one firm is said to have lost a foreign order for 200 tons through being unable to execute it at the prices lately specified. Several employers assert they shall be compelled to close their factories.

**IRISH RAILWAYMEN.**—According to a correspondent of the *Railway Review*, the following are the wages on the northern division. The traffic manager gets a salary of £800 per annum. The superintendents get £3 per week, first-class station masters 30s. to 40s. per week (very few at this latter figure), chief goods clerks 22s. 6d. to 25s. (one or two have 27s. 6d.), booking clerks 15s. to 20s. (at Belfast 25s.), second-class station masters 20s. to 22s. 6d., invoice clerks 8s. 6d. to 13s., while at Belfast it is a little higher; passenger guards 20s. (those on branch lines 15s.), night train guards 15s. There are also a few running on main line at 15s., and no prospect of an increase. Consequently it is only a matter of time, and 20s. guards will be a thing of the past, as the 15s. gents lately applied for an increase, which was declined. Goods guards 19s., assistants 18s., and their hours average over 70 per week, principally all-night duty. The hours of branch line guards are about 13 daily. Inspectors receive 20s., third-class station masters 16s. and 17s. 6d. per week; head porters 15s., 16s., and 17s., according to work; ticket collectors, 13s., 14s., and 15s., and at Belfast, 20s.; passenger porters average 11s., Belfast, 12s.; goods porters 11s., and in some cases 10s.; examiners, 15s.; waggon greasers, 7s. 6d.; shunters, 14s. and 15s., Belfast 20s.; signalmen, 11s., 12s., 13s., and one or two instances of 15s. and 16s. Sunday duty is worked 12 hours to the day, but it is not paid for; in fact, no pay is allowed in the traffic department for Sunday duty, nor is overtime paid for, except in a few cases in provincial towns. On market days for taking in and loading the butter, eggs, etc., the men are rewarded with the enormous sum of 1s. each, though they have been known to work till four o'clock in the morning. This company can also claim credit, if credit it be, for having a station master at 16s. per week, out of which they deduct 3s. per week for rents, thus leaving their official with a salary of 13s. per week. These figures will show that Irish railwaymen are nearly as badly off as the peasantry, but, like their brethren of England, they are too "respectable" to make much row about their condition.

**LONDON BRICKMAKERS.**—The brickmakers in North and East London are

on strike. The men have had their wages reduced twice during the last few years by 6d. per thousand bricks each time. Since bricks now average 5s. more per thousand than they did this time last year, they demand an increase of 6d. per thousand. The strike has lasted about six weeks, and all attempts at reconciliation have failed. The men have no trade union, and are now reaping the consequences. They are collecting subscriptions for themselves and families.

**NOTTINGHAM LACE TRADE.**—Nottingham lace manufacturers have decided on a reduction of 40 per cent. in wages paid to the men in the curtain branch of the trade. In the event of the reduction being rejected the employers will propose to refer the matter to arbitration. But it is believed the men will resist, and a strike affecting several thousand hands is probable. The employers state that they have come into serious competition with manufacturers outside the borough, who, it is asserted, pay their workpeople from 60 to 70 per cent. less than the rate of wages which prevails in Nottingham.

**BRICK TRADE.**—Subscriptions are being collected for the brickmakers on strike in Birmingham, and are received, amongst other places, at the headquarters, the Garrison Tavern, Garrison Lane. Up to the present £61 1s. 9d. has been subscribed, and a fortnight ago 1s. 6d. each was paid out to the strikers. The men have written a letter in which they desire to show that they are not fairly dealt with by the side of other branches of the trade. They write:—"Twenty-three years ago we were receiving 3s. 6d. per 1,000. We were then paying 1s. per 1,000 clay wheeling, and 7s. 6d. per week for carrying off. Suppose an average moulder to make 15,000 per week, that would leave the moulder £1 10s. At the present time we are receiving 4s. per 1,000, which is 6d. advance; out of this we pay 1s. 5½d. per 1,000 wheeling, 12s. 6d. per week carrying off, which at the present day leaves the moulder £1 5s. 7½d. This shows a reduction of 4s. 4½d. per week, although the masters consider we have had a rise." At a meeting of the masters it was resolved not to concede the demands, and endeavour to start their works with imported hands. Two yards have already started with imported hands, and a third will be next week. The masters stated that they had received applications for work from outside men.

### LEWIS DIEMSHITZ AND JUDGE EDLIN.

At the Boro' of Hackney Radical Club last Sunday morning, after the band performance, the president of the club (Mr. Thomas Tongue) called the attention of the members to Lewis Diemshitz's imprisonment. After the facts had been explained, Mr. Wayne, the president of the Political Council, proposed: "That the members of this club (numbering 1,800) protests against the brutal sentence of three months' with hard labour passed by Sir P. Edlin on Lewis Diemshitz for a trivial technical outrage, while discharging his duty as steward of the club, committed on P.C. Frost; and asks the Home Secretary for a remission of the remainder of his sentence." This was unanimously carried.

The Council of the S.L., at their meeting on Monday 13th, passed the following resolution unanimously, with instructions to the secretary to forward the same to the Home Secretary: "That this meeting protests against the unjust sentence passed upon Lewis Diemshitz by Judge Edlin of three months' hard labour, and to find sureties for twelve months after, for simply trying, as steward of the Berner Street club, to prevent a forcible entry into the premises of the club by detectives, police, and others, on March 16th; and this meeting further resolves that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Home Secretary, with a request that he will exercise his prerogative by revising the sentence."

The same course has been followed on Thursday 9th at open-air meeting in Euston Road; on 12th at Clerkenwell Green, open-air; and by the Hammersmith Branch at their indoor meeting. Several provincial Branches have followed the example.

A working man—Mr. F. Willis, member of the executive, London Society of Compositors—has published a pamphlet entitled 'The Identity of Interests of Employers and Employed.' Having seen the title, we think our readers will dispense with any criticism from us; but any person wishing to know further of it may purchase a copy for threepence, although we should warn such a one that the production is not intended as a piece of humour. We suggest to Mr. Willis that in his next effort he should delight the scientific world by a monograph on the mutual good feeling that ought to subsist between the fox and the goose. After having squared the interests of the exploited and the exploiters, he would find the subject an easy one for his great literary powers.

**POLICE!**—Sitting at Wandsworth the other day, Mr. Bridge quite eclipsed himself as the policeman's friend. A tramcar driver, named Gommon, was charged with being drunk during his employment. Policeman Mackenzie swore that he "reeled against the car," "nearly fell headlong over the splashboard," and performed other acrobatic feats which showed that he was drunk. At the station Gommon said, "If you say I am drunk, I am drunk," a remark which sounds sarcastic, but which Mr. Bridge says "is a common one, and he did not know of a single instance where it was made by a sober man!" The Rev. W. Sharp, a "fare," said that Gommon was not drunk, but was charged because he said something "which ruffled the constable's temper" while changing horses. He had "never witnessed a more abominable breach of discipline," and he expostulated with the policeman. Another witness, a solicitor, swore that the constable "rushed violently at the driver three times," and "was white with passion." Several bystanders expostulated with the constable, and declared that Gommon was sober. Mackenzie, recalled, admitted the expostulation; whereupon Mr. Bridge "came unhesitatingly to the conclusion that the prisoner's manner and conduct justified the police in thinking that he was drunk, and the officer acted within his duty in removing him from the car. He did not believe that the indignation of the gentlemen who had appeared on behalf of the prisoner was justifiable, and it was to be regretted that they did not go to the police-station to complain, as this would have been the conduct of most Englishmen desirous of seeing fair play. He gave the prisoner the benefit of the doubt, and ordered him to be discharged." "Not guilty, but don't do it again," is wisdom itself compared with this. Mr. Sharp had explained that he did not go to the station because he had some heavy luggage with him; and the solicitor did not go because he had some business to attend to. Yet because a parson does not carry heavy luggage all over the country, and because a solicitor does not neglect his business, a constable may be "justified" in thinking a sober man drunk, and haling him off to prison!—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

**HATCHAM LIBERAL CLUB,** Portland House, New Cross Road.—Sunday May 19, at 8.30, Annie Besant, "The True Radical Policy."



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, June 3, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th, at 13, Farringdon Road. Agenda has been sent to Branches.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Mitcham, to end of February. North London, and St. Georges East, to end of March. Bradford, Hammersmith, and Leicester, to end of April. East London, and Yarmouth, to end of May. Clerkenwell, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch apititation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, May 21st, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the *Weal*.

**Defence Committee** (Berner Street).—J. Wood (Limehouse), 2s.; Manchester Branch, 1s. 4d.; Norwich, 6s. 2d.; T. O'Connell (Woolwich), 2s. 6d.; per R. Turner, 1s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; C. Saunders, 1s.; B. W., 6d.; and Schmitt, 1s. Norwich, 1s. 2d.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, F. Charles lectured on "What's to be done during a revolutionary period" to attentive audience; questions and discussion followed; 1s. collected; 1s. 1d. collected for Defence Fund.—S. P.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Fair meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Lyne, sen., Lyne, jun., Maughan, and Crouch; 32 *Commonweal* sold. Fair meeting at Beadon Road, speakers, Morris and Tarleton. Good meeting at Weltje Road in evening; speakers were Mordhurst, Lyne, jun., Kitchen, and Maughan; 16 *Commonweal* sold. At Kelmscott House, W. Morris lectured on Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and Grant Allen's article in the current *Contemporary*.

**ABERDEEN.**—No indoor meeting held last week, Monday being the Spring holiday. On Tuesday night, Henry George lectured under the auspices of the Junior Liberal Association, when Webster and Leatham put a number of questions. The answering of some of these cost him a good deal of rhetorical jugglery. Webster, however, did good "biz" by playing him off against the temperance people. At open-air meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, Duncan and Leatham spoke to a large crowd, the latter dealing at length with George's "Remedy."

**EDINBURGH.**—On Sunday afternoon, John Smith, Davidson, Bain, and Gilray spoke in Queen's Park. In the evening in Meadows, Bain spoke along with comrades of S.D.F. Socialists who have worked with us in Edinburgh, will be sorry to hear that John Hossack died of consumption on 29th ult. after a very long and painful illness. He was an earnest and intelligent Socialist and a general favourite. As long as he was able he worked hard for the Cause.

**MANCHESTER.**—We found Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon in possession of a meeting of the British Anti-Mormon Society with a brass band. We deferred speaking against the latter, but our comrade Ritson got an opportunity to expose their misleading and fallacious pictures of the horrors of Utah. Some *Weal* sold at the meeting. Afterwards we held a very good meeting, Parkinson and Ritson were speakers. At 7.30 we began at Chester Road, and Bailie and Ritson addressed the largest audience we have yet had here; some questions were put, to which satisfactory replies were given.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday afternoon the usual open-air meeting was held in the Market Place, addressed by Darley and Poynts. Comrade Darley moved a resolution for the release of Lewis Deimshitz, seconded by comrade Swash, and upon its being put to the meeting it was carried unanimously.

**YARMOUTH.**—We held two successful meetings here, speakers were Ruffold and Reynolds. At the afternoon meeting, Reynolds dealt with "Some Objections to Socialism;" 3s. 4d. collected, and 22 *Commonweal* sold. On Monday next we hold a first meeting at Belton, a village five miles from Yarmouth. Next Sunday, Reid of the Glasgow branch S.D.F., will give an address on "The Present Position and Condition of the Masses."—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressive Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday May 11th, J. Landye, the veteran Internationalist, lectured to a fair audience on "What do we mean by Progress." A lively discussion ensued, Smith, Coulon, and others taking part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—On Thursday, Peacock read a chapter from the "Summary of the Principles of Socialism" at the club. On Sunday, good meeting in the Market Place; Peacock, Rools, and Hickling spoke; 1s. 6d. collected, and literature sold well.—R. P.

**THE "THREE KINGS," CLERKENWELL CLOSE.**—Brookes lectured here last Sunday on "The Progress of Socialist Thought."

**FERNDAL LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, 35 Bedford Road, Brixton.—Thursday May 23, at 8.30, J. F. Oakeshott, "The True Radical Policy."

**CLUB AUTONOME**, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday May 19, 8 p.m., a lecture by George Bonham, "Liberty versus Authority."

**HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB**, 5 The Grove, Mare Street, Hackney.—Monday May 20, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw, "Practicable Land Nationalisation."

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F.**, New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower March, Lambeth.—Sunday May 19, at 8 p.m., Mrs. G. G. Schack, "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement." Tuesday 21, at 8, Rev. Stewart Headlam, "The Sins which cause Poverty."

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). No lecture on Sunday May 19, as Branch will hold last meeting for receiving resolutions for Conference, at 7 p.m. sharp.

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday May 19, Business Meeting at 7 o'clock sharp. H. Halliday Sparling, at 8 o'clock, "Rent, Profit, and Interest."

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 19, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Thursday May 23, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 24, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary. On Wednesday May 22, lecture by H. H. Sparling, "The Evoluted Cannibal."

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets on Mondays at 8 p.m. Excursion on Saturday first to Renfrew; members meet in Rooms at 4.30.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, lecture in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

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11.30..... "Canterbury Arms"—Kilburn Road .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... Hammersmith—Beadon Road.....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....Mrs. Schack  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Davis  
11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell .....Turner and Nicoll  
3.30..... Hyde Park.....Davis, Parker, Mrs. Lahr and Brookes  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....Nicoll and Mrs. Schack  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....Parker  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green.....The Branch

TUESDAY 21.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Waltham Green Church ..... The Branch.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

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SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

#### SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

(Continued from p. 157.)

THE conspirators then hurried off to Watson's lodgings at No. 1, Dean Street, Fetter Lane. Here the two Watsons and Thistlewood determined that it was best for them to take a trip into the country for the benefit of their health, so they packed up some linen and clothes and started. They accordingly left London. It was about ten o'clock before they climbed Highgate Hill, and walked towards the open country. As they were passing Highgate Church, they were noticed by a horse patrol, who had received orders to look after suspicious persons in consequence of some highway robberies having recently been committed in the neighbourhood, which was then very lonely and quiet. There happened to be two watchmen standing close to the church railings, and the patrol beckoned to them to follow him. Then riding up to the three men, he asked them where they were travelling to; they replied to Northampton. He said it was a late hour for travelling, and informed them that he was a horse patrol from Bow Street, which was then the Scotland Yard of London. Watson offered a bundle he was carrying for the man's inspection, but instead of inspecting it he stretched out his hand and thrust it into the breast of Watson's coat, and laid his hand upon a pistol. This he snatched and levelled at Watson's head, threatening to blow his brains out if he offered to move, at the same time calling on the watchman who was nearest to him to secure the other two. This was a job the watchman did not like, so he ran away and sprang his rattle for assistance. But Thistlewood and young Watson drew pistols from their pockets and fired; one went off, but the other flashed in the pan. At that moment a number of people rushed from a publichouse, and young Watson and Thistlewood took refuge in flight. The patrol handed over his prisoner to these persons, mostly young men, and would have pursued the others; but Watson drawing a dirk he had concealed in a walking-stick, wounded one of the men who was endeavouring to apprehend him, and made such a desperate struggle for freedom that the patrol was forced to lend his assistance to disarm him, and Thistlewood and young Watson escaped into the fields, where it was useless to follow them in the darkness and obscurity of the night. The elder Watson, on being asked his name, told the patrol that he was well known at Bow Street. He was taken to Somer's Town watch-house, the nearest place of detention, and brought before the magistrates next morning.

You may imagine what a panic these events caused among the respectable classes, far greater indeed than the similar panic that occurred under circumstances of almost the same character in 1886. A vigorous search was made for the culprits, and numerous arrests were made in the metropolis, though in most cases the arrested had very little to do with the plots. Among the prisoners was Thomas Preston, who had foolishly not sought safety in flight, and on Feb. 14, Watson, sen., Preston, Hooper, and Keene were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. There was not sufficient evidence to bring Keene to trial, so he was afterwards discharged. The search for young Watson and Thistlewood was vigorously prosecuted, and on Tuesday, Feb. 18th, a reward of £500 was offered for either culprit, and declaring that all persons harbouring these atrocious criminals would be guilty of high treason.

The following description of Thistlewood from the proclamation may be of interest to many: "Arthur Thistlewood is about 45 years of age, 5 ft. 11 in. high, has a sallow complexion, long visage, dark hair (a little grey), small whiskers, dark hazel eyes and arched, a wide mouth and a good set of teeth, has a scar under the right jaw, is slender made, walks very upright, and has much the appearance of a military man; was born in Lincolnshire, and has been a lieutenant in the army; he usually wore a French grey coloured coat, buff waistcoat, grey coloured Wellington pantaloons with Hessian boots under them, and at times a dark-brown great coat."

Thistlewood, however, was well concealed, and he was not captured in his country hiding-place till the 27th of April. Young Watson, after remaining in hiding in London and in the country, escaped to

America. The elder Watson was charged with high treason before the Court of Queen's Bench and a special jury on the 9th of June. The trial lasted seven days, the principal witness being the Government spy Castles. This man's infamous character was so well shown up by Mr. Wetherall, Watson's counsel, that the jury refused to credit his evidence, and Watson was acquitted. The Attorney-General then declared that he did not intend to press the case against the rest of the prisoners, and the others were also discharged and received a warm welcome from the London Radicals.

For the information of those who may be anxious concerning the natural history of government spies, it may be mentioned that Castles was, apart from his informing qualities, one of the greatest scoundrels at that time unhung. This man had been twice imprisoned, the first time for passing false notes, when he saved his life by giving evidence against his associates, and the second time for assisting the escape of French prisoners; he had also committed bigamy, and was an accomplished scoundrel of the vilest kind. He had been for years in the constant employment of the police, and his imprisonment for assisting prisoners arose out of it; he was employed by a Bow Street officer to seduce persons to assist the escape of French prisoners, with the view of afterwards intercepting their escape and obtaining a reward from the government for the service. Such are the employees and familiar friends of our noble police.

This attempt at revolt had serious consequences. Parliament met on the 28th of January, and was opened by the Prince Regent. As he was returning from the House he was hooted by the people, and somebody chucked some stones and made two holes in the carriage window. This was immediately represented as an attempt to assassinate the Prince Regent with an air-gun; and the government utilised this circumstance, together with the Spa Fields Riots for the purpose of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, which meant practically that the government would be able to arrest any one they pleased and keep them in prison for months without the least form of trial. They also passed a bill for the total suppression of public meetings. To give some excuse for this extension of arbitrary power, they produced a report from a secret committee of the House of Lords, according to which there existed a formidable conspiracy throughout the country to overturn the government. Every Radical club and association, no matter how moderate, was represented as having a hand in this business, and it was cited as an evidence of the well organised character of the conspirators, that large crowds had collected at Manchester on the day of the Spa Fields riots when the coaches came in to hear the result of the attempt at insurrection. How much was true of the ministerial statements will probably never be known, but as their information came mostly from people of a similar character to Castles, their accuracy may well be doubted. However this may be, the ministers passed their Coercion Bill, so their object was gained. The clubs for advocating parliamentary reform were suppressed; public meetings were prohibited, and many Radical leaders were thrown into prison loaded with chains. Mr. Cobbett, the well-known Radical journalist, the Bradlaugh of his time, took a sudden trip to America to escape a similar fate; but the revolutionary feeling increased throughout the country.

On March 2nd, there are serious riots in Somerset. The colliers at Radstock come out on strike; they attack the pits and buildings, and force the men who are in the pits to come up and join the strikers. Lancers and yeomanry are sent for, who are placed on guard around the pits, while some detachments pursue the miners. The men retreat, but they make a stand at Radstock. They are armed with huge bludgeons, and on seeing the cavalry approach they salute them with cries of "Bread or Blood," and "Hunt for ever." The magistrate with the troops reads the Riot Act, and then warns the colliers that they will incur all sorts of dreadful penalties if they remain together after that. The yeomanry and cavalry ride forward and seize the leaders, and the assemblage disperses with but little resistance. It may be mentioned that the middle-class press traces the outbreak to a number of seditious pamphlets sold by a hawker among the miners at Parton, where the troubles first began.

I may as well say something here about the revolutionary press of the time. Previous to the year of which I am now speaking, there



were no papers which really represented the revolutionary section of the Radical party, for Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* and Cobbett's *Annual Register*, though using very strong language at times, and even defending rick-burning and machine-breaking as the only means by which the poor people could obtain a redress of their grievances, can hardly be called from their general tone and policy revolutionary publications. They both more accurately reflected the opinions of the middle than of the working-class Radicals. But in the excitement engendered by the attempted insurrection in Spa Fields, a number of revolutionary publications sprang into being. Perhaps the best of these was the *Black Dwarf*, edited by Jonathan Wooler. The *Black Dwarf*, though a very Radical publication, was sold at what would now be considered the very high price of 4d. Of course very few workmen purchased it for their private perusal, but a number would club together and buy it, and it would be read aloud to groups of excited listeners in club or tavern. In those days printing and paper were much dearer than what they are now; the Stamp Act too was in force, which made papers still more expensive.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be continued.)

## HASTENING THE REVOLUTION.

### THE SUGAR QUESTION.

YEARS ago, Mr. John Ruskin stated that on the Stock Exchange the plunder of investors was reduced to a system. And such has ever been the case as regards the plunder of the people. The classes can exist only by the plunder of the masses. All that the classes eat and drink and use and waste, all comes from the labour of the masses. Whether we take the landlord class, the professional class, or any section of the profit-mongering classes, all live on the labour of the people. And strange to say, with our extremely refined notions, the degree of respectability depends on the extent of the plunder accomplished. And even large numbers of working men look upon the land-thief or the successful speculator (robber) as honourable men, as the benefactors of humanity, and the great landmarks of social order.

But under our modern commercial system not only do the classes as a whole prey upon the people; with the aggregation of large capitals the classes prey upon each other. Class wars resulting from class interests are characteristic of the present conditions of society. Disintegration is an essential feature in our modern system of production and exchange. It operates through all the ramifications of society. The division of labour and the development of labour-saving machinery neutralise to a great extent the trade organisations of the working classes, and even their political enfranchisement, and will in the end destroy even the lofty position of the aristocracy of labour. The socialisation of production and the concentration of capital is sure to operate the same in the sphere of exchange. Just as labour-saving machinery is converting the worker into a revolutionary agent, so are our "rings," our "trusts" or our "syndicates," converting the small trader into a rebel against our modern system of exchange. All this will hasten the revolution.

We are told that the present annual consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom is equal to 72 lb. per head of population, and that the increase of one penny per lb. will amount to about £11,000,000 per annum. That of course includes all sources of consumption, including the manufacture of jam, confectionery, etc. The committee of the Co-operative Union, representing 800,000 heads of families, state that the societies in connection with the union sell annually £2,000,000 of sugar, and that the rise in price will cause them a loss of £50,000 a-year. If the rise in price is maintained, of course there will be less consumption—less jam and confectionery, and less consumed within the family circle. But if the consumption decreased 20 per cent., it would leave from £8,000,000 to 9,000,000 of extra profits to go somewhere, of which at least £5,000,000 would come from the pockets of the working classes. Then we are told that if present prices last only to the end of August the plunder will amount to not less than £4,000,000. We are also assured that if the Sugar Bill passes and the Convention in its present form comes into operation, it is quite likely we shall have sugar at 5d. or even 6d. per lb. Here will be a field for plunder! We are also told that Jay Gould and others have their eyes on the West Indies, in the hope of being able to "corner" the sugar trade of the world. What an enlightened age!

But higher, far higher than any question of "£ s. d." is the surrender of our liberty, our dignity, and our independence as a nation to the keeping of that maker of modern despotisms, Bismarck. In 1878 Salisbury and Co. signed away, by secret treaties, our honour as a nation with the interests of Turkey; and to-day the Government is doing its best to make England the slave to do the dirty work of the blood-stained despotisms of the Continent. We have heard a great deal about boycotting in Ireland, but the Government now propose that one half the world shall boycott the other half, for the honour of Prince Bismarck and the aggrandisement of the syndicates. Nations live by honour as well as by commerce, and the honour of England as a nation is as much at stake as the material wellbeing of her people.

If the Convention is ratified, our freedom as a nation will be gone. Germany, Russia, Holland, and Spain will determine our action; will kindly tell us of whom we may purchase sugar, and will practically decide the price we shall pay and the extent to which we shall enjoy the free breakfast-table. What a field for syndicates, rings, and trusts,

and for the supremacy of the German sugar monopoly! Is this to be the answer of the league of despotisms to the French centenary?

Article VII. of the Convention begins: "From the date of the present Convention coming into force, all raw sugar, refined sugar, molasses, or glucose coming from any countries, provinces beyond the seas, colonies, or foreign possessions maintaining the system of open or disguised bounties on the manufacture or exportation of sugar shall be excluded from the territories of the high contracting parties." The paragraph is clear enough. All the contracting powers bind themselves not to receive sugar from any country where a bounty is paid, direct or indirect. And who is to determine that question? Not each country for itself, but a majority of the contracting powers.

Paragraph 4, Article VII., reads: "The fact of the existence in any country, province beyond the seas, colony, or foreign possession, of a system involving open or disguised bounties on raw sugar, refined sugar, molasses, or glucose shall be established by the decision of a majority of the signatory powers of the present Convention." Here, then, is the great point for consideration. England is not a sugar-producing country; we import the raw material from many other countries. France, Sweden, Denmark, Brazil, and the U. S. America refuse to join; Belgium and Austria-Hungary make reservations. All these are sugar-producing countries. Yet by the Convention we bind ourselves not to receive sugar from any of these at the bidding of a majority of the signatory powers—that is, of Von Bismarck and Co. And to a great extent we bind our colonies and foreign possessions as well as ourselves.

As far back as 1886 we find the West India planters asking for a bounty of £2 per ton on all sugar imported from the West Indies into the United Kingdom, or the imposition of a countervailing duty of 1s. per cwt. *The thin end of the wedge.* Shall we impose an import duty on sugar for the benefit of the West India planters and the sugar-refiners at home? The Argentine Republic pays a bounty on the export of beef. Why not boycott that republic, and have a league to regulate the import of meat? Other countries pay bounties on ship-building; why not boycott them all?

But in the same Article, paragraph 5 runs as follows, and is well calculated to mislead: "It is agreed that privileges under the most-favoured-nation clause existing in other treaties shall not be pleaded with a view to evading the consequences of the application of the second paragraph of the present Article, even on the part of such signatory powers as may hereafter withdraw from the Convention." Paragraph 11 here referred to provides that each of the high contracting powers shall, in carrying out the Convention, either prohibit the importation of sugar, etc., from bounty-paying countries, or shall impose an import duty on such imported sugar, etc., and which duty must be greater than the amount of the bounty, but which duty shall not be imposed on sugars coming from countries not paying such bounties. Now as to our commercial treaties with other countries. We have such treaties with all the leading nations, and in almost every case the said treaty contains what is termed the most-favoured-nation clause. As these most-favoured-nation clauses are very similar, take the following cited by Sir T. Farrar, in our treaty with the U. S. America: "No prohibition shall be imposed upon the importation or exportation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, or of Her Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, to or from the said United States, which shall not equally extend to all other nations." Now, the Convention, when ratified, will compel England to violate every one of her commercial treaties with other countries, not at the bidding of Parliament, not at the wish of the people, but at the bidding of a majority of the signatory powers. Such violations on our part will be sure to lead to reprisals, especially on the part of France or America. It will lead to a war of tariffs, in which we are certain to be bested. It will re-create the evils arising from national jealousies, national hatreds, and perhaps of wars, and at the bidding of the crowned monsters of the European continent.

Look at these leagues of the Governments, Parliamentary or otherwise. What a spectacle at the close of the nineteenth century! We talk of the power of the people. Where is it? We boast of our freedom, our wisdom, and our bravery. Where are these qualities to-day? We boast of our greatness as a nation, and we form only a joint in the tails of the despots of Russia and Germany.

And when the time comes—and come it will—for the holy alliance of the peoples, let us not forget these leagues of the despots; or the rings, the syndicates, etc., of the capitalist classes. But these things can only hasten the revolution, for which let us learn to be prepared.

J. SKETCHLEY.

At Mr. Andrew Carnegie's Homestead steel mill, near Pittsburg, has been posted a new scale of wages, averaging 20 per cent. reduction. This affects 2,500 men, and a strike is expected.

Miss Josephine S. Tilton, late of 301 Shawmut Avenue, Boston, Mass., is now in London with a large and varied assortment of American publications on labour and social questions. Her address is 31 Swinton Street, Grays Inn Road.

**TOBACCO INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK.**—Over 30,000 men, women, and children are employed in the tobacco industry of New York, of whom about 16,000 are cigar-makers proper, the rest being cigarette-makers, strippers, bunchers, packers, pasters, and box-makers. More than 6,000 cigar-makers are women, girls, and small children. Some branches of the trade are almost monopolized by girls—for instance, the making of cigarettes. The nationalities which predominate among the cigar-makers are the Germans, Bohemians, and English; but there are also a number of Poles, Hollanders, Cubans, Hungarians, with a few Spaniards, Americans, French, and Russians. Oh, ye fools of the nineteenth century, why do not you combine, and oust your masters?—W. B.

## YANKEE CIRCENSES.

"We stand to-day upon the dividing line between the first and second century of constitutional government. There are no clouds over our head, and no convulsions under our feet. We reverently return thanks to Almighty God for the past, and with confident and hopeful promise march upon sure ground toward the future. The simple facts of these hundred years paralyse the imagination, and we contemplate the vast accumulations of the century with awe and pride."

THUS spoke, addressing the vast multitude assembled before the Sub-Treasury building in the city of New York on May 1st, Chauncey M. Depew, president of the gigantic Vanderbilt railroad system, ex-lobbyist, lawyer, and swell society's most famous after-dinner talker. This honourable gentleman—and who dares, considering his exalted position in the social scale of this country, to doubt his honourableness?—had been appointed by the Centennial Committee to act as official laudation-spouter during the festivities commemorating the centennial of George Washington taking the oath as first president of the United States of America. And no place could have been chosen better in the whole big city of New York where an oration glorifying a century's maintenance and results of capitalism in the "land of the free and the home of the brave" might have been delivered more appropriately than the Sub-Treasury edifice. This structure is situated on the corner of Broad and Wall streets, two thoroughfares entirely composed of the hiding dens of trusts, of syndicates, of corners, of combines, and all such like devil-fishes, which are draining the blood of the people inhabiting this splendid and abnormally rich country.

"There are no clouds over our head and no convulsions under our feet" exclaimed, feigning in his voice optimistic gratification, Dr. Depew; and yet did not the curt but comprehensive refusal of Labour to participate officially in any of the festivities clearly inscribe on all the decorations with which capital had draped its mansions the "Mene, Mene, Tekel, upharsin" of the present society? None so blind as those that will not see. Yes, Labour has had the audacity to refuse to be paraded in golden chains in Capital's triumphal procession, in celebration of an event which but formed in this nation's history the connecting link of a system which served so well for the exploitation of class by class for one hundred years at least. And Labour be thanked for its sturdy action!

We have had plenty of "circenses"<sup>1</sup> of late; however, the "panem" has been sorely missed as yet.

Early on Monday morning the last day of April, the constitutional king of the United States, Benjamin, the second of the tribe of Harrison, left Washington for New York in right royal style, as it well becomes a gentleman occupying such dignified office. His Equality-before-the-law majesty had at the disposal of himself and of his court ten of the most gorgeously fitted up coaches of our railroad system. Usually these coaches are used to carry in safety and ease the valuable bodies of the presidents of the different roads from place to place. No European monarch could travel more luxuriously.

In New York city Benjamin had the good pleasure of being met by our empire city's big merchant robbers, and at once a reception was given him by men representing every profession and trade. They were all there! The clergymen of every denomination, the bank presidents, the heads of trusts, the members of the Stock Exchange, the newspaper men, the liquor dealers, the railroad men, the lawyers, the theatrical men—in fact, as one who witnessed the "drawing-room" remarked, the men who represented religion, law, and commerce, they all had come to do homage to their uncrowned king. But where was Labour?

And they all praised liberty, equality, and fraternity. Yet it is not reported that during the guzzling, the gobbling, the spouting, and the mutual congratulations upon the greatness of this country which occurred soon after, did those present wink at each other, nor did they lose for one moment the serious aspect of their respective countenances. No, not so stupid as all that. Our rulers over here know they are playing a game, and they much intend to keep up all its rules. They play their rôles in the comedy of politics with an extensive knowledge and a clear perception of all the necessary stage decorum which might elicit shouts of admiration from even an Irving or a Toole. They play their game so well, that to the uninitiated, to the "poor in spirit," to the would-be cheated, they appear to be deeply serious, indeed in deadly earnest. However, they themselves do not mistake their acting for reality.

Liberty, equality, fraternity realised in the United States. Great Scott! Imagine his satanic majesty turning "sea-green" with envy, for he was never able to diddle-daddle humanity so easily and well.

And how did New York look? Listen to this scribe of a "cultured paper," the *Boston Herald*:

"Magnificent stood New York this morning, grand, splendid beyond even her usual magnificence. Radiant she was and glorious with colour from end to end and side to side at the meeting of the waters when day broke. She was as a bride awaiting the bridegroom, and her dress was as gaudy—all aflutter with ribbons—as was ever the garb of ancient Venice in the days doges wedded her to the Adriatic."

O spirit of Napoleon the Small! The scribes specially appointed by the ruler of the Second Empire in France to "work up" his journeys through the provinces surely could not rival this. But we Americans, we are smart, we know "how to get there," we have "no flies on us."

Conceive New York magnificent! A city which is more ugly than London, for in London some remnants of bygone times do relieve the eye. But New York stands there completely unrelieved in all its horrible ugliness of modern cheapness and commercial utility. And the garb laid on for the occasion! Well, mostly it consisted of gutter-coloured ribbon or a picture of something supposed to be Washington, or, last but not least, smart Yankees—a new advertising dodge.

In the evening of Monday the day was celebrated by our upper ten thousand with a ball, the centennial ball, in the Grand Opera House. More than £200 was offered for admission tickets, but refused by the holders. The committee of arrangements had done all in their power to make the affair as exclusive as possible. And now listen to the description a capitalistic paper, the *New York Sun*, gives of this orgie:

"When the supper room doors were opened, there was a fierce rush. There were many young men in this first attacking party. They made straight for the champagne bar and drank before they ate. There were young women that followed their example. When President Harrison and his party entered the

supper room, there was a party of young men who had already become tipsy. They cheered in maudlin style. Wine had even then been spilled upon the floor, and the ladies of the Presidential party in going to the dais at the end of the room had to raise their skirts.

"The staring scene which had distinguished the assemblage in the ballroom was repeated here. All around the circle, within which the thirteen distinguished guests of the evening sat, crowded men and women anxious to see what a President and Vice-president looked like as they ate. The crowd watched Mrs. McKee and Mrs. Morton and Mrs. Harrison and the other ladies with intense interest to discover whether they drank any wine. After the President's party had gone, members of the escort came back and showed what they could do in stowing away champagne. One of them was completely overcome. Supported by two of his companions, he added to the sights of the ball. Young men went about carrying a champagne bottle in the left hand and a glass in the right. They would fill the glass, drain it at one gulp, fill it again, and drain it in another gulp. By and by this had a very disastrous effect.

"But there were other disturbances at the same time in other parts of the immense building. Many of the befuddled men had left the supper room and were wandering about the upper corridors. There were some incidents that were absolutely outrageous. One man was heard to address a very pretty woman whom he had been escorting with the angry exclamation that he didn't like something she had done, and then swore at her and said that he would never bring her to a ball again. It was a pitiable sight to see one young girl, and a pretty girl at that, trying to steady herself as she passed through one of the upper corridors. Her hair was disordered, her face flushed. When one o'clock came the wine room was still open, but shortly after that the police took a hand and attempted to clear the supper room. Men would not go from the room, and they had to be pushed roughly to the door. The ladies who were still in the room were frightened at the rumpus, and on reaching the door found it besieged by a crowd of noisy waiters and intoxicated guests striving to force their way back for more wine. The police formed a barrier there, and not even the waiters were allowed to enter the room again. There was language used which one wouldn't expect to hear at a centennial ball. Finally the police became impatient, and, at Inspector Steers's command, advanced and drove back the oncoming crowd. But it soon formed again, and through this brawling, excited crowd of waiters, guests, and policemen, the unlucky ladies had to crowd their way, while it was impossible for them not to hear the oaths used."

But of course our aristocratic gentry could indulge in these scenes, the public being excluded; and it is curious to note that only one paper at first told the tale, but soon after all the others had to admit its correctness.

The dresses worn by the "ladies" at this occasion were most costly, though little tasty. Queen Harrison is said to have been arrayed in a most gorgeous costume, costing thousands and thousands of dollars. Mrs. Astor had about £50,000 worth of diamonds on her body. She was shadowed all the evening by her detective, and disappeared early. H'm!

And so the days wore on. Military parades, civil parades, industrial parades followed each other in close succession. But Labour abstained from participating in any of the displays, although desperate efforts were made to induce its co-operation.

The police of course had great opportunities to act as the tigers in human skin they are. They used their clubs to the right and to the left; they rode the people down to open a way for the pompous processions. Speaking of the police, one suggestive thing may be mentioned. A day or two before the festivities began, Detective Inspector Byrnes arrested and put into prison all those believed by him to belong to the light-fingered fraternity. He had no warrant, no authority of any kind, "no nothing," as the boy said, to do this. He simply wanted "to keep them out of mischief." "Why don't our American rulers hand over the whole running of the governmental machine to a few mandarins, it would make matters ever so much simpler?" asks John Most in this week's *Freiheit*; and verily he is right.

The shows are over now. The "Mene, mene, Tekel, upharsin" remains. Smart Yankees have made piles of money. Some millions of public money have been wasted. The millions of tramps and unemployed are still cast about. But what matters that. Some workers' wages were cut down to allow a few bosses to be hilarious in New York. And Labour will have to pay the bill.

"There are no clouds over our head." Hence *Bradstreet's* reports since 1st of January 221 strikes and 48,924 strikers and over 600 people have shuffled off this mortal coil since January 1, 1889, by committing suicide.

"And no convulsions under our feet." Yet the five bodies of strangled labour martyrs slumbering in Waldheim Cemetery near Chicago city are under our feet.

Boston, Mass., May 6, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES

## MAD COMMERCIALISM.

In the greedy scramble for the gifts which mother earth, plus human labour, bestows upon man, people engaged in the mad contest have not time to pause and reflect upon their insane career, which, if it were not fraught with such enormous evil to the millions, would simply merit ridicule. Truly may we exclaim with Shakespeare, "This is a mad world, my masters." Look at the crazy scamper of vehicles of all sorts along our principle thoroughfares, the hurrying to and fro of the slaves in tall hats and black coats, those in smocks, and those in fustians, and then ask what it all means. It means the battle of life; man fighting man to preserve each his own existence. Spend an hour or two at the junction of four cross-roads at any of our thoroughfares, and watch the traffic passing north, south, east, and west. There you will see passing each other in opposite directions, waggons of coal, waggons of timber, butcher's carts, baker's carts, grocer's carts, etc., etc. One would naturally ask, Why all this waste of time and labour? A little organisation would certainly save all this useless waste, and yet we are seriously told that order reigns under our present system. It is no wonder that Socialist principles cannot be understood by tradesmen when they call chaos order. They are too dull to understand co-operative distribution in the interests of the community, and they consider an individual a sharp business man who engages in distribution most successfully in his own interest, i.e., by exploitation and fraud. The co-operators seem to be the only people—ourselves excepted—who see the wickedness, folly, and waste of individual effort in distribution. If, instead of allowing themselves to be robbed over the counter as they are at the present time, the people organised their own distribution, they would be in the possession of central communal depôts, which would not only help to reduce their sufferings considerably during the coming revolutionary period, but would render it an easier matter to snuff out the exploiters of production. A. B.

HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB, 5 The Grove, Mare Street, Hackney.—Monday May 27, at 8.30, Harold Cox, "Practicable Socialism."

<sup>1</sup> *Panem et circenses*—bread and circus plays. During the decay of the Roman Empire, to keep the poor quiet circus plays and free lunches were provided for them by the rich.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.*

*Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*Workmen's Advocate.*—We are always glad to see you make use of poems which we have rescued from their graves in forgotten pages, but, if only for the sake of historical accuracy, should like you to acknowledge the road by which they reach you.

D. E.—The pamphlet giving a report of the Reform meeting at Kilmarnock, December 7, 1816, including the speech for which Alexander McLaren was tried at Edinburgh, March 5-7th, 1817, and for printing which Thomas Baird was tried at same time and place, is in the British Museum library, but mutilated. It wants title-page and all after page 44. A perfect copy would probably be found in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 22.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY
Justice	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Labour Elector	Le Proletariat	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Tribune	Le Coup de Feu	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
London—Freie Presse	La Revue Socialiste	
Norwich—Daylight	L'Attaque	SPAIN
Railway Review	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Seville—La Solidaridad
Sozial Demokrat		Madrid—El Socialista
Seafaring	HOLLAND	PORTUGAL
Worker's Friend	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
		Porto—A Revolucao Social
UNITED STATES	BELGIUM	A Revolta
New York—Der Sozialist	Ghent—Vooruit	GERMANY
Freiheit	Antwerp—De Werker	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Volkszeitung		DENMARK
Jewish Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	Social-Demokraten
The Truth	Arbeiterstimme	SWEDEN
Workmen's Advocate		Malmö—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal		WEST INDIES
Investigator		Cuba—El Productor
Chicago—Knights of Labor		
Vorbote		

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE was an interesting ceremonial at Paris on Saturday. The representatives of 13 American Republics, under the Presidency of the newly accredited United States Minister, gave a farewell dinner to his retiring predecessor. The only monarchy in America—Brazil—stood aloof, as did all those of Europe with the exception of Belgium. Switzerland, of course, was represented, being a Republic. So marked was the abstention of the king-ridden countries, that, as the *Times* described it, the gathering showed "the Republican world of the future face to face with the Monarchic world of the past." We know well enough that the world of the future must be something more than merely Republican before it is much better than the world of the past or the present either. But, as between Monarchy and Republicanism, there can be no question for us; nor can we deny feeling pleased when the representatives of royalty show, as they have done by their conduct on this occasion, their own abiding sense of the precariousness of kingship.

The banquet was not without its amusing points. The most telling one of these was when M. Paz, of the Argentine Republic, drank to the working-classes. He, as the *Times* cynically explains, "is in quest of labourers." So that his love for the working classes is disinterested at least!

During the last week a curious thing happened; a judge was found who decided against a policeman, and snubbed the law'n-order lambs in general. The case was that of a bricklayer named Smith, who, hearing a disturbance, went out to see what it was. He was at once knocked down, and found Edwin Ford, a policeman, standing by him truncheon in hand. He got up, and was again clubbed, with the result that he was laid up for three weeks. He brought an action in the Gravesend County Court on Thursday, when the defence was that the assault was "accidental," and that Ford had a right to use his truncheon to clear away a crowd! The judge, in summing up, said: "All the jury had to attend to was the amount of compensation to be given. There was not a tittle of justification for the assault. The constable had no more right to strike a man than his honour had. His honour had a right to strike a man in self-defence, and a constable had the same, and no greater, unless the Riot Act had been read.

It must have come as a shock to most of the "force" to hear that they could not do just as they liked with the lives and limbs of an unhappy and helpless public! They have been so used to exercising their brutality upon all and sundry, that they had come to regard the amusement as a prescriptive right of theirs. That belief has received a severe shock from the above decision, and there has no doubt been much cursing and lamenting for days past in the abodes of the bullies of the law.

Almost as much of a shock must it have been to many old fogies when the London County Council declared in favour of women as County Councillors. The debate on the question was an amusing one, for in it were trotted out all the old "arguments" as to woman's simultaneous inferiority and superiority, and the rest of it. Woman was inferior to man and should not claim to cope with him; she was superior to him and should not try to degrade herself to his level.

Of course, Mr. Frederic Harrison found himself on the wrong side, as is now usual with him. This man was one of the few who dared to do public justice to the Commune at the time of its fall, and to defend it in the English magazines. Other things there are that may be placed to his credit in the democratic ledger, wherein are kept the accounts of would-be leaders of the people. But however well filled the credit side of his account may be, he will speedily, if he continue in his present course, leave a very large balance on the other side.

By speaking and voting against popular control of the police, the enfranchisement of women, and many other such-like proposals, he is rapidly exhausting his credit. He is at the same time furnishing another instructive example of how a reputation built up in the study falls to pieces in the market-place, when he who has pretended to teach all men how to deal with their duties in life is brought face to face with his own.

S.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### ST. GEORGE'S FARM.

In the years 1874 and 1875 there existed a Mutual Improvement Class; the members of this class met every Sunday morning at the Hall of Science, Rockingham Street, Sheffield, for the purpose of teaching and being taught, or perhaps it would be more correct if I said they met to exchange ideas. Each member took their turn to write a paper on any subject the writer chose and read it before the class, who were expected to discuss or discourse on the merits of the paper. Many very interesting and instructive papers were written by the members; and when the class judged them good enough, they would be afterwards read before the public who patronised the hall on Sunday evenings. About July or August of the year 1875, a member read a paper advocating Communism, and all the members of our class were in favour of a public reading and he read it, and it created much interest and some excitement. He read it in several places, and some other and bolder ones followed, which were read and discussed in Sheffield and other places. Opponents became numerous and adherents few; the writer of this was of these last, and became an ardent advocate of Communism in about six months from the reading of the first paper. A few of us formed a society to propagate Communistic views, our ultimate object being to live the lives of Communists. To do this we proposed buying or leasing some land on which to erect suitable buildings, both for dwelling and business purposes. Of course we knew it would take some time—years—before we could realise this position, for we did not intend to seek any rich man's aid. For some weeks we met at the house of the first mover of the scheme. After a time this was changed, and we met in a small room attached to a warehouse belonging to our president. From this time each member subscribed 1d. per week for current expenses, and what each could afford beside to be banked. Sums varying from 1s. to 5s. were duly paid each week to the treasurer. It was intended to continue subscribing in this way for a year or two, and that in the meantime we should look about for the best and cheapest site for our purpose, teaching each other meanwhile and winning all the converts we could. We went on in this way for a few months, and were very happy in discussing our proposed future career. There was not one doubter in our ranks, and we had, I believe, perfect trust in each other.



About this time the Ruskin Museum at Walkley, about two miles distant from our meeting-place, was about to be opened. The curator, who was a friend of our president, came to some of our meetings, and from him came the suggestion that Mr. Ruskin might interest himself in our movement. We knew that Mr. Ruskin believed that one man should rule absolutely, and all others should unquestioningly obey. We did not believe this, nor did we believe in taking the vow which was required in order to become members of the St. George's Guild—for our society was at this time composed of Secularists, Unitarians, and one Quaker. We made no question of sectarian beliefs, but insisted on the recognition of human duties; therefore we did not at this time fall in with the curator's suggestion. But he was a persevering man, and tried to meet the difficulty by proposing that Mr. Ruskin should lend the money to purchase land, leaving the Communists free to manage their own affairs. Ultimately, a meeting took place between Mr. Ruskin and ourselves at the Museum. Nothing of any apparent importance took place between us at this time, but a few weeks afterwards Mr. Ruskin invited some of our party to look at and choose some land. They chose a farm of between 13 and 14 acres at Dore and Totley, which the then owner wanted to sell. Mr. Ruskin bought it, paying £2,025 for it. He then required each male member of the community to undertake to pay his share of the capital back to him without interest, and every man gave his promise in writing to do so. So that in seven years the whole was to be paid back to Mr. Ruskin, and the farm would then have been ours. Meantime, Mr. Ruskin was *owner*. He gave us no legal authority to take possession; this I very strongly objected to, but was over-ruled, as all thought they could trust the great man. Now the farm must be kept going; none of our party were farmers and all were earning money at their trades; so we engaged a practical man as working manager, paying him 24s. per week and letting him live in the house rent free. The money we had already subscribed was our capital, and we still continued to subscribe.

A few more joined us about this time, and another man was engaged to work on the farm, receiving the same wages as the first and sharing the farm-house, which was large. We excited much local curiosity; many visitors went to the farm, and newspaper correspondents had some things to say about us, wise and otherwise. Now our expenses were increased and we had to meet them, so we had parties to visit us during the summer taking tea, for which we charged. Another woman member and myself found our hands very full at this time, for between us we prepared all the teas and sold eggs and fruit, doing all we could to add to the income. Every Wednesday we went to Dore and Totley from Sheffield, bringing back fruit, eggs, and vegetables to the meetings, which the members purchased, paying ready money and full value. This went on for about four months, and in the meantime we had employed another man whom Mr. Ruskin had sent; we paid him 16s. per week. Now the man who had originated our society by reading his paper, wrote to Mr. Ruskin, and received from him in reply a cheque for £100, which he cashed, and brought the money to the committee. The committee at once passed a vote of censure on him, and requested our president to write to Mr. Ruskin returning the money, which he did, but Ruskin would not take it back. Now this member, whose aim had been from the first to live with his family on the farm, began to press upon the society to let him take his work there, the society however, to take up his business, paying him the value of it, and in the event of failure at the farm he to take his business back. The committee would not and could not consent to this. I should have stated that his business was a boot-maker's sale-shop. He was much disappointed and very unreasonable at the refusal of the committee; and the next move he made was to consult in secret with the man, who, according to Edward Carpenter, was the most active and least voluble amongst us. This man had no connexion of any sort with us, nor was he even friendly disposed to us. I make this statement because some persons have an impression that our little society owed its origin to a Mutual Help Association with which Harrison Riley was connected. That impression is a mistaken one—but to return to my story. These two men communicated with Ruskin, and the result was that Mr. Carpenter's "best man" went to the farm and took absolute possession of everything, telling our manager that *he was master*. The poor man came to our meeting looking not too delighted at the change and gave us the information. Now, considering that the society had agreed to pay Ruskin back on his own terms this thing seemed impossible, and a chosen number of the committee went to the farm to seek an explanation. I was not one of the deputation, but I was told that Mr. Riley coolly informed them that he was master there, and that they had no power. He met their remonstrances with sneers, and in one case with threats of personal violence. Two letters were written to Mr. Ruskin seeking *his* explanation, but no answer was returned to either. Then the committee caused another letter to be written declining all further responsibility or connection with the farm. The story is finished so far as we were practically concerned; and for the present I reserve comment.

M. A. MALOY.

The victimising game is being played very meanly by the Glasgow Tramway Company against the men who dare countenance unionism.

**DYER STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT AT LEEK.**—The dyers employed at the firms of Messrs. Hammersley and Messrs. Wardle, of Leek, have been working 60 hours per week for an average wage of 13s. 4d., or about 2½d. per hour. They recently held a meeting and decided to form a union. The masters exercised their freedom of contract and promptly discharged all the union men. Some who were asked by the employer if they were in the union, and fearing dismissal replied No, were discharged for telling an "untruth," thus proving that the employer knew the "truth" when he asked the needless question. Friends of the freedom of contract will please note that the discharged men are exercising their portion of it on doles of 2s. 4½d. per week obtained from sympathetic shopkeepers and others. The bulk of the "hands" have now struck in order to obtain the reinstatement of their dismissed shopmates. Meanwhile the masters are using boys and women, and threatening also to import foreign labour to supplant the men. It is doubtful whether Continental dyers, considering the relative purchasing-power of money, are worse off, or could be tempted by the inviting prospect of 2½d. per hour. The avocation of a dyer requires both physical and mental energy. He must have a knowledge of drugs, either technical or acquired, a keen eye for shades, and must labour withal hard with hand in a heated, steam-laden atmosphere. Delicate ladies who go shopping as a recreation on fine summer afternoons may remember as they admire the lustre and tints of their silken purchases, possibly produced in the firms above-mentioned, the operative must work for a wage ranging from 13s. to 18s. per week, or find himself supplanted by female labour if he dares utter a protest against his white slavery. Thus do we preserve the heads of households and keep intact the "family."—F. Kirtz.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 1, 1889.

26	Sun.	1799. James Burnet, Lord Monboddo, died. 1804. Action by W. C. Plunkett, Solicitor-General of Ireland, against William Cobbett for libel. 1817. Trial at Edinburgh of Niel Douglas, universalist preacher, for a "wicked, slanderous, false, and seditious" sermon, preached March 9 previous at the Andersonian Institute Class Room, John Street, Glasgow. 1824. Petition of Robert Owen to the House of Commons for the education and employment of the peasantry of Ireland. 1868. Michael Barrett hung for Clerkenwell explosion: last public execution in England. 1870. Fenian invasion of Canada. 1879. Osinski, Brandner, and Svidenko hanged in Kieff for Socialistic propaganda and resisting arrest. 1887. Thomas Ainge Devyr died.
27	Mon.	1793. Trial of John Frost for having on November 6, 1792, in the Percy Coffee-house, Percy Street, said that "he could see no reason why any man should not be upon a footing with another, it is every man's birthright"; and that "there should be equality and no king." 1797. Babeuf killed himself. 1860. Palermo taken by Garibaldi.
28	Tues.	1807. Agassiz born. 1818. Arthur Thistlewood imprisoned for 12 months for challenging Lord Sidmouth. 1871. Fall of the Commune of Paris. 1887. Trial of 21 Nihilists at St. Petersburg; Lopatine sent to the ravelin of St. Peter and Paul for life.
29	Wed.	1630. Trial in the Star Chamber of the Earls of Bedford, Clare, and Somerset, Sir Robert Cotton, John Selden, and Oliver St. John, Esquires, for publishing "A Proposition for His Majesty's Service to bridle the Impertinence of Parliaments." 1660. English monarchy restored.
30	Thur.	1778. Voltaire died. 1844. Daniel O'Connell fined £2,000 and imprisoned for 12 months; John O'Connell, Thomas Steele, T. M. Ray, Charles Gavan Duffy, John Gray, and Richard Barrett each fined £50 and imprisoned for 9 months; all bound over also for 7 years. 1884. Dynamite-explosions at Scotland Yard, etc. 1887. Co-operative Congress at Carlisle.
31	Fri.	1838. John Thorn shot in Bossenden Wood. 1849. First number of Julian Harney's <i>Democratic Review</i> . 1882. Strike of iron and steel workers in the United States.
1	Sat.	1808. Weavers' riot at Rochdale; the prison stormed and fired. 1821. Major Cartwright fined £500; J. T. Wooler sentenced to 15 months; Maddox 18 months; and Edmunds 9 months' imprisonment for the Birmingham meeting. 1849. Provisional Government formed at Baden. 1873. Second annual congress of the British Federation of the International at Manchester.

*Thomas Ainge Devyr.*—This life-long servant of the people was born in County Donegal, and died in Brooklyn, New York. He deserves lasting remembrance for his valiant labours in the cause of Ireland and of humanity. He took a leading part in the Chartist movement, and on its collapse was chased by the Government to Liverpool, whence he made his escape to America. Settling in Williamsburg (now Brooklyn) in 1840 as a journalist, he devoted himself to the service of the Free Soil party, and the present Homestead Laws of the United States are the direct result of the agitation maintained by him and his associates. In recent years he was an associate editor of the *Irish World*, a paper which had the honour of being proscribed in Ireland by the last Gladstone Government, and chiefly on account of the articles from Devyr's pen.

Thomas Ainge Devyr wrote a small treatise on the Land Question as long ago as 1838. In that he advocates a kind of peasant proprietary; and to the end of his life he maintained that to make the tiller the owner of the soil was the only solution of the land question. A few years before his death he brought together into book form his ideas on Land and other reforms. The book, with the curious title, 'The Odd Book of the Nineteenth Century; or, Chivalry in Modern Days,' is a record of rare battling in the cause of reform for the last fifty years.

Unlike Carlyle, Froude, Kingsley, and many Chartists who put their hands to the plough and turned back, Devyr was a consistent and faithful Democrat to the end. Honour to his memory.—G. D. L.

## A NEW MACHINE.

REJOICE, white-lead workers, for science has killed the demon of poison and horrid death which was your daily companion!

Mr. Hannay of Glasgow, after years of toil and expense, has completed a system of machinery which makes, at less expense and in less time than the old plan, a poisonless and whiter white-lead. The *Star* says, "The secret of it is that there is no manipulation. No human hand touches it. The ore is thrown into the furnace, carries itself through the succeeding stages, and comes out at the other end in its ultimate form." Surely this will be a benefit, and Mr. Hannay a benefactor to mankind, for says the *Star* again, "Mr. Hannay has lessened the cost of production by scientific devices for lessening labour."

Now let us turn over the matter and see what may be on the other side. Mr. Hannay has done a good and no doubt a clever thing. But will the workers benefit by it? They will be freed from the lead-poisoning, no doubt—and most probably many of them from the work too; for remember it is to make white-lead cheaper and quicker; and being freed from the work means that they shall have plenty of opportunity of inhaling a good many other forms of death. They may go home to their wives, children, and mothers and tell them of the splendid success of Mr. Hannay's discovery and machinery, and how for the benefit of mankind it dispenses with their services, and how they must seek a job elsewhere. Elsewhere? Yes, elsewhere; but where is that? Long unemployment follows, and with it want and miseries. The streets for the women, and the jail for the men; and blessed are those whom death snatches.

Rejoice, therefore, ye workers, for neither your own labour nor the toil of your wise men brings you plenty or rest!

But where is the cure? Not in cowardly apathy. Not in the pipe and quart pot, amid the spits and dirty talk. Not in the insane idea that everything is for the best. Nor in the still foolisher idea that others (our M.P.'s and educated men) will do it all for us. No; but in seeing with our minds and hearts that while there exists a single idle man amongst us there is a gross injustice being inflicted on others, and combining in right manly earnestness to weed out the bloodsuckers from amongst us. R. C. S.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## GERMANY.

The important strike of the coalminers in the Westphalian province and neighbourhood is still going on, and as the mine-thieves (who call themselves the mine-owners) show no great readiness to comply with the legitimate demands of the workers, it may even go on longer than we can tell. The strikers have brought forward the following claims: (1) The managers of the coal-mines in the district of Dortmund are to bind themselves not to let their miners work over eight hours a-day; (2) Overtime shall be worked in exceptional cases—e.g., when work cannot be postponed or is necessary for the safety of the mine and miners; (3) If working overtime shall become necessary, owing to accumulation of work, then such work is only to be executed after an understanding has been previously come to between the managers on one side and delegates of the workmen on the other; (4) Such delegates are to be selected every year from among those miners who have completed their twenty-fifth year; (5) In the eight hours day, the time taken in the descent and the ascent is not to be included: the descent and ascent shall not last longer than half an hour; in any case they are to be arranged so that the miner does not work underground longer than eight hours; (6) The miners' union in the district of Dortmund is after the fulfilment of the above to see that the wages of the miners are raised in due proportion to the increase in the price of coal; (7) The miners hope that the union will use its influence to stop managers of mines in future from standing in the way of miners on their leaving a pit by arbitrarily giving them unfavourable certificates; (8) The workmen deem it expedient that the miners should only be made to pay as much for powder, oil, and tools as they cost the administration itself, instead of paying higher prices as at present, the surplus obtained from which is paid into relief funds for miners; (9) The miners after resuming work are not to suffer in any way at the hands of the employers on account of the present strike; (10) The delegates of the workmen promise to do their utmost to induce their comrades to accept a compromise based on the above conditions.

It is stated that the mine-thieves are especially averse to paragraph 3, and we easily believe it, the non-existence of such a clause being of very great interest indeed to them. As our readers know from the dailies, the workers and the employers as well have been received by the Prussian monarch, who has told both of them that he takes a considerable deal of interest in their affairs—which can hardly concern him much. Anyhow, the interest he takes in the workers' struggle is of a peculiar kind: "If you have anything to do with the Social-Democrats, I'll have all of you shot down!" And in order to convince the workers' delegates that he really meant what he had spoken, that ruffian of a Kaiser added, "And mark you, my might is great!" Yes, his might is great, but only so because the workers are more or less up to now unaware of the still greater power that lies in them. However, times are drawing near when all toolers, those of the Westphalian land like others, shall have realised the words of the poet:

"That we no master need  
To live upon this earth our own  
In fair and manly deed."

Meanwhile, the Silesian miners have joined in with their Westphalian comrades. It has been reported that serious disturbances have taken place there, that several pits have been demolished, and some officials of the mines, such as are "of the worst type," like Watrin at Decazeville was, have been threatened and even attacked. May be; but why have six battalions of infantry and eight squadrons of cavalry been sent to the district, but for provoking unarmed and starving men, who only claim an increase of their miserable wages, when they would be entitled to take possession of the very mines altogether?

In spite of the Emperor's interference, the negotiations for bringing about a compromise between the Westphalian miners and the colliery-robbers, on the basis of the above-mentioned clauses, have only been carried through with a great deal of difficulty. The clause of the agreement to which exception was taken was that concerning overtime, and the miners' demand that, should overtime be necessary owing to accumulation of work, the matter should be referred to a standing committee of managers and the miners' delegates, was rejected. On the other hand, the question of leaving the matter to be settled with the individual workmen was reserved.

However, the Westphalian strikes now seem to come to a *provisory* end, as the miners' delegates have declared that if the conditions agreed upon be not carried out within two months, a *fresh strike will begin*.

## FRANCE.

A few weeks ago we pointed out that in all probability two international working-men's congresses would be held this year at Paris, and that, in case of this event happening, the Socialist League would certainly join in with those Continental bodies which hold the most advanced views and represent really the cause of international revolutionary Socialism. Our French comrades have now issued a circular convoking all Socialists of Europe and America to the Paris Congress, and we give it in full hereunder:

"National Federation of French Trades' Unions: National Council, Bordeaux, 1889.

"Executive Commission of the National Socialist Working Men's Congress of Troyes, 1888—1889.

"INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING MEN'S CONGRESS, 14th to 21st July, PARIS, 1889.

"Address to the Workmen and Socialists of Europe and America.

"In October 1888 a National Congress was held at Bordeaux, at which were represented upwards of two hundred Trades' Unions and Socialist groups. This Congress resolved that during the Exhibition an International Congress be held in Paris.

"A like resolution was adopted by the National Congress held at Troyes in December 1888, at which were represented all the fractions of the French Socialist party.

"The National Council appointed by the Bordeaux Congress, and the Executive Commission appointed by the Troyes Congress, were charged with the common organisation of the International Congress, and with the invitation—without distinction of party—of all the workers and Socialists of Europe and America whose aim is the emancipation of labour. All this has been carried out.

"On the 28th of February, 1889, an International Conference took place at the Hague, attended by delegates of the Socialist parties of Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and France. W. Morris, of the Socialist League, and the Danish delegates, sent in excuses, declaring their adherence to the resolutions that should be adopted.

"The Conference of the Hague resolved:

(1) That the Paris International Congress be held from the 14th to 21st July, 1889.

(2) That the Congress be open to the workmen and Socialists of all countries—on conditions compatible with the political laws in force in each.

(3) That the Congress be sovereign with respect to the verification of credentials and the fixing of the order of the day.

"The Conference resolved, provisionally, that the following questions be treated:

(a) International labour legislation; Regulation, by law, of the working day (day-work, night-work, holidays, work of adult males, women, and children).

(b) Inspection of factories and workshops, as well as of domestic industries.

(c) Ways and means to obtain these demands.

"In fulfilment, therefore, of the mandate conferred on us by the Congresses of Bordeaux and of Troyes, and in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Hague International Conference—

(1) We convoked the Paris International Congress to be held from the 14th to 21st July, 1889.

(2) The questions to be treated are those fixed by the Hague Conference.

(3) We invite the Socialist and working-men's organisations of Europe and America to this Congress, which will lay the foundations of the union of the workers and the Socialists of both hemispheres.

"We have appointed in Paris an Executive Committee to definitely organise the International Congress and make arrangements for the reception of the foreign delegates.

"We send our fraternal greetings to the workmen and the Socialists of the whole world.

"May the universal emancipation of the workers be achieved!

"For the National Council of Bordeaux—The General Secretary, R. LAVIGNE, 16, Rue Sullivan.

"For the Executive Commission of Troyes—The General Secretary, G. BATISSE, Rue de la Grande Planché, 22, à St. André, près Troyes.

"ORGANISING COMMISSION OF THE CONGRESS.

"For the Federation of the Paris Trades' Unions—BOULE, BESSET, MANCEAU, ROUSSEL, and FELINE.

"For the Socialist Organisations of Paris—VAILLANT, GUESDE, DEVILLE, JACIARD, CREPIN, and LAFARGUE.

"For the Socialist Group in the Paris Town Council—DAUMAS, LONGUET, VAILLANT, and CHAUVIERE, Town Councillors.

"For the Socialist Group in the Chamber of Deputies—FERROUL and PLANTEAU, Deputies.

"Secretary for France—BESSET, Bourse du Travail (Labour Exchange), Rue J. J. Rousseau, Paris.

"Secretary for Foreign Countries—PAUL LAFARGUE, Le Perreux, Paris.

## SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss bourgeois have endeavoured to convince Bismarck, who accused them of favouring the introduction of Socialism in Germany and in Russia, that they are not in the least tender-hearted for revolutionists. The Federal Council expelled Wohlgemuth, being absolutely unable to act otherwise, but at the same time they expelled the Socialist Lutz. On the other hand, they have now expelled thirteen more foreign Socialists, viz., eleven Russians and two Austrians. The decree of expulsion is as follows:

"Considering that on March the 6th, 1889, two Russians, Jacques Brinstein, alias Nachtigalov, Gutman, or Dembo, from Bernersk, born 1863, and Alexander Dembsky, members of the Russian Terrorist Party, while making at Peterstobel, near Zurich, experiments on explosive matters, caused two bombs to explode, thereby severely wounding themselves; that Brinstein soon afterwards died from his wounds, but that Dembsky is on the way to recovery; that the enquiry, while proving that the idea of an actual plot cannot for one moment be entertained, at any rate has shown that the experiments have been made with a view to add new weapons to the means of action of the Terrorist Party; that George Prokofiew and Marie Gunzburg, active members of the Russian Terrorist Party, seem to have had knowledge of the experiments of Brinstein and Dembsky; that besides these, other persons residing in Switzerland have known about these experiments, or at least belong to the Terrorist party, the leaders of which declare the use of violent means to be legitimate; by application of paragraph 70 of the Federal Constitution, the Federal Council decides that George Prokofiew, Marie Gunzburg, George Beck, Iesaias Kassiusch, Wladimir Wolkowitch, Emanuel Gurewitsch, Max Philippeo, Gabriel Kafianz, Heinrich Frenkel, Sophie Scheinritz, Felix Daszynsky, and Alexis Tisojew be expelled from Swiss territory."

All these expelled comrades were living very quietly at Zurich, and have done nothing whatever in contradiction to the Swiss laws; they are simply the victims of the egoism of the Swiss bourgeoisie, who have once more acted in the interests of three mighty empires—the German, the Russian, and the Austrian.

Several of our Russian friends being poor, comrade Peter Lavroff has been asked to centralise in his hands any subscriptions which may be sent for the relief of these persecuted Socialists. His address is 328 Rue St. Jacques, Paris.

## ITALY.

Important "disturbances" have taken place during the last fortnight in the neighbourhood of Milano, at Casorezzo. The inhabitants of that place, mostly silk and cotton weavers, exasperated against their employers and no longer knowing how to live, have at last resorted to open rebellion, and went with their wives and children to the houses of several industrial magnates, asking them for bread, corn, and money. As they seemed somewhat slow in complying with the people's wishes, the inhabitants smashed their windows and threatened to use violence to get at what they wanted. The syndic of the town at once sent to Milano in order to get support, and bersaglieri were despatched to the spot, who have put the country under martial law. Fifty persons were arrested.

At a short distance from Casorezzo, at Arluno, where misery prevails to such an extent that the poor inhabitants are in complete want of bread, the workers have refused to work any longer if their wages are not at once considerably increased. The blood-suckers having refused to do anything of the kind the house of the syndic has been besieged, and all the shops have been closed for fear of the threats of the people. The furniture of Count del Verme's palace has been burnt right out. After several other houses had been sacked, the military came and occupied the palace and several spots of the town. Night and day the soldiers are watching the streets. All the factories are closed, and even in the fields nobody is to be seen.

At San Giorgio di Legnano, at Ossona, and at Arconate, similar rioting has taken place, accompanied by more or less so-called "violence" on the part of the starving people. Mark! these people, as long as they are at work, earn somewhat between 7d. and 8d. a-day, and instead of resorting to revolt they should declare themselves the most happy men on earth. V. D.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—At the meeting of the Council on the 20th inst., W. Morris and F. Kitz were elected as delegates to the International Socialist Congress convened in Paris for July.—F. Kitz and W. Blundell were elected delegates to a Conference called by the Finsbury Radical Federation anent the Housing of the People.—Mrs. Schack, J. Turner, and A. Brookes as delegates to the Co-operative Aid Association.—Wm. Morris brought to the notice of the Council the fact that he had been invited to speak at a meeting, convened by the S.D.F., in Victoria Park, to be held shortly upon the question of the sentence passed upon the steward of the Berner Street Club. It was resolved that as the S.D.F. had refused to take part with the S.L. in regard to the defence, and as the Defence Committee (composed of delegates of Radical Clubs and organisations) which had done the initial work of defence, such as collecting money, sending out resolutions, and holding public meetings, were entirely ignored by the S.D.F. in the arrangement of their meetings, the secretary be instructed to write and ask for information of the S.D.F., and that if they are willing to accept our co-operation, F. Kitz and W. Morris would speak on our behalf at the meeting.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, June 3, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th, at 13, Farringdon Road. Agenda has been sent to Branches.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Mitcham, to end of February. North London, and St. Georges East, to end of March. Bradford, Hammersmith, and Leicester, to end of April. East London, and Yarmouth, to end of May. Clerkenwell, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collected at Leman Street on May 5th, 1s. 9d.; ditto on May 19th, 1s. 9d.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the *Weal*. Next meeting of committee on Tuesday, June 11, at 8 p.m.

**Defence Committee** (Berner Street).—Norwich, 3s.; Glasgow Branch, 5s.; Yarmouth, 3s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; E. W. Cook, 10s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; S. Presburg, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; and Schmitt, 1s. Norwich, 1s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Regents Park*—Cantwell, Davis, and Mrs. Lahr spoke. A little opposition from a total abstainer; 2s. 1d. collected. *Mile End Waste*—Large meeting on Saturday night addressed by Mowbray, Davis, Brooks, Cores, Blundell, and Hicks; 15 *Weal* sold. *Leman Street*—Good meeting Sunday morning, addressed by Mowbray, Nicoll, and Turner; 18 *Weal* sold besides other literature, and 1s. 9d. collected. More speakers wanted this end of London.

**MITCHAM.**—Successful meeting held Sunday last on Fair Green, addressed by Kitz, Mrs. Schack, and E. Moore. Good sale of *Commonweal*. Collected for local propaganda, 1s. 6d. In evening at meeting room member's meeting was held.—S. G.

**EAST LONDON.**—Hall opened to public on Sunday night, when H. H. Sparling lectured on "Rent, Interest, and Profit;" good audience and lively discussion. Fair sale of literature.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—Wednesday, May 15th, Rev. Stewart Headlam lectured on "The Sins that cause Poverty" to good audience. Questions and discussion at finish. One new member made and fair sale of literature.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting held on 13th, Leatham lectured on "An Eight Hour's Day." At Castle Street on Saturday night, usual meeting addressed by Duncan and Aiken.—L.

**BRADFORD.**—Tuesday 7th, Gaskell lectured on "The Futility of Thrift;" good debate. On Sunday 19th, Mitchell lectured to very good audience on "Radicalism v. Socialism," and succeeded in drawing some local Radicals into a warm debate, but their Radicalism is nothing but State Socialism though they don't know it; the lecturer and Minty ably replied.—P. B.

**GLASGOW.**—Sunday midday, Gilbert, T. and J. Burgoyne, and Carr spoke on Jail Square, and made collection on behalf of Glasgow Tramway Carmen's Union, amounting to 2s. 6d. At Paisley Road, T. and J. Burgoyne spoke; collection for same object 1s. 8d. We regret that the reports for the two previous weeks were sent in too late for insertion.—J. B.

**LEEDS.**—The Leeds branch are trying to arrange for a Congress of Yorkshire Socialists, to take place during July, hoping thereby to stimulate propaganda in the North. All Socialists who wish to see the cause advanced and strengthened in Yorkshire, are invited to communicate with F. Corkwell, 10, Sykes Street, Beeston Road, Leeds.

**MANCHESTER.**—Saturday evening we opened new ground, which we mean to work during summer, visiting outlying towns weekly. The factory town of Middleton was the first, and a splendid meeting was held in the Market Square. After opening with a song, Bailie lectured on "The Class War, its latest phases" to about 600 working-men. Many questions were put, the answers being satisfactory. On our departure a desire to hear more was expressed; we return next Saturday. At Stevenson Square on Sunday at 3, Ritson, Leonard Hall, and Barton spoke. At 7.30, enthusiastic meeting was held at Chester Road, when Barton and Ritson, and a friendly "Christian" Socialist spoke.

(Several reports are unavoidably crowded out for want of space.)

**HATCHAM LIBERAL CLUB**, Portland House, New Cross Road.—Sunday May 26, at 8.30, Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, "Practicable Land Nationalisation."

**A NIGHT WITH JOHN BEDFORD LENO**, author of "Drury Lane Lyrics," "Kimburton," "The Last Idler," etc.—A Complimentary Smoking Concert, under the patronage of the "Hotspur Club," consisting of Readings and Songs from the works of J. B. Leno, will take place at Anderton's Hotel, Fleet Street, on Monday May 27, at 8.30 prompt. Tickets 1s. and 2s.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday May 26, at 8.30, Debate, "Is a Government necessary during a Revolutionary Crisis?" D. J. Nicoll, affirmative; F. Charles, negative.

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday May 26, Members' Meeting at 7 o'clock sharp. At 8.30, C. W. Mowbray, "Socialism and Party Politics."

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 26, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Thursday May 30, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 31, at 7.30 p.m., French Class; at 8.30 sharp, Special Business Meeting and discussion of motions for Conference.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m. **North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary. On Wednesday May 29, lecture by Vaughan Nash, "Socialist Co-operation."

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—IMPORTANT NOTICE.—The Branch removes from 84 John Street on Saturday. Temporary address and meeting place, Ram's Horn Assembly Rooms, Ingram Street.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Assoc.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class at comrade Hadley's every Friday at 8 p.m. *Commonweal* sold by Mr. Houes, newsagent, George Street.

FRIENDS WILLING TO AID in forming Branches in the undermentioned places are asked to write to the addresses given: *Liverpool*—W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Chapman St. *Walworth and Camberwell*—3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green. *Wimbledon and Merton*—F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. *Hoxton*—H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. *Streatham*—J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 25.

7 ..... Hyde Park ..... Brookes, Mrs. Lahr, and Davis.  
8 ..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Mowbray, Kitz, and Samuel.  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... The Branch.

SUNDAY 26.

10.30..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lynes, Dean, and Crouch  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mrs. Schack and Parker  
11.30..... Hammersmith—Beadon Road ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Charles and Cores  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Davis  
11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Turner  
3.30..... Hyde Park ..... Davis and Brookes  
3.30..... Victoria Park ..... Parker and Charles  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Brookes  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch  
7.30..... Streatham Common ..... Charles, Kitz, Cores

TUESDAY 28.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch.

THURSDAY 30.

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Kitz.  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Davis.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m. Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Bawburgh, at 11. Crostwick, at 11. North Walsham, at 11. Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3.

## AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

**Sydney.**—533 George Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. W. H. McNamara, Secretary.

**Melbourne.**—"Golden Fleece" Hotel, Russell Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. J. A. Andrews, 18 Ophir Street, Richmond, Secy.

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8. *Galashiels*—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. *Gallatown and Dysart* (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. *Kilmarnock*—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. *West Calder*—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**FERNDAL LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, 35 Bedford Road, Brixton.—Thursday May 30, at 8.30, Mr. A. Howar, "Practicable Land Nationalization."

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# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### HENRY GEORGE AND THE SINGLE TAX.

THE large audiences which assembled to hear Mr. George during his recent lecturing tour in Scotland, and the enthusiasm with which his denunciation of private property in land was received, are cheering signs to Socialists. It was especially gratifying to observe that almost every speaker who preceded and followed Mr. George at those meetings, spoke more Socialism than Single Tax; and that just in proportion as their utterances were boldly socialistic—and many of them were remarkably so—was the applause and enthusiasm of the meetings.

I think, however, that I am not guilty of bias in saying that when Mr. George attempted to show that land can be nationalised by the imposition of a single tax on land values, there was a palpable fall in his argument, if not from the sublime to the ridiculous, at least from the convincing to the confounding—a fall, too, that was apparent alike in the lecturer's manner of speech and in the audience's manner of receiving it. It is true Mr. George admitted that he did not believe the imposition of a single tax upon land values would do "everything," and that he defined the right of private property in the products of labour in terms that implied Socialism; yet the general tenour of his utterance when eulogising his tax theory and when replying to questions put by Socialists, was so patently sophistical and reactionary, that one could not help agreeing with Dr. Clark when he said—speaking at the farewell meeting in the City Hall, Glasgow—that "He (pointing to Mr. George) was the most Conservative man in Scotland."

As Mr. George's single-tax theory has no doubt charms for those whose minds have been warped by the unhealthy teaching of expedients and palliatives common to all political reformers, and for those who feel almost persuaded to become Socialists but hesitate, looking for some stepping-stone, fearing to take the bold leap, I will endeavour to show briefly the error of fact and thought upon which it is founded. A reply given by Mr. George to a question asked in Glasgow, seems to me to expose the radical defect of perception upon which the whole superstructure of his method is built.

When asked if a man was justified in taking the highest price he could GET for a product of his labour, Mr. George replied "Yes! If I make a rod and line and go and fish in a stream and catch a fish, and if everybody else is equally free to go and do the same, I am certainly entitled to ask, and if possible get, what I please for the fish."

It is hard to believe that Mr. George is not conscious of the utter absurdity that underlies such a declaration. What man ever would pay to another more for a fish than it would cost him to procure one for himself, *if he was equally free and able to go and procure it?* Fishers do not usually succeed in robbing fishers, any more than lawyers succeed in robbing lawyers. But fishers may easily succeed in robbing lawyers, and lawyers usually do succeed in robbing fishers when they get them in their clutch. It is apparent on the face of it, that the only reason why men can and do make a profit off their fellows is because they have a direct or indirect power to compel their fellows to submit to their extortion. Mr. George declares that he is opposed to all monopoly; but what is monopoly but the possession of some advantage—it may be special opportunity or special knowledge—that gives some the power to get more than the labour-value of what they give? When there is no special advantage or monopoly, profit and interest, which Mr. George justifies, will be impossible.

The streams of our land may be equally free to all who care or can get an opportunity of fishing in them. But if while one man residing near a stream may be free to fish in it, another residing far away from it is surely not so free; and the man who is down in the mine during the day procuring coal to boil, or salt to season the fish, can scarcely be said to be free to fish at all. Are men, therefore, to take advantage of their neighbours' different pursuits, or even of their neighbours' ignorance or misfortune? Shall the fisher make a profit off the miner, the miner off the tailor, and the tailor off the husbandman? And when the one complains to the other, "Oh, you are robbing me!" shall the other answer him, "True, but you are free to rob me or some one else if you can. You are free to turn your hand to my

occupation, and then you will no longer be robbed by me!" Surely the complainer would reply, "Yes, but then I again in turn would be robbed by the man who did the work which I now do! I am not free to fish, and bake, and make clothes, and cultivate the ground all at the same time; and unless I can do everything for myself some one or another will rob me!"

I freely admit, that if by any system of land restoration, or by the imposition of any tax, we could achieve a state where men might, even at a great sacrifice, be free to persistently revolt against robbery, or be free to rob others just as much as others robbed them, the problem would be solved. For these men, unless we assume that they had become idiots, would in sheer despair declare for Communism within twenty-four hours. But, alas! no theory of mere land restoration yet expounded, no method of taxation yet proposed, gives the slightest hope of such a result. Mr. George, while admitting that under his single tax system the land would be rented to the highest bidder, and when, as he must know, the highest bidder would be the man with the most capital—the man who to-day can pay the highest rents, the man who would employ as much machinery and as few men as possible—still clings to the belief that his system will make the soil of the country free to the workers, so that they will be able to escape from the oppression of the capitalists and be able to sell their labour for its full, and if they can for more than its full value. There is nothing, however, in his single tax theory *per se* that implies that a great number of men would on its adoption be drawn from the congested labour market and be employed upon land, not to speak of being free and able to employ themselves upon it. Unless the price of food is increased, it would not pay to employ more than are now employed upon the arable portions of it. Horticulture, it is true, might be substituted for agriculture, and that undoubtedly would employ more; but horticulture is not an exclusive or even an integral principle of the single tax economy. Horticulture could be adopted without the single tax being imposed, and, as a matter of fact, is already largely adopted in many parts of the country.

As for the converting of sheep farms and sporting lands into arable soil, would not the number of men it might be profitable to employ in this way (and this again is not a remedy dependent upon the adoption of the single tax) be counterbalanced by the thousands of domestic servants, flunkeys, gamekeepers, gillies, fence-makers, and indeed cabinet-makers, tailors, etc., etc., who at present make a livelihood by ministering to the landlord class, and whom the dispossessed—or taxed out—landlords and landladies would require to disband? Would not even the 30,000 or 50,000 landlords themselves—who would (if the tax proved effectual) be thrown on all fours upon the labour market to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows—be a somewhat important mob of recruits to the army of unskilled labour?

There are the tramway servants, the match-factory girls, the Cradley Heath chainmakers, the shirt seamstresses, and the thousands of other victims of usury and profit-making—how, I ask, are they going to get on the land? Supposing the curse of Gowrie or the fields of Lincolnshire were waiting for them rent free; without capital they could not go there, and even if they could they would perish of starvation in a single week. And if they cannot go to the land and employ themselves they must submit to be employed by others, and others will only employ them on condition of making a profit off their labour—that is robbing them. And need more be said than this, that any system that gives one class of men the power to be masters over another class, that compels the poor to labour for the profit of the rich, is a system—however hypocritically it may disguise itself—that no Socialist should assist in establishing, and if established every Socialist should war against until its utter destruction was assured.

As for the tax itself, Mr. George says it would, by means of the State, be distributed directly or indirectly to all the people of the country—rich and poor alike. Just so. What the rich got of it would be robbery; for, quibble about land values as Mr. George and his disciples may, there is not an atom of wealth that can be acquired by the State by means of a tax, that does not come exclusively from the labour of those who work. Those who don't work can produce no wealth, either to be taken in the form of taxation or any other form.

and every iota of the land tax which the wealthy idlers received directly or indirectly would be robbery of the poor. On the other hand, that portion of the tax which the poor received back, would also, by the iron law of wages (from which as we have seen the single tax provides no escape) go to the rich—the capitalists—in the form of reduced wages paid to the workers!

Thus the single tax would ultimately become only another means of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. So also would it operate in this way so far as it made unnecessary the exaction of all other direct and indirect taxation; for, while the single tax upon land would relieve the rich capitalist of say £1,000 a-year of indirect and direct taxes, the worker would only be relieved of say £5. The capitalist would in this way be actually receiving a greater share of the value of the land than the poor worker.

There is no real economic distinction between land that can bear taxation and capital. A piece of taxable land is a manufactured article, just like a wheel-barrow or a steam-engine, the difference being really, economically speaking, one of degree. It is true we cannot carry an acre of land upon our back or move it to and fro, and therefore, instead of carrying it or moving it, we have to carry or move ourselves to it; and it is just the labour involved in carrying ourselves and placing our factories and our cities upon any piece of land that gives it whatever value it possesses, apart from actual cultivation, which is a species of manufacture. We cannot, for example, bring our meadows and our mountains to our railways and stations; we have to take our railways and stations to our meadows and mountains. Our meadows and mountains are thus modified by labour, and those who happen to own land thus modified by the labour of others and thus increased in value, can of course charge for that extra value in the form of rent, and become thereby robbers of labour. This value, which Mill termed "unearned increment," and which Mr. George proposes to tax, is a value given solely by labour; it is a value too that accrues to other articles besides land. It is a value, for instance, that accrues to an old violin, or a bottle of old wine, the value in fact of the care and trouble of maturing and preserving the article. Human labour has also this "unearned increment," for by eight hour's labour to-day a mechanic or a mill-worker can do treble or quadruple the value of work that a mechanic or mill-worker could do fifty years ago. This increased value of labour, like the increased value of land, is not given by the efforts of any one man, but by the efforts of the workers and thinkers of the present and past generations; and, therefore, no man can claim that the products of his own labour are exclusively his own. We cannot escape from Communism.

"No man made the land!" cries Mr. George. But no man ever made anything. No man ever made art, education, science, or the knowledge of how to cook, make clothes, or do anything that distinguishes us from brutes. That skill and knowledge is no more made by any one man, or generation of men, than the soil of the country. No man of himself ever made a machine, the raw and even largely the manufactured material was provided him. No man ever of himself, and from his own created knowledge, invented a machine; the science, the skill of workmanship, was preserved for him and supplied to him by society. To society, to the past and present generations of men, he owes everything that distinguishes him from a bushman or a brute; and shall he be allowed to take all things from society and give nothing to society in return? Shall he, in fact, be permitted to be a Communist in taking from the community and an Individualist in giving to it?

Mr. George advises Socialists not to concern themselves so much about the monopoly of capital. The entire capital of the nation, he tells us, does not amount to more than four years national production. The stored product of four years labour! and Mr. George actually thinks that is not of very great account! Why, if every worker in the community had his portion of that capital, the value of four years of his own labour, what would the landlords and capitalist have? Nothing! The workers would own every stick and stone, every atom of material in the country. Then the capitalists would know, what Mr. George apparently does not know, what it is to be without, not four years, but maybe not four weeks or even four days stored labour to fall back upon. And that is the plight of the great portion of our workers to-day, and it is just because of that plight that they are unable to live without hiring themselves to the capitalists who have appropriated their stored labour, or to resist being plundered in the future. It is because of that plight that even did the workers appropriate the entire soil of the country, and squat upon it rent free, they would be unable to subsist upon it without the assistance of the capitalists—unless they appropriated the capital of the country, or at least a mighty large portion of it, as well.

As Socialists, we are all for Land Nationalisation, or Land Communisation, but we do not believe it possible to nationalise or communise the land by a single tax upon it, or any other mere fiscal adjustment. Land Nationalisation is impossible without Socialism, and any attempt to really nationalise the land would be resisted by capitalists and landlords alike, as they now resist Socialism. Let us then dally no further with the matter, but boldly teach our right to obtain, and boldly set ourselves to obtaining, all the wealth and all the means of producing wealth which our labour and the labour of past generations of workers (whose inheritors we are) has produced. Let us appease no superstition by hypocrisy, no prejudice by sophistry, and no fear by untruth, but lift boldly up the banner of revolution and all true and good men will be drawn irresistibly to it.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

(Continued from p. 162.)

THIS Stamp Act imposed a heavy duty on all newspapers, and the *Black Dwarf* and similar publications evaded it by publishing no news in their columns, and confining themselves to comment and satire. I will give a few extracts from this paper, so as to give you some idea of the way in which it was written. In an article on the increase of crime in the country, the *Black Dwarf* holds forth as follows:

"In a state like England, it is impossible that crime should not abound. Some of the laws that pretend to punish guilt, as well as the taxes that produce it, are calculated to give a premium for the commission of the most atrocious deeds. All is enlisted against the wretched. Many poor beings subsist for weeks on less food than the gluttons of to-day devour at a single meal. It is vain for ministers of the church to inveigh against the demoralization of the poor. They should inveigh against the system that has demoralized them. They should inveigh against one man eating the food of twenty, while the remaining nineteen are expected to starve in quiet, or threatened with punishment for complaint. Man is naturally kind to those who surround him. His passions will have weight, but he is not naturally a thief or a murderer. Let those who have made him so tremble for the consequences, and retrace their steps. Ere the lightning flashes or the thunder rolls, let them listen to the voice that has been patient in suffering, and which can eagerly forgive as it can awfully avenge. The people call for an alteration, they demand a reform. They are wearied with disgust at the mismanagement almost everywhere apparent. May those who have mounted in the car of Phaeton be wise enough to moderate their career and repent in time."

The *Black Dwarf* also points out "that the rich make their fortunes out of the labour of the poor," and that in giving charity they only return a portion of the superfluous wealth they have taken from them. In an answer to complaints of the ministry as to disloyalty in the country, this paper says, "Put George Canning in the workhouse at Bethnal Green, and allow him half-a-crown a-week (and that's more than he is worth to the State), and hear what beautiful tropes and similes he would find for the constitution." George Canning was the principal creature of the ministry. He had once been an advanced reformer, but sold himself for wealth and office.

It required some courage to write like this when the valiant Cobbett had run away in fear of repressive laws, especially as the editor of the *Black Dwarf*, Mr. Wooler, was then being prosecuted by the ministry for saying "that when the administration talk of patriotism they meant plunder," and that their object in embarking in a war against France was not to conquer that country but ourselves. When prosecuted, he defended himself in a manly and eloquent speech, and though the jury found him guilty, yet through a technical informality the decision was quashed and the Attorney-General did not proceed with a new trial.

Such was the revolutionary literature of the time; and though these men did not see so clearly the root of the evil as we do, yet we can see that they felt the sufferings of the poor as keenly as ourselves.

But now to return to the main part of my subject. I have said that the revolutionary feeling increased among the Radicals. Their societies were repressed, but many of them still met in secret and plotted the overthrow of the tyrannical Government. The most advanced section of the Radicals of Manchester decided to call upon the people to march to London to petition the Prince Regent. On the 3rd of March twenty thousand men gathered at St. Peter's Church to start for this journey. They called themselves "blanketeers," from their each carrying a blanket for camping upon the roads and among fields. Eight troops of yeomanry and a strong force of military are called out. The leaders are arrested and the crowd dispersed by force. A few thousand of the most determined reach the bridge at Stockport, but are charged by troops of yeomanry, who use their sabres. One person is so badly wounded that his life is despaired of. Two hundred prisoners are taken; but a number of the blanketeers ford the river, and five hundred of them reach Macclesfield and are there broken up by a troop of yeomanry. The printer of the placard calling the meeting is arrested and thrown into prison. The triumph of law and order is complete against these unarmed starving men.

But the Government was fated to be confronted with more serious attacks upon the law and the constitution than could be made by a few thousand half-starved men marching to London. On 6th of June a number of delegates were arrested by a troop of cavalry at Thornton Lees, Yorkshire, and almost simultaneously insurrection broke out. Throughout the northern counties there were many men who had taken part in the Luddite movement, and these were not the sort of people to see their leaders thrown into prison and their ordinary liberties crushed beneath the heel of despotism without making something more than a verbal protest. A few days after the arrest of the delegates at Thornton Lees, three hundred men gather near Huddersfield. Many of the people have fire-arms. The yeomanry are called out and come into conflict with the insurgents at Folly Hall Bridge. Shots are exchanged; a yeoman's horse is wounded, and these heroes retreat. A troop of regular cavalry is sent against the insurgents, but they find on arriving on the scene of the conflict that the rebels have dispersed. A considerable number of arrests follow this unsuccessful attempt at insurrection.

But a far more serious attempt was soon to startle the propertied classes of this free and happy country. This was what is known in the newspapers of the time as the Derbyshire insurrection. Living



at Nottingham at this time was a man named Jeremiah Brandreth, who had been very active in the Luddite disturbances a few years back. He was known among his companions, on account of his courage and daring, as the Nottingham Captain, and had a great influence among the advanced Radicals in that town. In appearance he was dark and swarthy, and fitted in every way as the leader of a popular insurrection. For some time there had been rumours among the poor in the villages on the borders of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire that a great rising was about to take place throughout the whole of England. Preparations had been made; pikes were forged; and the starving people hope that the end of their misery is near. On the 8th of June Brandreth appears suddenly, as if he had dropped from the clouds, at Pentridge, a large village on the borders in Derbyshire, inhabited by stocking frame knitters and agricultural labourers. He has good news to tell them: the day of revolt has arrived. To-morrow England will burst into insurrection; an army of starving men will come down from the north like a cloud and sweep tyranny in ruin before them. This is the story he tells to a crowd of wondering rustics in a low-roofed room whose walls are black with smoke and age at Pentridge village inn. To most of those present, save two or three leaders, Brandreth is a stranger, although Pentridge is within less than twenty miles of the town of Nottingham, but they do not doubt that he speaks the truth; and when he repeats certain verses, the watch-words of this jacquarie, akin to the rhymes which were current among the peasantry at the time of Tyler's rebellion, and points out the route of the rebel forces on the map, conviction is redoubled. These are the rhymes—rough enough, but with a certain oracular force about them:

“Every man his skill must try;  
He must turn out, and not deny.  
No bloody soldier must he dread;  
He must turn out and fight for bread.  
The time has come, you plainly see;  
The Government opposed must be.”

A discussion then springs up as to the amount of arms. William Turner, one of the leaders, states they are best prepared at Wingfield for there the people have forty pikes hidden away in a quarry. It is decided that they are to meet on the next night at a farm near Wingfield, and that they are to be joined at various points on the road to Nottingham by the detachments from the other villages. The plan of insurrection is not a bad one. Just outside Nottingham they are to be met by a picked body of Nottingham insurgents, and these combined forces are to sweep through the town and carry all before them. When these preliminaries are settled the meeting breaks up. At ten o'clock on the 9th of June the insurgents accordingly gather at the old barn near Wingfield; they come up slowly, and it is late before they are ready to march. At last Brandreth and Turner form them in military order, and they march off in the darkness, some forty or fifty strong, to join the Pentridge men, whom they have agreed to meet at a field close to that village. As they march, the inmates of farm-houses upon the road are rudely awakened by blows upon the door from the butt-ends of guns and pikes. They open their windows in fear and trembling, and are ordered by the insurgents—and the request is emphasised by levelling of guns, pistols, and pikes at the heads of the occupants of the houses—to hand over any arms that they may have in the place. At the farmhouse of Samuel Hunt, a confederate, they are well received and are regaled with bread and cheese and beer, Hunt afterwards joining the insurgents with one of his farm servants. They then march to the house of Mrs. Hepworth, the widow of a wealthy farmer, and knock at the door, and when the inmates are awakened make their usual demand for weapons. Their request is refused, and Hunt at a word from Brandreth picks up a huge stone and hurls it at the door. Brandreth with some others rush round to the back to force an entrance there. A window is driven in, and Brandreth, levelling his gun through the window, tells someone who is standing there in darkness to open the door. The man refuses; Brandreth fires; there is a cry of pain, and the man falls forward on the floor, stone dead. The dead man is a servant of the house, Robert Walters by name. No further resistance is made, and the arms are handed out to the insurgents.

Many people will doubtless call this act of Brandreth's a cruel and abominable murder. I waste no terms of reprobation: revolutions are not made with rose-water, and those people who can shriek over a single victim of a popular insurrection are often singularly complaisant over the slaughter of thousands in a wicked and useless war. Dreadful as this act may seem, it certainly proved that Brandreth had in him the material for a revolutionary leader, and if there had been a few thousand more men like him in England, the misery and starvation of the people would not have lasted much longer, and Sidmouth and Castlereagh would have bit the dust before a popular revolt.

The insurgents then continue their march. The people from Pentridge are not at the appointed place, so they march down to the village and arouse the men, who have lost nerve at the last moment. They are here joined by several comrades, and they take arms from the houses of the farmers in the village. Having thus recruited their ranks, they resume their march to Condon, a village near Nottingham, and there stop at a public-house known as the Glass House, where they awake the landlord and are supplied with ale and other refreshment. Here Isaac Ludlam, one of the leaders, an old agricultural labourer, addresses them and urges them vehemently to fight to rid themselves of their slavish wretchedness. They now number about two hundred, and other parties are marching in to join them, but

many of the men who have been forced to join at Pentridge and other places are thinking more of flight than fighting, so their strength is more apparent than real. The landlord brings in his bill, but Brandreth informs him that he will be paid after the revolution, and he does not find it convenient to enforce payment. The insurgents then resume their march as the dawn of summer morning breaks over the land.

Leaving them on the road, let us go to Nottingham and see what has occurred there.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be concluded.)

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 8, 1889.

2	Sun.	1777. Trial of John Almon, bookseller, for selling <i>Junius</i> 'Letter to the King.' 1780. "No Popery" riots in London. 1793. French Convention surrounded by armed sections under Henriot; Girondins put under arrest at their own houses. 1817. Trial of Andrew McKinlay for administering "unlawful oaths" as a member of a society for obtaining Reform. 1831. Labour riots at Merthyr; red flag carried. 1838. Socialist Congress at Manchester closes with a great demonstration at Bywater's Rooms. 1866. John Lynch, Fenian, died in Woking Prison. 1878. Nobiling's attempt on Kaiser Wilhelm. 1882. Giuseppe Garibaldi died.
3	Mon.	1793. Trial of D. I. Eaton for publishing the second part of the 'Rights of Man.' 1804. Richard Cobden born. 1816. "Illegal assemblage" of weavers at Bradford, Wilts., to protest against power-looms. 1831. Severe fighting at Merthyr between strikers and military. 1842. Unemployed demonstration at Glasgow. 1846. First number of the <i>Reasoner and Herald of Progress</i> , edited by G. J. Holyoake, 2d. weekly. 1864. William Johnson Fox died. 1882. James Thomson ("B.V.") died. 1885. Police outrage at the International Club, Stephen's Mews.
4	Tues.	1793. Adam Smith born. 1798. Sir Edward Crosbie hanged for high treason, Ireland. 1877. Trial of South Russian Workers' Union: sentences—mines 3; Siberia 5; prison 7.
5	Wed.	1816. Five weavers imprisoned with hard labour for "unlawfully combining" in a trade union. 1817. J. T. Wooler tried for "seditious libel" in the <i>Black Dwarf</i> of April 2 upon Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. 1887. Great Socialist feast in Copenhagen.
6	Thur.	1787. Trials of Lord George Gordon for writing, and Thomas Wilkins for printing, 'The Prisoners' Petition to the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon to preserve their Lives and Liberties, and prevent their Banishment to Botany Bay'; and of Lord George Gordon for libel on the Queen of France. 1816. Riot at Chelmsford begun by the rescue of four prisoners charged with machine-breaking; yeomanry routed by the rioters. 1878. Geiking, Captain of Gendarmes at Kieff, killed by Socialists. 1887. Strike of Northumberland miners begins.
7	Fri.	1649. Dinner to Cromwell and thanksgiving in City for the putting down of the Levellers. 1753. Dr. Archibald Cameron hung for being "out in the '45." 1798. James O'Coigley hung. 1832. First Reform Bill passed. 1866. President Johnson's proclamation against the Fenians. 1876. Workers Ossipoff and Obramenko tried at St. Petersburg for Socialist propaganda, and sentenced to mines and prison respectively.
8	Sat.	1688. Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops. 1809. Thomas Paine died. 1831. Serious labour riot at Merthyr, and conflict with the military; many deaths. 1876. Georges Sand died. 1878. Clever escape of Stephanovich, Deitch, and Bukhanovsky from Kieff prison; they reach Switzerland, but returning afterwards, are caught, tried, and sent to the mines for life.

*Unlawful Oath.*—The following is the "unlawful oath," for administering which at secret meetings in Glasgow, during November and December 1816 and January and February 1817, Andrew McKinlay was tried: "In awful presence of God, I, A B, do voluntarily swear that I will persevere in my endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Britons of every description who are considered worthy of confidence, and that I will persevere in any endeavours to obtain for all the people in Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crimes or insanity, the elective franchise, at the age of twenty-one, with free and equal representation, and annual parliaments; and that I will support the same to the utmost of my power, either by moral or physical strength, as the case may require; and I do further swear that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments shall induce me to inform on, or give evidence against, any member or members, collectively or individually, for any act or expression done or made, in or out, in this or similar societies, under the punishment of death, to be inflicted on me by any member or members of such societies. So help me God, and keep me steadfast."

SEAHAM HARBOUR MINERS.—One thousand miners, employed by the Marquis of Londonderry, at Seaham Harbour, have decided to give 14 days' notice to leave work unless concessions in the matter of wages and hours are granted.

RAILWAY SIGNALMEN'S WAGES.—At a meeting of Leeds signalmen on Friday, at which all the railways in the district were represented, a resolution was unanimously adopted to agitate for increased wages and a reduction of hours to eight per day, six days to constitute a week, and wages to be paid as follows: First class men, 5s. a-day; second, 4s. 6d.; third, 4s.; and fourth class men to be abolished.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION SOCIETY.—The second exhibition will open in the New Gallery, Regent Street, on the 7th of October; the days for sending in will be the 16th, 17th, and 18th of September. A new departure will be made in the sale of the exhibits, in which it will be remembered the society took no part. The society, however, will make no profit upon the sales. The evening lectures will again be a feature of the exhibition.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN  
HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

LUCY PARSONS (Chicago).—Book to hand safely; will be reviewed in a week or two.  
JOHN GREENWOOD (Ashwell).—Thanks for letter; will let comrades know of your invitation.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 29.

ENGLAND	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
Justice	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Elector	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
London—Freie Presse	FRANCE	Porto—A Revolta
Norwich—Daylight	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	GERMANY
Railway Review	Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Sozial Demokrat	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
Seafaring	Commentary—Le Socialiste	Wien—Gleichheit
Telegraph Service Gazette	Lyon—Le Flambeau Rouge	Brunn—Volksfreund
Worker's Friend	HOLLAND	HUNGARY
INDIA	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Anarchist	DENMARK
Madras—People's Friend	BELGIUM	Social-Demokraten
UNITED STATES	Ghent—Vooruit	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
New York—Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker	SWEDEN
Freiheit	Liege—L'Avenir	Malmö—Arbetet
Truthseeker	SWITZERLAND	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Arbeiterstimme	Goteborg—Folkets Röst
The Truth	Geneva—Przedswit	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	Bulletin Continental	Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal	ITALY	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Liberty	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Chicago—Knights of Labor		

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE British traveller is the British traveller always, and be he never so superior a person the cloven hoof shows itself unexpectedly yet. Witness some recent notes by the "Travelling Commissioner" of an enthusiastic and public spirited evening contemporary. After reading an interesting and picturesque description of a visit to the great wall of China, our shocked eyes come across the following naïve and child-like sentence, "The bricks (of the great wall) are so big and heavy that I had to hire a donkey to carry off two of them." The admission of its being a vandalism quite fails in its object of disarming my wrath. Why, I ask lamenting, is the British traveller to leave his mark on even the great Wall of China? "The Innocents Abroad" with their Doctor and his "Chunk busted from the tomb of Abelard and Heloise" are delightful in fiction and in America, but we don't want them too near home.

We execrate the dark trading that goes on between British and American travellers, and some of the hangers-on and doubtful custodians of world-renowned foreign buildings, of "chunks," scraps of carving, etc., and notably and abominably handfuls of the priceless mosaics in the ducal chapel of St. Mark at Venice. I myself have been mysteriously drawn into a corner in that building and offered a handful of these latter some years back, when modern improvements

and horrible Salviati mosaic jobs were in full swing; I nearly died in the unsuccessful effort to reproduce in an unfamiliar language some of the flowers of English speech which seemed to me to be appropriate to the occasion. Now, though the bricks of the Chinese Wall are, we are interested to learn, rather larger than the jewel-like squares of Venetian mosaic marble and glass, "the principle remains the same," and I deplore this one faux pas of the brilliant and interesting travelling commissioner of our much-respected contemporary.

Are the bricks, perhaps, necessary for the purpose of confounding the mistaken scientists who some years back denied the existence of the Chinese Wall? If so, I condole with the distinguished traveller if he intends that they shall form part of his luggage back into civilisation and fog.

Last Saturday, there were a good many gratified recipients of the cheap glory which Her Majesty is pleased to bestow on some of the most faithful of her faithful subjects on her most gracious birthday, and such-like Homeric occasions. I should not have thought the subject worth mentioning, but for a little "par" in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of that date, which describes the qualities of one of the favoured so neatly and concisely, that I cannot resist reproducing it *in toto* :—

"Mr. William Mackinnon is a fine example of our merchant princes (!), a man who has by his energy and skill helped to extend our commercial supremacy, especially in the transport trade of the East. He is in some respects of the Gordon type, and devotes his wealth to the promotion of causes of a semi-religious and civilising character, with an element of commerce thrown in (!!). He has taken a leading part in sending out Stanley to the relief of Emin Pasha, and is president of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which has undertaken the task of ruling and developing an immense territory. Besides being chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company he is a director of the Suez Canal Company and other commercial undertakings."

M. M.

The School Board of London has at length made up its mind upon the printing question, and from henceforth all those who would write themselves down as printers to it, must also write themselves down as paying "not less than the minimum standard rate of wages in all the branches of the trade." This is good; not because it is such a very great boon to the working-classes, but that it is a step in advance anyhow. By these little loosening of the great ring of monopoly and competition, that has for so long held prisoner the proletariat, one may in some measure realise the enormous pressure that is now put upon it by the growth of Socialist opinion in the country.

What has happened on the School Board and the County Council will happen elsewhere. The principle is being conceded all round, and its wide-spread application, however it may be resisted, cannot be long delayed. The weary uphill fight maintained against all odds by the Socialists for years past is having its effect, and those who have been discouraged by the apparent endlessness of the strife, cannot fail to take heart and renew their efforts with tenfold intensity.

The *Star* and *Pall Mall* have both protested strongly against the lying malevolence that would make murderers of the men who were hung at Manchester for the accidental killing of a constable. With that protest we are most heartily in accord; there are no men in all the world who look on Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien with more respect than do we Socialists. It is not long since the *Commonweal* told their story at length, lovingly and with due meed of praise.

But there are some of us who think that the *Star* should not protest so loud. We have not forgotten that on the 27th of last November, the first anniversary of the unveiling of the Limerick monument to the Manchester martyrs, the *Star* went out of its way to vilify and asperse our four comrades of Chicago, and to attack those who were celebrating their memory and protesting against their murder.

In the course of a letter to the editor, the present writer urged that:

"Taking for granted the truth of 'evidence' got up by policemen, and sworn to by paid informers; assuming the justice of a verdict rendered by a packed and paid jury, and a sentence passed by a venal and partial judge, you abuse those who dare to stand up and protest. Do you or your readers 'Remember Orr'? Have you and they forgotten his fate? If they look up his case, and compare with that of the Chicago men, they will find a curious and close parallel. But in Ireland we think Orr a hero; do you? There is nothing in the history of the Chicago affair that cannot be matched with identical happenings in Ireland, which are not thought of with shame. Your line in this matter is that a thousand times taken by the reactionary press there and in this country. It is that of those who called Meagher and John Mitchel 'felons' and talked of the 'righteous doom' of Allan, Larkin, and O'Brien. Such a line is hardly that which one would expect from so 'advanced' an organ as the *Star*; it unpleasantly recalls that of its forerunner and namesake, which falsified the record of the imprisoned Fenians and suppressed the letters they smuggled out of prison when they were being tortured into madness and death."

Returning to the charge, the *Star* did as liars are wont to do: it went deeper into the mire, and not only reasserted that the Chicago men "were guilty of inciting to murder," but added that which no one in the wide earth was base enough to say before—that "Lingg handed about his consignment of bombs at their meetings," and that "they shot the policemen before the policemen shot them." The protest of the friends of the condemned against packed juries and a legal murder was called "weak unmanly whining," and the insulting

neer showed how much true love of freedom and justice there lay under the shrieking of the *Star* at what is done in Ireland.

We are always ready to do justice to the *Star*, and even more than that sometimes; but we would remind it once more of the reparation it owes to four brave men and to those who loved them; a reparation that must be made before its pretensions to speak for them can be half conceded by labour-advocates with long memories. After all, its case is as we pointed out a few weeks ago; it is, like other papers which are run for profit and party warfare, liable to be led astray by the looseness of the journalistic system and the persistent pursuit of low aims.

Like its compeers, it is often cursed with an inability to believe that anybody believes anything, and that so long as a thing "tells," nothing else matters. This infirmity it must conquer if it would continue to lead any large part of the democracy; for "cultivated" scepticism has not yet permeated the masses, and never will. Instead of it there spreads, with ever-increasing rapidity, a belief which, when men hold, they hold with all the strength of their being. This those who would represent them must recognise and take into account.

The days of blind obedience to party leaders and docile swallowing of party lies, are passing away; men reason more than they did, and old shibboleths are losing power. "Justice for Ireland" and a hundred other like things are not enough to stir the blood of workmen nowadays to battle-heat; they are beginning to listen for and follow the slogan of "Justice for ALL!" S.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "SEAFARING."

SIR,—I shall be glad to know if the above journal, which is advertised by you, and was got by me on your recommendation, is endorsed by you in its nefarious action of being printed by non-union men, it being a union organ. If the National Press Agency which prints it is a fair house, and I am mistaken, then it is all right; but what I say is, that no trade-union paper has any call to employ rat printers, and no paper like yours should encourage them to do it. Hoping you will answer at once. Yours, etc.,

RUFFON RATTS.

[We have received other letters to the same effect. If the National Press Agency is not a trades union shop, we agree with our correspondents that it is hardly consistent for the seamen, who have so recently formed their own union, to support it by their printing. We should be sorry to encourage such a proceeding, and have accordingly withdrawn the advertisement for the present, and are making enquiries on the subject. "Fireman" might speak to his local secretary and move in the union itself about the matter. Eds.]

### LOOKING FORWARD.

#### A REPLY TO WILLIAM MORRIS.

Although we must not ignore, but do our level best to overthrow the present embodiment of "the art of establishing the maximum of inequality in our favour," Mr. Morris does well to call for a "moral conscience": the moral must accompany the economic development of the race, and that without its relegation to unconscious evolution, the periodical climax of which is of necessity revolution. We cannot be politically free until we are economically free, and we cannot be economically free until we are morally free; and things that are equal to the same, etc., etc., according to the first proposition of Euclid.

At the same time there are some logical discrepancies with Mr. Morris that I should like to put in relief, noting the while that no writer I have ever consulted has been able to maintain his logical balance throughout; due to the host of phenomena that the finite mind must take in, while being mainly concentrated upon the standpoint and special consideration in hand. The mote, however, in the eyes of each of us need not prevent us from abstracting a similar substance from the eye of our brother, providing the operator has one ocular apparatus unimpaired. Continued, as it has begun, in this spirit, the free discussion may result in an all round improved vision.

The end for all revolutionists is the freedom of the individual; to some it is primary, to others it is secondary; but none dare to ignore it; every formulated system of society contains an endeavour to assure us of its embodiment of the greatest possible amount of individual freedom. Before me I have a work ('Social Architecture,' by an exile from France) which, in the most complacent manner, proposes to introduce into its State edifice a regulation "by which all single men and women shall become accustomed to take their seats side by side with each other at the meals, so that every man has a woman as his neighbour at the public table; . . . every alternate chair will be a woman's, easily distinguishable by some peculiar form, size, or inscription." Man's natural rights, however, are no small item with the writer, albeit of noble sentiment and not a little mad.

In like manner, if less glaringly, no sooner does Mr. Morris posit his society in form than he immediately denies it in the content;—I take it he is pleading here for the ideal, the *telos*, and not for any period of transition; consequently the element of what is usually termed practicability (the compromise of the ideal with supposed exigencies of environment) does not enter. "If freedom from authority means the assertion of the advisability or possibility of an individual man doing what he pleases always and under all circumstances, this is an absolute negation of society, and makes Communism as the highest expression of society impossible; and when you begin to qualify the assertion of the right to do as you please by adding 'as long as you do not interfere with other people's rights to do the same,' the exercise of some kind of authority becomes necessary." Thus, while some individuals will be able to attain an exceedingly high development of the "moral conscience," a development of such perfection as to warrant them in "coercing others not to coerce," the possibility of these others reaching

the same moral level is denied. This sentence applied to the semi-moral individual as he exists to-day, contains a plausibility of truth and gives rise to the question as to whether government or liberty is the best condition for the development of the moral sense; to which question, notwithstanding that "La bête n'est par bien loin derrière nous," I answer by all that's Dialectic, Liberty. But applied to the ideal it is exceedingly pessimistic.

"Without a moral conscience there can be no true society." Amen! and if true, with a moral conscience, society is possible, and only by anticipating its insufficiency is a public conscience called for. When everyone is pleased not only to maintain his own liberty, but finds self-satisfaction without over-riding the liberty of others, then "the possibility or advisability of an individual man doing what he pleases always and under all circumstances" will be no negation of society, but its constitution. In short, even from the point of view of the authoritarian, the moral conscience denies the necessity of authority, even as authority denies the existence of the moral sense: what one has attained to, all will eventually; while to deny the possibility of any one individual's conception and practice of morality is to deny the right of anyone to govern.

Here it may be mentioned that the whole reasoning depends upon what is conceived as morality, and will be lost or not according to the conception of the ideal. To the State Socialist who conceives of no morality and no society outside of drilled industrial armies of automatic appendages to ponderous fly-wheels, with miles of workshops and numerous other modern aggregations, the conception of all-sufficient morality is more than can be expected, but to many members of the Socialist League it is otherwise. What is morality, and what is a free man?

Let William Morris answer. "Free men, I am sure, must lead simple lives and have simple pleasures; and if we shudder away from that necessity now, it is because we are not free men, and have in consequence wrapped up our lives in such a complexity of dependence that we have grown feeble and helpless. But again, what is simplicity? Do you think by chance that I mean a row of yellow-bricked, blue-slatted houses, or a phalangstere like an improved Peabody lodging-house; and the dinner-bell ringing us into a row of white basins of broth, with a piece of bread cut nice and square by each, with boiler-made tea and ill-boiled rice-pudding to follow? [and the liberty to grumble about it if you like, with the result that you find yourself in possession of the worst cut of beef for a week, and the object of many other particular attentions] No; that's the philanthropist's ideal, not mine; and here I only note it to repudiate it, and to say, Vicarious life once more." Again: "All people should learn one or two elementary arts of life, as carpentry or smithying; and most should know how to shoe a horse, shear a sheep, reap a field, and plough it." 'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished. And when it is consummated every man will scorn to become the slave of another, equally as everyone will scorn to make another his slave; everyone will dwell under his own vine and under his own fig-tree; each will work at his own handicraft, "cajoling none, cheating none," and the snift for surplus-value will be as much a recognised social sin as is theft to-day. With a community of farmers would spring up as many handicraftsmen as would be necessary, and Rent and Interest under such circumstances would not exist; for economic rent would make its exit with other devil-begotten products of modern spread-eagleism. All else would fall in its place. If labour-exchanges will be necessary they would *surgissent*, and the proprietors would keep each his business within his own power, and no employment of assistants for 30s. per week to earn us £2.

Where then would be any necessity for authority? Co-operation and Communism would then become what alone it can be, to be tolerable to free men, a *sentiment* and not a *necessity*, and everyone would be free to enter the association or not. Such a contract must be free or it is no contract, and being free it is not a necessity. That is as far as I can see into a mill-stone; what lies beyond I do not pretend to say. That is society, that is humanity, that for me is the *telos*, and it is Anarchy.

Bedford.

J. ARMSDEN.

The riveters' strike on the Clyde appears to be serious. About 4,000 men are walking idle; they demand 15 per cent. advance, and are each receiving 10s. weekly from their associations.

The Indiana coal-miners have accepted 20 per cent. reduction in wages. About 4,000 men are affected. The Ohio miners are working at a reduction. The Illinois miners, to the number of 5,000, are still out on strike, awaiting events, and about the same number are out in the vicinity of Pittsburgh.

HENRY GEORGE IN MANCHESTER.—The unprincipled "prophet" of San Francisco addressed a meeting of the Financial Reform Association in the Free Trade Hall on 21st May. His subject was announced to be "How to get rid of our Slums"; written questions sent up to chairman would be answered by the "prophet" at close. Our branch turned up in force, and kept the audience in good humour by singing a number of Socialist songs, which were received with hearty applause, until the platform orators arrived. From these gentlemen we heard that the slums were to be got rid of by shifting the taxes off tea, coffee, gold and silver plate, house property, and incomes, and placing them on the rent of land. The "great taxation reformer" began by informing us he was a Home Ruler and an American (what a coincidence!), and seemed to imagine he had a talisman in the names of Richard Cobden and Free Trade with which to play upon the sentiments of the Manchester folk whom he had before him. However, he had miscalculated its oracular effects, as the audience soon became a diminishing quantity. The amount of flimsy, albeit dramatic, rhetorical effervescence which he unburdened himself of, in place of arguments, to support his patent quack poverty-cure, exceeded anything his fiercest opponents could have attributed to this versatile Yankee. To those who had known or heard him in the earlier days before he had deserted the people and become a party politician and stump orator for Radical capitalists, the man's present moral and intellectual degeneracy is pitiable to behold. A number of questions, including some anent the Anarchist martyrs, were sent up by our members. In the face of announcements around platform and walls inviting questions, the chairman (Provand, M.P.) coolly informed the audience that it was too late to answer any questions, as Mr. George had to return to London! Determined action on our part compelled the "prophet" to get up and attempt some answering, but the principal questions were not read out, nor could the chairman be induced to do so. The American Home Ruler denounced the use of force as a means to any political or social change. At the same time, our party was only saved from forcible expulsion because it was found too numerous for a successful exhibition of force from the other side. Moral: Always denounce the use of force by your opponents, but fail not to use it wherever you believe it can be successful. The meeting ended by our giving three cheers for the social revolution.—WM. BAILIE.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The miners at Manver's Main Colliery have decided to demand the full 10 per cent. advance.

About 200 men employed at the Haigh Moor Colliery, Altofts, have come out on strike in consequence of changes in the working arrangements of the mine.

The rivet makers of the Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts, numbering between two and three thousand, gave notice of 10 per cent. advance last Saturday.

The Belfast carters have made an earnest appeal to the Scottish trades' societies for assistance in the matter of forming a union in Belfast. The women linen workers have also made a like application.

The counter-sinkers employed in the principal shipbuilding yards in the Hartlepool district struck last week for an advance of one penny per plate. Their action has thrown idle nearly the whole of the riveters in the same yards.

Five hundred colliers have struck work at Aberavon, in the Aberdare Valley, South Wales, in consequence of a dispute with the employers as to the timbering of roadways in the mine. The masters suggested arbitration, but the men declined it.

At a meeting of the South Staffordshire and Worcestershire Miners Wages Board, held at Dudley, it was decided to accept the 5 per cent. advance in wages offered by the employers, who contended that the increase of 10 per cent. asked by the colliers would ruin trade. A strike has thus been averted.

The pony drivers employed at the Denaby Main Colliery have tendered a fortnight's notice to leave work, which will expire on the 5th of June. If the action is persisted in, 1,500 miners will be thrown out of work. The drivers number about 200, and they say that unless they receive the full 10 per cent. advance they will not resume work.

**NORTH WALES QUARRYMEN'S UNION.**—The 15th annual meeting of this society took place last Saturday at Waenfawr, near Carnarvon. The report showed that 1888 was a year of great depression, and it was said that 1889 was little better. In the evening a public meeting was held, at which a paper was read on "The Necessity for Combination and Mutual Understanding among Workmen," and a resolution passed in favour of placing the slate quarries under government inspection.

**HORSENAIL MAKERS.**—The horsenail makers in the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts have come out on strike for an advance of 3d. per thousand in wages. The operatives are in a deplorable state of poverty through being unable to earn more than 9s. a-week. The employers unanimously agree that the wages are simply scandalous, but they are unable to improve their workmen's condition owing to the importation of machine-made nails from Belgium and Sweden. The men state they will not resume work until better wages are paid.

**WELSH TIN-PLATE WORKERS.**—After a strike extending over three months, the tin-plate workers at the Worcester and Upper Forest Works, Glamorgan-shire, numbering 1,000 hands, resumed labour last week. It is estimated that about £10,000 in wages has been lost. An agreement has been drawn up by the arbitrators that the employers undertake to pay the usual rate of wages, according to the scale of 1874, and that future cases of difference between masters and men be referred to the arbitrators, whose decision shall be final. These conditions are accepted by the tin-plate owners and their employees.

**ARMY ACCOUTREMENT MAKERS.**—On Saturday, the men on strike from Colonel Wallace's Army Accoutrement Factory, Great Dover Street, Borough, met at the Military Harness and Accoutrement Trade Society's house, Old Kent Road, to discuss their position. The men struck owing to a refusal to pay the price fixed for making valises on a contract for the government. The Director-General of Contracts, in his evidence before the Sweating Commission, stated that 6d. extra had been added to the contract price for the benefit of the worker, but only 2½d. of that amount had been paid the men on each valise. Failing to obtain the remainder the men, after making 10,000 out of 16,000 valises, struck. Colonel Wallace has threatened to give the rest of the work to outdoor hands, but if this be done the terms of his contract will be violated, as the work must be done on the premises. The men are determined to hold out, and a sum of £10 towards their support has been voted them by the London Saddle and Harness Makers' Trade Protection Society.

**WAGES IN THE COAL TRADE.**—The men at the Northumberland soft-coal collieries have accepted 2½ per cent. advance. They had asked for an advance of 7 per cent., to place them on a level with the steam-coal collieries. The steam-coal miners, who were advanced a few months ago to rather more than the rate of wages before the reduction in 1887, are applying for a 10 per cent. advance. The Durham miners will formulate a demand for a 20 per cent. advance in a few days. On Saturday a special council meeting of the Yorkshire Miners' Association was held at the Miners' Hall, Barnsley, to consider the masters' offer of 5 per cent. advance on July 1st, and 5 per cent. on October 1st, with an agreement that neither party should seek to alter the existing rate of wages, which should prevail for twelve months from the 1st of October next. The interest of the meeting was heightened by the fact that many of the largest voting collieries in South Yorkshire had sent their delegates to vote in favour of demanding the full 10 per cent. advance on the 1st of July, in accordance with the resolutions come to at the recent National Miners' Conference held at Nottingham. The lodges which were pledged to the rejection of the masters' offer as presented included Manvers Main, Wath Main, Mitchell's Main, Darfield Main, Shire-oaks, and others. The question gave rise to an animated discussion. Ultimately the following resolution was carried by a slight majority of votes: "That this council, whilst it cannot see its way to accept to the full the coalowners' offer, at the same time can, with the consent of the Manchester Conference, agree to accept the coalowners' offer of 5 per cent. on July 1 and a second 5 per cent. on the 1st of October, 1889." The Council declined to advise the men to enter into an agreement which would prevent them asking for a further advance of wages for twelve months from the 1st of October as desired by the coalowners. The next step was to lay the resolution before the National Conference, which met in Manchester on Tuesday, called solely for the purpose of considering the Yorkshire owners' offer and the result of the miners' votes in Yorkshire. The discussion on the matter is still proceeding as we go to press.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

The State of Maine seems to be desirous to distinguish itself by abnormal legislation, abnormal even in capitalistic society. The "tramp law" I described some weeks ago, and it seems that this is not the only enactment which may be called atrocious. A "hawker and pedlar law" has also been the production of the legislature of this State, which will come into effect on July 15th. Petitions are already in circulation asking the Governor of Maine to direct the sheriffs not to enforce the law, on the ground that it is "inhuman, unjust, unreasonable, and unconstitutional," but of course they will have no effect. Under this law street hucksters and pedlars of foreign nationality are barred from selling their goods, as licenses are only to be issued to "citizens," and even they are prohibited to sell any other goods but those grown or manufactured in the United States. The law was passed at the instance of the city tradesmen. Go on, Maine, you are on the right road to beat New Jersey or even Illinois as regards "beneficial legislation!"

The Senate Committee on general laws of the Legislature of New York, has reported the result of its investigations into the methods of trusts and combinations. The majority of the committee hold that "legislation is not required to check the evil; that the more is known of trusts the less they are feared; that it is a growing sentiment that the evils of which they are the cause are short-lived; that trusts are the result of a natural law which, while it might be advantageous to the people to subject it (who, the natural law?) to reasonable artificial restraint, still exists, like all natural laws, for some useful purpose, and its total destruction would be a great calamity." The minority report criticises the trusts in strong language, and declares that the only safeguard of the people against them is an "upright judiciary and incorruptible administrative officers." An upright judiciary and incorruptible administrative officers is good, very good; but where are they to be found? In the fair land of Mars, I suppose. On the whole, as the saying goes, betwixt twiddledum and twiddledee, etc. The simplest way to abolish the evil would be, of course, to make the trust property common property, but our legislators don't and can't like simple ways. They are paid not to.

The Malthusians have found a terrible antagonist in Duluth, Dak. There the proprietor of a great broom factory has increased the wages of all his married employes, and has also given notice to the single men that they will not be wanted after the end of this month unless they were married by that time, on which event they would keep their places at increased pay. Evidently this philanthropist desires to keep up a good supply of "free labour." But can this kind of marriage be called a free contract?

The Standard Oil Trust seems to have as great a power to swallow and digest well property as ever the Church did possess. This monster monopoly, not content to own and control the production, the carrying, and the refining business of oil, is stretching its greedy hands out for more. During the last week it has bought, at the enormous price of over one million sterling, the St. Louis Gas Trust and also the White Lead Trust. Pretty soon, I presume, everything and everybody over here will be the property of the Standard Oil Trust.

The three great steel manufacturing concerns of Illinois have amalgamated. The capital stock of the new corporation amounts to five million pounds, and it constitutes the largest combination of steel interests in America.

A new party has been formed in Boston on socialistic principles—the Nationalist Party. Edward Bellamy, who is 'Looking Backward,' and L. Gronlund, who is 'Marching Backward,' are the leading spirits. The name "Socialism" is too ferocious for these gentlemen, so they prefer to style their "Socialism" as "Nationalism." They also do not like the term "Collective ownership of the means of production." They rather prefer to call it "Monopoly." It seems that the amount of confused notions which most people have when hearing or reading something about Socialism is not sufficient for these humanitarians; they desire to add their share to the confusion. Now, can any sane person believe that we make our ideas more palatable or more clear by terming them "Nationalism and Monopoly," and ourselves "Nationalists and Monopolists" (*sic*)? Why, its absurd on the face of it! The *Nationalist* is the organ of the new party, and the paper will soon make its appearance.

To-day another new party will be born in Boston: the Christian Socialists. We are getting on, and soon the babylonian confusion about Socialistic parties will be as great in America as it is in France. Well, we may as well go the whole gamut, but I pity the poor individual who undertakes to study Socialism. Why, to find out the meaning of the word "capital" alone, it is necessary to spend in serious investigation and reading up half a lifetime, and after having achieved so much, the poor student still finds himself confronted by the platforms of about fifty different parties, all labelled Socialistic and something else, who assail each other most vigorously and call each other bad names. Why, indeed, ye gods, can't we do without this babble?

A number of Irish-Americans have for a long time been considering the question how they might help in a lasting way the evicted tenants in Ireland, and they have come to the conclusion that the best aid would be of an industrial character. The idea is to establish in one of the poorest districts of Ireland a factory in which evicted tenants could find employment. The scheme has in it features of a colonisation character. The people at present interested propose to incorporate a stock company, selling the shares in all parts of the United States where there are natives of Ireland or friends of the Nationalist cause. To instruct the previous agriculturists in factory work a party composed of about fifty men, some skilled mechanics, some good workmen, and some who have a good all round knowledge, would be sent over to Ireland. It is proposed to manufacture boots and shoes, clothing and underwear. The scheme will be submitted to Parnell, Davitt, and O'Brien. What it really amounts to is, introducing the "benefits" and the "blessings" of the factory system into the green island. Considering what the factory system implies, we may well exclaim, "God save us from the philanthropists; we can deal ourselves with the enemies of humanity."

Suicides are terribly on the increase. On one day, May 11th, not less than seven persons in New York City "removed" themselves from this world to a better sphere.

The St. Paul, Minn., street-car men's strike was declared off. It was a failure, the men accepted a reduction.

A material reduction in the wages of the green-glass bottle blowers is set down for September 1st. Nothing like a good long notice.

About 1,200 men are reported discharged in the Pullman Car works near Chicago, owing to slack trade.

Strikes reported since 1st May, 27. Number of strikers, 20,322.

Boston, Mass., May 14, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—At the last meeting of the Executive, a letter was read from comrade Lafargue to the effect that Branches of the S.L. are entitled to send delegates to the International Socialist Congress at Paris in July next. Letters were also read from Provincial Branches asking for assistance in the matter of speakers; comrade Mowbray was deputed to go to Norwich. Other answers deferred.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, June 3, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th, at 13, Farringdon Road. Agenda has been sent to Branches.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Mitcham, to end of February. North London, and St. Georges East, to end of March. Bradford, Hammersmith, and Leicester, to end of April. East London, Manchester, and Yarmouth, to end of May. Clerkenwell, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Defence Committee** (Berner Street).—Norwich, 2s.; Whatnough (Plumstead), 1s.; W. W., 1s.; Sheet 34A, 6½d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; W. W., 1s. 6d.; Davis, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; and C. Saunders, 1s. Norwich, 1s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Canterbury Road*—A short meeting was held here by Mainwaring and Brookes on Sunday last. *Hyde Park*—Mainwaring, Brookes, and Hunter Watts (S.D.F.) spoke here to very good audience despite the weather. *Battersea*—A good meeting was held between Christ's Church and York Road on Saturday night; speakers were Kitz, Mowbray, and Samuels; attentive audience; 27 *Commonweal* sold. These meetings will be carried on regularly, as there are good signs of a branch being formed here. *Mile End Waste*—Last Saturday night a very good meeting was addressed by Cores and Brookes; opposition was offered by one of the "dear friends" of Lord Salisbury; 18 *Commonweal* sold. *Gibraltar Walk*—Good meeting on Sunday morning; speakers were Parker and Mrs. Schack; fair sale of *Commonweal*.

**CLERKENWELL.**—The debate which should have taken place on Sunday evening, "Is a Government Necessary during a Revolutionary Crisis?" between F. Charles (negative) and D. Nicoll (affirmative) did not come off. D. Nicoll partly delivered affirmative, with discussion to follow by audience, as Charles was at Merton. Charles returned by close of discussion, which he renewed in the negative, hoping that at an early date he should be able to fully debate the subject with Nicoll, which will be duly announced.—S. P.

**EAST LONDON.**—On Sunday, W. Mowbray lectured on "Socialism and Party Politics." Good discussion.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Dean, Tochatti, Lyne, sen., Lyne, jun., Crouch, and Maughan. We had Curate No. 2 from St. Clement's, Nottingdale; he told the audience that he was in agreement with a great deal we had said, but thought the land was better under landlords than the way we advocated, viz., the people to be the sole owners; 43 *Commonweal* sold. Very good meeting at Weltje Road in evening; speakers were Crouch, Dean, and Bullock; 7 *Weals* sold. In evening at Kelmscott House, Ernest Radford lectured on "Walt Whitman."

**MITCHAM.**—Good meeting on Fair Green, addressed by Kitz and Cores; 8d. collected for local propaganda; 16 *Commonweal* sold. In the evening we assisted on new ground at Streatham.—S. G.

**ABERDEEN.**—At weekly indoor meeting on May 20th, "Mr. Barton's Sermon" in 'Looking Backward' was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, Duncan and Leatham addressed a large and enthusiastic crowd. A number of questions were disposed of at close.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday, Adams, McCulloch, Tim Burgoyne, and Glasier went to Blantyre, where a meeting of miners was called on the Show Ground. The meeting was somewhat small at first, but latterly some 200 to 250 persons were present. Comrade Small (miner's agent), Glasier, and Tim Burgoyne addressed the meeting, explaining at length the aims of Socialism, and at the conclusion hearty cheers were given for the speakers. Some 50 *Commonweal* (all we had with us) were sold as quickly as they could be handed out, and also other literature. We have arranged to visit Blantyre again in a month. Members are requested to note change of address in notice column.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday last we began open-air propaganda. Peacock (Nottingham) addressed us on "Shams and Monopolies, how to abolish them." Fair audience for a beginning, considering weather and Leicesterian temperament; we sold about 2s. 6d. worth of literature; audience interested and attentive, and put sensible questions at close. Doleman, late secretary of S.L. in Nottingham, has settled among us and is stirring us up. We are arranging for open-air addresses from John Burns, Cunningham Graham, and others, and think we can make the open-air meetings a great success this season.—T. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—Good meeting Saturday night at Middleton; Leonard Hall, Marshall, and Bailie were speakers; 27 *Commonweal* sold. In Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon, Barton, Ritson, Bailie, and Marshall spoke; *Weals* sold out, also some other literature; Socialist songs were sung. At 7.30, another meeting on Chester Road, Marshall, Barton, Bailie, and Parkinson speakers; a few pamphlets sold.

**YARMOUTH.**—Another good meeting at Belton on Monday; we intend going every Monday evening. Two meetings at Priory Plain on Sunday, Ruffold and Reynolds speakers. Brightwell held meeting at Bradwell, a village about four miles from Yarmouth, on Sunday morning; sold 5 *Weals* and announced another meeting for next Sunday; 3s. collected.—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, May 25th, comrade Smith (late of the Clerkenwell Branch S.D.F.) lectured to a fair audience on "Poverty, its Cause and Cure." There was a good discussion, King, Coulon, and Fuzell taking part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in Great Market Place on Sunday; Rooke and Proctor spoke on "The International Solidarity of the Workers." At branch meeting at the club afterwards, five new members were made and satisfactory progress reported.—R. P.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday June 2, at 8 p.m. sharp, lecture by Rev. Stewart Headlam, "Christian Socialism."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday June 2, Business Meeting at 7 o'clock. At 8.30, G. G. Schaack, "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement."

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 2, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Thursday 6th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 7th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 8.30 sharp, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—The Branch will meet temporarily in the Ram's Horn Assembly Hall, Ingram Street, every Thursday and Saturday evening at 8 o'clock, and on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. All communications to be addressed to above Hall.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, Duke Street.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class at comrade Hadley's every Friday at 8 p.m. *Commonweal* sold by Mr. Hous, newsagent, George Street.

FRIENDS WILLING TO AID in forming Branches in the undermentioned places are asked to write to the addresses given: *Liverpool*—W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Chapman St. *Waltham and Camberwell*—3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green. *Wimbledon and Merton*—F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. *Hoxton*—H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. *Streatham*—J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 1.

7 ..... Hyde Park ..... Nicoll, Brookes, and Graham  
8 ..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Kitz, Samuels, and Parker  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Davis and Cores

### SUNDAY 2.

10.30..... Latimer Road Station ..... G. Spooner, Lyne senr, and Dean  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Davis, Mrs. Schack, and Graham  
11.30..... Hammersmith—Beadon Road ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms" ..... Mainwaring  
11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Cores and Turner  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Kitz and Parker  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll and Mrs. Lahr  
3.30..... Hyde Park ..... Cores and Nicoll  
3.30..... Victoria Park ..... Demonstration  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Cores and Graham  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Kitz and Parker

### TUESDAY 4.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch

### THURSDAY 6.

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Parker and Nicoll  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Kitz, Mowbray, and Davis

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.

Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. A Meeting at Belton every Monday evening.

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.  
**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.  
**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.  
**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. *Gallatown and Dysart* (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. *Kilmarnock*—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. *West Calder*—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F., North Lambeth Radical Club, 108 Westminster Bridge Road, S.E.**—On Tuesday June 4, at 8.30, William Morris will lecture on "Monopoly."

**NEW LABOUR CLUB, 5 Victoria Park Square.**—Thursday June 6th, F. Kitz, "The Criminal Classes, High and Low."

**FERNDALE LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 35 Bedford Road, Brixton.**—Thursday June 6, at 8.30, Mr. Harold Cox, "Practicable Socialism."

**CLUB AUTONOME, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.**—Sunday June 2, 8 p.m., a lecture by comrade Humphreys, "Revolutionary Warfare."

**HATCHAM LIBERAL CLUB, Portland House, New Cross Road.**—Sunday June 2, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw, "Practicable Socialism."

### On Whit-Monday, June 10.

**HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 13 Farringdon Road.**—A Grand CONCERT and BALL will be held on Whit-Monday, June 10th, for the benefit of the Propaganda Fund. The following comrades will sing and recite: W. Morris, W. Blundell, Annie Taylor, J. Turner, Miss Emily Fisher, Fred White, F. Kitz, C. W. Mowbray, D. Nicoll, J. Presburg, Mrs. Tochatti, T. Cantwell, A. Brookes, and others. **DRAMATIC SKETCH** by Darwood and Jeffries. To conclude with a Ball. Admission by Programme, 6d., to be obtained at branches of the League, the International clubs, and of the Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Songs for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

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[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Royal Duke and the policeman have escaped all possibility of fine or imprisonment for assaulting Mr. Simms. We know by experience that the policeman at least had nothing to fear from a magistrate, even if he had gone to much greater lengths than the collaring of an innocent citizen for the crime of being hustled by a member of the royal family. Yet it was, no doubt, an advantage to him to be in the company of an "August Personage."

Imagination *will* run away with one in picturing the fun that a person might have, who had a turn for a spree without disagreeable consequences, if he could only secure the co-operation at one and the same time of a member of the royal family and a member of the metropolitan police force. They might have adventures which would quite throw into the shade those of the famous trio—the Caliph Haroun Alraschid, Giaffar the Vizier, and Mesrour the executioner. Indeed, those worthies sometimes got into awkward corners in the course of their sprees; whereas the modern lot would only have to declare themselves in order to walk off with honour and dignity. We get on fast, don't we, in these days of absolute equality before the law?

It is difficult to treat such a matter seriously, and Mr. Simms has only been treated rudely, instead of being wounded first and sent to prison as a plaster for the wound, as many of our friends have been; and yet we cannot help feeling a sense of fresh degradation at such an exhibition of servility to a testy old martinet as the police-courts have given us, in the teeth of all the lying bluster about our freedom and our equality before the law. A Socialist indeed may say that it is not worth while considering such a trifling nuisance as a monarch and a royal family, when we have the real practical whip of capitalism flourished daily over our heads; but we must not forget that this gilded sham of a relic of feudalism, which was once powerful for good and evil, does now represent nothing but that very tyranny of the commercial master and slave-driver, and the executive power which keeps him in his place. It is a significant symbol of our false society that the Duke of Cambridge, the policeman, and the magistrate have been yokefellows in this shabby business.

A vice-consul in Serbia has been telling us that the very simple method of competition which consists of pirating trade-marks, has been damaging British trade in that country. Hats made of brown paper, knives that wouldn't cut, shirtings half made of starch which disappeared on the first washing, etc., have been sold as British goods. Well, well, Serbia is an out-of-the-way place, and possibly traditions of the excellence and honesty of British manufactures linger there, and so we may suppose that this legitimate means of competition, as John Bright would have considered it, may be effective there; but we who live in this great centre of civilisation would be inclined to think that the pirate had thrown away his industry; for in some branches at least it would be difficult to surpass British skill in adulteration; as, for example, in the weighting of cotton cloths with that useful creature, sulphate of barytes—not starch, my consular friend,—a glorious invention of England within the last few years; and there are many such-like inventions.

The correspondence between Mr. Henry George and our friend Cunninghame Graham in the *Star*, has settled down on the pros and cons concerning competition. Mr. George need hardly have told us that he is in favour of competition, indeed we know that he is prepared to hang people who are engaged in trying to abolish it. Cunninghame Graham, on the other hand, says that Socialists are trying to abolish it; and surely he is right in saying so. Competition will be impossible under genuine Socialism—or let us call it Communism, since all Socialists who know what their aim is know that they are aiming at that. Let us, however, see what we are to understand what we mean by the word competition, since I think the word is used vaguely very often.

Man must live in society of some kind: that society must be either a society of classes or of equals. Now, competition implies the struggle for thriving at other people's expense. In the class society this struggle must go on, and it is threefold: First there is the struggle between the classes, one of which is privileged, the other unprivileged. The privileged class strives to enhance its privilege, the unprivileged strives to reduce it; or in other words is driven by its inferior position to strive to destroy that privilege. Secondly, there is the competition for subsistence amongst the members of the unprivileged class, which is forced upon them by their dependent position. "Don't feed him, master, feed ME; I am the best man," is what each of them is forced to cry out and act on. Thirdly, there is the competition amongst the members of the privileged class each for his own share of privilege. This competition for privilege is what is usually meant by persons who use the word competition, and I must assert it is what Mr. George means when he uses it.

Change the picture, and let us look at a society of equality. How can competition exist in it? There will be no classes, privileged and unprivileged, to tug against one another. *That* war will be over. There will be no privilege for a robber class to squabble over the partition of. *That* war will be over. And lastly, as a blessed consequence, since freedom and mutual help will have taken the place of dependence on a master (*i.e.*, slavery), the hideous "competition" or war amongst the unprivileged will have come to an end.

In short, the issue on this matter is clear between Mr. George and the Socialists: he is championing the condition of ceaseless war which is inherent in the present form of society,—the society of the master who has slaves without paying for them; of the slave who is forced to *give himself* to a master instead of being sold to him by somebody else. This war and the society of which it is an essential part is abhorrent to Socialists. It is by no means inconsistent in Mr. George to champion this competition for privilege. But it would be a mistake to suppose that he is anything else than an enemy of Socialism.

Lord Dufferin is now the hero of the jingo *Pall Mall*, which has lately outdone itself in an article of magniloquent jingoism; and considering the many benefits which the capitalist class reap from that unlucky country, India, the milch-cow of tyrants for so many ages, it is not wonderful that he should feel himself bound to make the best of the British tyranny there, the latest and worst of all, because it is an economical tyranny. But a curious commentary on this blowing of the British trumpet, as to the beneficence of our rule there, was given me the other day by a friend (a Socialist) who has been many years in India, and who told me when he first went out he tried to get intimate with the natives, but had long ago been forced to give up the attempt. And he is by no means the first person who has told me the like. We are a hated garrison in India, and hold it by means of force and fraud for the advantage of the robber class in England. That is what the heroics of the *Pall Mall* must be reduced to. W. M.

### LAND RATS AND WATER RATS.

THE other night as I took up my evening paper, it was with mingled feelings that I read of various mishaps met with by sundry river steamers through the scant number and incompetence of their rat crews. It was not displeasing to read of the damage incurred by the Company's property, incurred through their own insensate greed, grasping at undue profits on underpaid labour. Nor could any Socialist, at least, refrain from sympathising with the cursing of the rat crews and their rat captains by the men they supplanted, as well as by the frightened passengers. As for these last, the thought that they could not but right well know before they embarked how the Company had behaved to their "hands," modified what commiseration might otherwise have been felt for them. Indeed, some sterner souls might confess to a subdued glee as they read of black eyes and many bruises, that would serve as reminders to the patrons of rat-labour that there was a risk to be run in supporting their proteges.

Most Londoners know how the matter stands, but our readers elsewhere may not. The men employed on the steamboats which ply up and down the river Thames, quite justifiably asked for an increase in the crew of each boat during the busy season, and also for a small rise in wages all round for the same time—another inch of freeboard above starvation-mark. Some attempt was made at organising in support of these demands, but at the last moment some of the men weakened and betrayed their comrades. Then followed a “truly British” scene. Rats came crowding from their lurking-places, and, whether long-shore loafers or “respectable” waterman, were all made welcome by the Company. Those who had dared to be discontented were turned out to muse on the freedom of contract, and their places filled with creatures willing to crawl over a comrade’s ruin to their own selfish and pitiful advantage. There is only one word wherewith to designate either the employers or the employed in this dirty business. They were RATS. We are glad to say that the rats have destroyed themselves by their blundering, and that the company are taking back the dismissed men. If it had not happened so, a rigorous boycott would have been necessary.

Just now there is nothing pleasanter to the tired workman in the way of conveyance homeward than a trip on the river, if only his road lie that way. Father Thames, though he may have lost nearly all his freshness further up, and have fallen under the curse of grime that clings to smoky London, is able still to give good welcome to those who trust themselves upon his bosom. There is on the river a sense of freedom and airiness to be enjoyed nowhere else in London out of the larger parks. But the workman would have had to remember that even as he does to others may be done to him. Even as he patronised rats in his pleasure, so might others support rats in his work. If by his action, however innocent in itself, he strengthen the hand of an exploiter, he is injuring his class and causing misery to many of his fellows.

I speak to workmen especially, for they know best how the boot pinches. To them the enmity of rats has brought many and bitter misfortunes. The pressure of competition, the greed of employers, the growth of machinery, things manifold and far-reaching, have ground them down and depressed them. In all that has been wrung from nature for humanity they have had no share; the advance of science and the spread of civilisation have left them still the toil-worn waiters at the gate of good life. But none of these things has bitten so deeply into their souls, or left such awful marks on mind and body, as the long-continued treachery within their own ranks; treachery that will forever continue and recur unless they, the workmen themselves, decide that it shall be no longer so easy and profitable.

Let the workmen remember! Who has betrayed the tramway-men but those among themselves? Has not the same thing occurred among the coal-miners, the carpenters, the iron-workers? Is it not the treachery of printers that enables rat firms to wax fat and kick? To prolong the list would be easy. By the treachery and cowardice of men of their own class, it is that workmen of all trades are rendered helpless in the hand of their oppressors. Cannot every one recall some striking, even terrible, it may be, instances that have come within his own experience? Who does not know of wages lowered, work intensified, wrong inflicted, iniquity endured, through the weakness, or worse, of his own workmates? Again and again has this happened in the past; again and again it will happen in the future. It must go on unendingly while workmen in one trade are careless of what is done in another.

To feel as a member of the community that every wrong inflicted on another is inflicted on himself; to guard the right of another as jealously as his own; to defend the right and avenge the wrong with never-ceasing vigilance and unflagging zeal; these are the deeds of a good citizen. But the community is not so constituted that one can so feel to-day, if he be a workman and awake to his position. He finds himself in a society, if so it can be called, which is divided into two great camps, or opposing armies, that are never at peace, and never can be in the nature of things until one of them is definitely driven out of the place it occupies. That one in which he finds himself, the weakest and worst equipped, though immeasurably the largest, is waging ceaseless war for the bare leave to live. The other, wealthy and well-armed, is in possession of the earth and all things on it, and is desperately fighting to maintain its control of all the means whereby men live. Year by year and day by day the struggle is becoming more conscious, more embittered, between the classes that control and are controlled. Not in one trade but in all, not in one country but all, is the consciousness of the class-war growing wider and more intense. It is more and more then, as a member of his class that the workman must feel. He may talk as a citizen, he must feel as a workman.

Indeed, if he have studied his position, and can understand his relation to the life around him, he must know his own class to be all there is of true society nowadays, and that the idlers and loungers, rich or poor, however ornamental they may be, are mere parasites upon it, to be shaken off before a fair life is possible to him or his. To feel as a citizen, then, as a member of a community of equals, is above and beyond the workman of to-day; he can hardly realise it as a far dream in the future; but it is not too much to ask of him that, within the limits to which he is confined by the conditions of to-day, he should try to carry out the ideal of comradeship. That he should seek the welfare of all workmen as his own; endeavouring now to be a worthy member of his class, that he may one day be a worthy citizen of a true community. There is absolute solidarity of interest throughout his class; no member of it can be injured without his suffering

thereby, though they be separated by the width of the world, and be aliens in race, colour, and speech—can he not understand this and teach it to others? But it is not enough that he should know this and feel this and teach it; he must act upon it.

To belong to his own trade organisation is not enough, though that is a good beginning—not to belong to it is to be a traitor in the camp of Labour and a tool of the enemy. To belong to a trade union is good; to belong to a wider organisation is better. Whichever it is, he must not rest content with merely belonging to it; he must work always to improve it, to extend its influence, and to elevate its aim. Seeking always to consolidate it, he must try to bring it into close relation with all other labour organisations, and to show them their interdependence. He must learn the needs of other men, and do what he can to aid them in their satisfaction. If they be organised, their organisation should be to him as his own; unorganised, he must help them to become so, and strengthen their hands against the common foe. And he must have neither part nor lot with traitors.

He who fights for his own hand without thinking of his fellows is a fratricide, and should be held an outlaw in the labour-world; he is a rat and should be shunned like one. It should not be left to the men of his own trade alone to show detestation of his conduct; everyone who even companies with him thereby partakes in some measure of his crime; everyone who aids and encourages him becomes equally guilty with himself. I do not ask anyone to kill the rats, to stamp them out with bloody feet, as our fathers tried to do less than thirty years ago, but I do ask everyone not to feed them and help them that they may slay us and our fellows. I am asking no man that he should kill another, but only that he should keep his own hands clean; not that he should injure anyone, but that he should refrain from aiding in the injury of others. More, that he should help others to keep their hands clean, and that he should resist and resent any wrong inflicted upon them with all his might, as resolutely and unrelentingly as though it were wrought upon himself. This is a work in which all may help; there are none so weak that they are unable to take part in it. Some small danger there may be of dismissal from employment, and the like, now and then; some occasional discomfort there is sure to be, but nothing that can outweigh the sweet consciousness of something done toward the freedom and happiness of mankind.

Remember that monopoly of the means of life is that which enslaves mankind, and bars the way to their freedom and happiness; that the real power of monopoly lies in the supineness of the working-class, and their inability to combine; that they are supine because hopeless, and unable to combine through mutual mistrust. To rouse their hope then and conquer their mistrust is the task that each must set himself. Their hope is already rising, but their mistrust remains. It is no marvel that it should be so, for they see the rats among them prosperous, and no man making them afraid; they see trade isolated from trade and people from people, each eager for its own apparent interest and reckless of any wider good. Each one, then, should set himself not only to the propaganda of principle and the redemption of ideas, but also to the propaganda of application and the redemption of daily life. There is no more pressing need of his effort than along the line indicated in this article; nor any department of life in which whatever he does can have greater effect. To cultivate in himself an ineradicable hatred and contempt of rats; to impart all he may of the same feeling to others; never to himself handle, purchase, or deal with any of their products, or consent in the doing of these things by others; never to miss a chance anywhere in his own daily doings, or through the Vestry, the School Board, or the County Council, of crushing a rat and discouraging his kind. These are things that come within the scope of the most uneventful life, and no opportunity should be allowed to pass without being taken the fullest advantage of. In these ways one may not only purge himself of complicity in the exploitation of his fellows, but do much toward ending that exploitation altogether and remodelling the world in fairer wise. S.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### SPAIN.

TORRELLÓ.—The efforts of a few Socialists here, helped by some comrades from Barcelona, have resulted in the formation in this locality of a Socialist Group, which promises to become numerous shortly.

LERIDA.—The same propagandist work is going on in Lerida. Moreover, the masons and stonemasons here have lately formed a League of Resistance to protest against, and protect themselves from, their exploiters. The contractor of some building works in the town expected the employes to work eleven hours a-day, being an increase of two hours on the customary working day. The town is very full of beggars, most of whom, says a correspondent to *El Socialista*, are bona fide workmen driven to this extreme by want of work. It is said that the authorities display an absolute apathy in face of the unemployed question thus showing itself in their midst.

### ITALY.

SAVONA.—A correspondent writes to *Il Fascio Operaio*, “The propaganda work among the labouring classes carried on by our friends here has produced a remarkable awakening, considering that the workers have been so long bound within the limits of political mystifications. The *Fascio dei Lavoratori*, a branch of the party formed by about twenty companions last August, now counts already seven hundred active members.” M. M.

The Seventeenth National Congress of the United Italian Working-men Societies will be held in Naples on the 20th to 24th of this month. As the manifesto with the agenda will be published in a few days, we can say nothing at present; but if we may judge from the names on the acting committee, we must say, with regret, that this congress will be a great failure, as those gentlemen are nothing but *Mazziniani*, or enthusiastic believers in god and property! P. V.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE life of our esteemed citizen, the greatest thief on earth, Jay Gould, is not a happy one. It may be an open question whether the life led by the mighty Czar of all the Russias is not more pleasurable and more secure from a speedy "removal" than that of poor Jay. A reporter of a capitalistic paper has lately watched the daily habits of the "little financial wizard from Wall Street," and he tells us that:

"Just as a shade begins to drop over the west side of Fifth Avenue on these afternoons of May, a very small, dark-whiskered man can sometimes be seen pushing along uptown, his glittering eyes fixed straight ahead, a general air of perfunctoriness in his movements, as if he was walking simply to create an appetite for dinner. It is Jay Gould on his way home from business. By his side walks a big, square-shouldered individual, an unmistakable 'bruiser,' the protector of this physical atom, who carries with him a very good sized arsenal."

One thing may be said very greatly to the credit of Jay Gould: he is no hypocrite. His cynical contempt for the folly, the stupidity, and the gullibility of the public is well known. The last number of *Liberty* brings this splendid specimen of Gould's cynicism:

"The recent remark of Jay Gould that the weaker railroad companies will eventually fall into the hands of the old and strong companies, in consequence of the Interstate Commerce law, or, to use his own words, because they will not dare to violate the law, and on even terms with the stronger companies they will hardly be able to secure traffic to support them, reveals a striking fitness to relations of vastly greater scope, and might serve as a text for an enquiry into the causes of the present state of labour, together with suggestions for its relief. The fate so confidently predicted for the weaker companies of eventually being eaten up by the larger ones has certainly long ago overtaken labour: it also is a prey to the strong and powerful. And the reasons are the same in the one case as in the other. The inability of labour to come to its own is directly traceable to the laws made by moneylords and landlords for its exploitation, by laws which it will not dare to violate, while on even terms with its exploiters it cannot secure enough to maintain itself. Heretofore the Anarchist stood alone in pointing out the law (the respect for it, the lack of spirit to violate it) as the principal source of all the economical trouble. Now Jay Gould confirms him. I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word."

It would be a matter of great advantage to the cause in general if some schools of Socialists, for instance the Christian Socialists and the "Nationalists," were to imitate the example of Gould and to cast off their cloaks made of whole cant and to boldly proclaim their adherence to scientific Socialism, as distinct from sentimental gush.

The *Dawn* is the title of a Boston monthly, the organ of the newly evolved party of Christian Socialists. Motto: "Christian Brotherhood."

The *Knights of Labour Advocate*, as a new paper issued by the Massachusetts Knights of Labour is called, is a large four-paged sheet filled with labour news.

To purify the morals of America and to elevate Yankee civilisation to a higher plane is the object of the Standard Oil Trust. This syndicate of Christian and philanthropic gentlemen has just ordered 200 bulldogs to be shipped to their newly-acquired oilfields in Ohio, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting them against the "tramp nuisance," but more than probably these eminently civilising agents are intended to be utilised as aides-de-camp to the Pinkerton detective agency in case of a possible strike. It may be advisable for certain people who express abhorrence for the "atrocious cruelty of the plans of Bakounine and his school" to send a special agent to the oil trust and try to moralise this octopus out of its bulldogs. For charity's sake I should feel inclined to advise this agent, however, to be provided with plenty of padding about his person.

The army of the United States only numbers twenty-five thousand men, and yet during the last fifteen years more than forty-three thousand men have deserted. Only eight thousand of the deserters have been captured. A Yankee is nothing if not patriotic.

British capital is buying up rapidly all the breweries in the States. Already a dozen of the biggest establishments have been absorbed by the British syndicate, and more are wanted. This is a fine illustration, considering the ever increasing influence of the prohibition and temperance people, that after all capital is not so very easily frightened.

About the downfall of the copper corner a good many wrong opinions have been formed. Especially is that the case in England. So I observe that even Mr. Hyndman believes himself justified to conclude from the failure of this combination that trusts sooner or later will come to grief. Now, to begin, the copper corner has been as unlike a trust as pinchbeck is like gold. The principal strength of any trust lies in an efficient organisation and in the good will of the different parties forming this kind of combination to adhere to arrangements agreed to; and the organisation of the copper corner has been as inefficient, as crude and as primitive as it is possible for any organisation to be. When the corner was formed, all the copper mines in the swim agreed to raise only a certain quantity of ore. But there was no arrangement made to check the faithfulness of the American mines. So some of the largest mining companies in the States took advantage of a technicality in their contracts and smelted many more thousand tons of ore than they had pledged themselves to. The European bankers soon found that they had more copper on hand than they had bargained for or could dispose of, and not being willing to continue to enrich Yankee sharps at their expense, a smash was unavoidable. *Cacterum censeo*: trusts are here to stay; they cannot be controlled by law, consequently they must be confiscated and used by the whole community for the good of each.

The executive committee of the American Federation of Labour held a secret meeting in New York City recently. It is reported that the meeting has been devoted to a discussion of the eight hour movement, and the formation of leagues to prepare for the expected agitation in May, 1890. It is also said that the meeting decided to issue a circular to be sent to all economic and historical societies, to conventions of clergymen of all denominations, and to the secretaries of political organisations, expressing the principles of the eight hour movement. Another circular will be distributed calling on all workmen, irrespective of unions, to join the Eight Hour League.

The general executive board of the Knights of Labour has ordered one million copies of the declaration of principles of the order for distribution among French working people during the exhibition. Steps should be taken at once to inform our French comrades of the present true character of this organisation, so as to prevent the poor French workers to be exploited for the benefit of a scoundrel like Powderly.

Owing to the big coal strikes in the west, a number of collieries in the Pittsburgh district, employing about 10,000 "hands," have resumed work after an idleness of about four months.

Andrew Carnegie has given his men notice that a new sliding scale will go into effect on the 1st of July. The new scale will amount to a reduction averaging 20 per cent. The workmen had previously notified the firm that they would demand on July the 1st an advance averaging 68½ per cent. Andrew Carnegie—sly dog. If the Carnegies are successful in introducing the scale, it will be "adopted" in all the other steel mills.

The strike of the railroad coal miners in the Pittsburgh district has been settled by a compromise.

The same fate has happened to the strike of the Illinois miners.

Twenty girls in a factory at Rockville struck for fresh air. The windows were allowed up only three inches.

The wages of 1,000 girl shoeworkers in Cincinnati have been cut down 50 per cent. during the last year.

Recent arrivals of foreign glass-blowers have alarmed the Window Glass Workers' Association. This organisation has issued an order to all its local associations to black-list all foreign glass-workers who hereafter come to this country for work. More Chinese spirit. Next!

Number of strikes from May 1st to 18th—40. Number of strikers from May 1st to 18th—22,836.

Boston, Mass., May 23, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 15, 1889.

9	Sun.	1817. James Watson, elder and younger, Arthur Thistlewood, Thomas Preston, and John Hooper tried for high treason in connection with the Spa-fields riots. 1817. Derbyshire insurrection breaks out. 1838. Office of <i>New Moral World</i> removed from Manchester to Birmingham. 1870. Solemn re-interment of the remains of Louis Bathyan, shot and privately buried Oct. '49 at Pesth. 1870. Charles Dickens died. 1879. A. K. Solovieff hanged.
10	Mon.	1798. Irish defeated at Arklow. 1837. <i>New Moral World</i> removed to Manchester, and there "published for the Association of all Classes and all Nations by Abel Heywood." 1848. First number of the <i>Irish Tribune</i> . 1877. Robert Dale Owen died.
11	Tues.	1838. Wat Tyler's Blackheath meeting. 1808. Second trial of General Thomas Picton, Governor of Trinidad, for inflicting torture on Luisa Calderon, a mulatto, to extort evidence. 1867. Fenian trials at Limerick began. 1887. Bodyke evictions.
12	Wed.	1381. Wat Tyler marches on London. 1637. Hampden cited before the Court of Exchequer. 1683. Rye House plot discovered. 1758. Trial of Dr. Florence Hensley for carrying on a treasonable correspondence with agents and officers of the French king, with whom this country was then at war. 1848. Arrest of Ernest Jones, John Fussell, J. Williams, A. Sharp, and T. Vernon. 1867. "Rattening" enquiry at Sheffield, opening of the Royal Commission.
13	Thur.	1770. H. S. Woodfall tried for publishing <i>Junius's</i> 'Letter to the King.' 1798. Dr. Edmonde hung. 1814. Removal of the Rappites from (Old) Harmony, Penn., to (New) Harmony, Posey Co., Indiana: in 1825, finding the place unhealthy, they sell it to Robert Owen, and settle at Economy, Penn., on the Ohio River. 1837. Fifty thousand unemployed reported in Manchester. 1849. Great Socialist demonstration at Paris.
14	Fri.	1837. Trial before Star Chamber of W. Prynne, Henry Burton, and Dr. Bastwick. 1649. Burial of Dr. Dorislaus in Westminster Abbey. 1662. Sir Harry Vane beheaded. 1819. Great meeting of unemployed workmen on Hunslet Moor, near Leeds. 1837. Leopardi died. 1839. Chartist petition presented to the House of Commons. 1883. Dynamitards sentenced for "treason felony." 1884. Seven Socialists murdered at Jerez.
15	Sat.	1215. Magna Charter sealed. 1812. Joseph Thompson hung at Chester, and James Smith, Thomas Kerfoot, John Fletcher, and Abraham Charlson at Lancaster, as Luddites. 1826. Trial of Decembrists before secret military tribunal for attempting military revolt in St. Petersburg and South Russia. Sentences: death, 5; mines, 8; Siberia, 18; degraded as soldiers, 9. 1839. Renewed Chartist riot in Birmingham. 1879. Resumption of over a million roubles of the people's money from Kherson treasury through a secret subway made by Thurkovski, Rossikova, and others; arrested, tried, and sentenced: mines, 2; Siberia, 2; prison, 5.

Under the existing law in Ireland, magistrates at petty sessions are empowered to inflict a penalty of £5 or three months' imprisonment on any domestic servant who is summoned for non-fulfilment of his or her contract. Ireland was excluded in this respect from the Labourers' and Workmen Act of 1875. Mr. T. Healy has put down an amendment to a bill now before the House—the Master and Workmen Bill—assimilating the law. It will be interesting to see whether Mr. Madden will assent to the reform.

THE PRICE OF COAL.—The strike among the miners in Westphalia created an unusual demand for coal for Germany, both in South Wales and Northumberland. At Cardiff, as much as 14s. per ton was paid for the best steam-coal, and 8s. freight. On the Tyne steamers were chartered at 6s. 9d. for Hamburg; Rotterdam and Amsterdam, 7s. 6d. Coke was scarce and 40 per cent. dearer. If only workmen would be wise and pull together, those of one country would not be seen cutting the ground from under the feet of those of another!

WAGES OF SEAMEN.—The National Sailors' and Firemen's Association, has issued a circular to shipowners throughout the country intimating that after June 3 the following rates will be demanded:—Western Ocean, passenger steamer, seamen and firemen, £5 per month. Cargo steamers to the Brazils, West Indies, the West Coast of Africa, and the Suez Canal, firemen, £4 10s.; seamen, £4 5s. To the Mediterranean and Black Sea, £4 10s. each. To the Baltic, £5 each; cooks, £5 15s.; stewards, £6 10s. Sailing vessels to the Baltic and Mediterranean, sailors, £4. To the southward, £3 10s. The Union now numbers about 60,000 members.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN  
HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 5.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir
Church Reformer	Liberty	Brussels—Le Drapeau Noir
Justice	The Dawn	ITALY
Labour Elector	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Rome—L'Emancipazione
London—Freie Presse	Baecker Zeitung	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	Vorbote	Seville—La Solidaridad
Railway Review	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Sozial Demokrat	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista
Seafaring	Arbeiter Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Unity	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	GERMANY
INDIA	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Bankipore—Behar Herald	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Der Sozialist	FRANCE	DENMARK
Freiheit	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Le Proletariat	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Jewish Volkszeitung	La Revolte	SWEDEN
Nationalist	L'Attache	Malmo—Arbetet
The Truth	Commentary—Le Socialiste	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Workmen's Advocate	BELGIUM	WEST INDIES
United Irishman	Ghent—Vooruit	Cuba—El Productor
Znamia	Antwerp—De Werker	

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT,  
1815 TO 1817.

SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

Concluded from p. 171.)

THROUGHOUT the evening of the 9th of June Nottingham was plunged into great excitement and disorder. Groups of people gathered in the streets, and rumours of insurrection were rife on every hand. The excitement spreads through the neighbouring villages, and everyone is expecting something remarkable to happen. The troops are confined to their barracks, and at ten o'clock at night groups of men leave the town and gather in Nottingham Forest a hundred strong. Here they wait patiently till two o'clock, and Brandreth and his men not arriving owing to occurrences that have delayed them on the road, and a troop of horse coming from the town and galloping down upon them, they disperse in disorder, leaving the ground covered with weapons of all kinds.

As morning dawns and the first rays of the sun fall upon the earth, a magistrate of Nottingham, Mr. Rolleston, gallops out from the town and sees Brandreth's party approaching, their weapons glittering in the sun. He spurs back to the barracks and arouses the troops, who have just retired to rest after being up all night. Captain Phillips arises, grumbling, and mounts at the head of his hussars. They gallop out of the town, and as they reach Eastwood they see some men flying across the fields, carrying pikes. The cavalry pursue, but cannot reach them owing to the nature of the ground. They return to the road, and between Langley Mill and Eastwood they come upon Brandreth and his party, now melted away to some fifty or sixty men, and already wavering in panic at the sight of the troops. The hussars

dash upon them, sabre in hand. Brandreth tries to form his men in military order to receive their onslaught, but it is useless; they flee in disorder into the fields, and the insurrection vanishes like an empty dream. The hussars pursue them and capture some fifty prisoners; six men are taken with arms in their hands. Brandreth escapes and remains in hiding for some time, but is afterwards betrayed by a friend to Government for a reward of fifty pounds.

Now, having given you an account of these attempts at insurrections which disturbed England, let me tell you the secret history of the whole business. The truth was that a Government agent, a scoundrel as wicked as he was clever, was at the bottom of the whole business. This man Oliver was a carpenter and builder by trade. For some years he had been connected with the advanced wing of the Radical party in London, and knew most of their principal leaders. He had been in prison for debt, and in the year 1817 was very hard up. It was then that he applied to Lord Sidmouth for employment as a spy, offering to reveal the designs of the more revolutionary among the Radicals. His offer was accepted. The Government at that time had only obtained the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for a matter of six months, and they wanted a renewal of their Coercion Act, so Oliver was sent down into the country as what the French call an *agent-provocateur*, or provoking agent. As there was no rebellion, no uprising, he received orders to make one, to hurry the men forward who were contemplating an outbreak into premature and ill-advised action. To render his mission more successful, he took as his colleague a man named Mitchell, who had been very active in the agitation in the northern counties. Whether Mitchell was his dupe or a fellow-spy is still a doubtful matter, rendered more doubtful by the fact that he was arrested at Huddersfield in course of his expedition and kept in prison for several months. This may only have been done to qualify him for future service as employé of the Government, but still it is a point that probably will never be cleared up.

The plan of campaign of these two gentlemen was as follows: Wherever there was a body of Radicals inclined for revolutionary courses, they presented themselves in their midst and urged them forward. Their tale was always the same. Oliver would state that he came from London, that there a mighty confederacy was mustering against the Government; thousands were armed and ready to revolt, under the leadership of the most eminent Radicals of the day. But the people were heartbroken at the apathy and indifference of the people of the town he was now visiting. While thousands of men in other large towns were determined to drag down by force the tyranny of the Government, in this town the people were doing nothing; they must awake from their sleep and act. Mitchell as a delegate from Birmingham, or Manchester, or anywhere else, would back up everything his companion said. Both these men were well dressed, and looked like people of respectability. Oliver especially had plenty of money, and both were well acquainted with the ideas and persons of the leaders of the Radical movement. What wonder, then, that many simple and warm-hearted people fell into the trap prepared for them, and consented to join in the insurrection, which was fixed by Oliver for a date in the beginning of June, just a little before the Government wanted to renew the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was Oliver alone—for his companion by that time had been arrested—who deceived Brandreth. He was in Nottingham on the 7th of June, the day before Brandreth appeared in Pentridge and repeated the stories which he believed, and which were the coinage of the active brain of Mr. Oliver. It was Oliver who arranged the rising at Huddersfield, and who called together and arranged the arrest of the delegates at the village Thornton Lees in Yorkshire. Moreover, it is impossible to acquit the Government of complicity in the actions of this dastardly scoundrel.

In the course of his journeys through the manufacturing towns of England, Oliver was informed upon by a gentleman in the same honourable employment, but who did not know him, and a magistrate of Sheffield wrote to London to Lord Sidmouth informing him that there was a person going up and down the country inciting people to acts of treason: what was he to do? This was in effect the reply: Leave him alone; he is an agent of the Government. So it was the Government that incited the men in Derbyshire to insurrection, and then hung them for it. What a blessing is a government! how kind and paternal and anxious for the welfare of the lower classes.

Well, you may ask how did Oliver get found out? I will tell you. It was over the Thornton Lees business. Here is an extract from the *Leeds Mercury*, edited by Mr. Edward Baines, that was read by Sir Francis Burdett in the House of Commons on June 16th, 1817—a statement which you will find in Hansard Debates. The debate which followed is entitled "Debate on the employment of spies and informers." Here is the extract:

"Since the first edition of our paper was prepared for the press, the highly important fact has been communicated to us from a respectable quarter that the plot at Thornton Lees referred to in the above statements has been got up by an agent from London, and that the principal offender has been allowed to escape with impunity. The statement rests on the authority of Mr. Williams, a bookseller in Dewsbury, and was corroborated by Mr. John Dickson, a linendraper in the same place. Mr. Williams stated that two months before a person of the name of Oliver called upon him and introduced himself as a parliamentary reformer sent from London to ascertain the disposition of the people in the country. This man he describes as a person of genteel and good address, nearly six feet high, of erect figure, light hair, red and rather large whiskers, and a full face a little pitted with small-pox."

Anything more unlike the popular conception of spy it would be hard to imagine.

"After one of his first calls he said it was quite obvious that the Govern-

ment would not listen to the petitions of the people, and that they should be compelled to attend to their demands. He afterwards, on the Friday morning on which the ten persons were arrested, called at Mr. Williams' shop and begged his wife to tell him that a meeting of delegates would be held on that day at Thornhill, and earnestly begged that she would prevail upon her husband to attend. Before Oliver quitted Dewsbury to attend the meeting, he called again at the shop, when he found Mr. Williams had returned. He accordingly renewed his solicitations to Mr. W. to attend the meeting, telling him at the same time that his friends in London were heartbroke because the people were so quiet. At the same time he informed him that he had walked over from Leeds that morning, and two persons supposed to be Leeds men appeared in his train. Unmoved by Oliver's solicitations, Mr. Williams persisted in his resolution not to attend the meeting. At the appointed time the meeting was held at Thornton Lees, and the toils being set, eleven deputies were taken by a detachment of cavalry, and all except Mr. Oliver, who had the good fortune to be liberated, were conveyed to Wakefield in custody."

According to the same statement, it appears that Oliver was afterwards seen by Mr. John Dickson at the Stafford Arms, Dewsbury, and this gentleman asked him why he was free when his associates had been sent to London. He returned a shuffling reply, and hurriedly withdrew to take a seat in the Wakefield coach to Leeds. As he entered, a servant in a livery touched his hat to Oliver, and entered into conversation with him. After the coach had gone, Dickson spoke to this servant, and found out that Oliver was on very intimate terms with the servant's master, General Byng, who was then in command of the Government forces in that district, and who had arranged the arrest of delegates along with Oliver, that highly accomplished government spy of respectable appearance. The result of this exposure was that the Government had to release the unfortunate men captured at Thornton Lees, and information rapidly poured in to the editor of the *Leeds Mercury* from all parts of the country concerning the operations of this redoubted spy. Thus it was discovered that Oliver had also planned the Derbyshire insurrection; but this did not save the lives of the unfortunate men concerned in that affair. Isaac Ludlam, William Turner, and Jeremiah Brandreth were condemned to death by special commission at Derby, and were sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for the crime of being led into insurrection by a spy of the Government.

Brandreth and Ludlam died with inflexible courage at Derby on 17th of November. Poor Turner seemed overpowered by the fate that had fallen upon him, and could only ejaculate on the scaffold, "This is all Oliver and the Government." After they were hanged, the hangman proceeded to mutilate the corpses according to the sentence. A yell of horror burst from the people, but the yeomanry and javelin men drew near, and the heads of the murdered men were hewn from their lifeless trunks. However, the Government did not think it safe to further mangle the dead bodies, so that part of the sentence was graciously remitted by the kind permission of his majesty's representative, the Prince Regent. What admirable lessons in civilisation and refinement do governments teach their subject peoples—lessons taught by those potent preceptors, the jailer, the policeman, the spy, and the hangman!

Well, my story is now concluded. After the events of the summer of 1817 there was a lull in the agitation. The revolutionary party was shattered and broken up by the betrayal of its best men. The moderates were silenced, for their leaders were in prison. There was also a good harvest, and a slight improvement in trade. So there was a lull in the agitation till 1819. Here, then, I will conclude, with but little comment on the story which I have told you. There are many lessons which all may draw from it; but I think the chief is that if ever you are forced into secret revolutionary agitation, as you may be some day, be quite certain that all your comrades are as honest and as determined as you are. Beware above all things of mysterious loud-talking strangers; and be certain before you plan a revolt that the masses of the people are with you, or perhaps you may share the fate of the humble men who died with courage upon the murderous scaffold at Derby. For with all their courage and self-devotion, they only enabled a base and treacherous Government to continue their system of coercion for some time longer. Yes, the mistakes of these men should teach us much, and their bravery and forgetfulness of self should urge us forward in the battle of the future. D. J. NICOLL.

**WORKING TWENTY HOURS A DAY.**—An extraordinary instance of long hours of labour was related the other day before the Sweating Committee of the House of Lords. A Roumanian Jew stated that at Manchester he works from five o'clock in the morning until twelve at night, and sometimes until one or two in the morning, making an average of twenty hours a day for six days in the week, leaving only four hours for sleep. He earned 3s. a day in the busy time, lasting about ten weeks, and from 6s. to 8s. per week in the slack season, and on this he had to support a wife and six children.

#### THE MODERN LAZARUS AND THE CONSOLATORY CAT.

Lo, Dives, fearful of burglarious raid,  
Invokes stern Law-and-Order to his aid,  
And threatens Lazarus and his starveling pack  
With cat-o'-nine-tails pendent o'er their back.  
"Begone!" he cries, in tones of strenuous hate,  
"Begone, ye lawless beggars, from my gate  
Else have I vowed with patriotic zeal  
To make your hides, howe'er unfeeling, feel  
That one supreme corrective of all wrong—  
Six dozen lashes from a leathern thong.  
Begone, and quit my charitable doors,  
With all that gruesome licking of your sores  
By philanthropic dogs—no more of that!  
Ye shall be licked henceforward with the Cat."

[ *Pall Mall Gazette.*

H. S. S.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### ST. GEORGE'S FARM.

The letter of M. A. Maloy throws light upon the cloud, and how it came against the wind at Totley. The man who was master got his foot between the door and the doorpost by means of the usual levers.

To accumulate subscriptions of a shilling for the equipment of 20 acres of garden-farm being an heroic undertaking, deserved success, as the man who was master will find ere long.

It surprises some people that the necessity for cultivating by co-operative effort is not met, and such difficulty as exists overcome. This difficulty differs in important details from those which confront co-operative manufacture. In the latter case the plans and specifications relate to things about which knowledge is not quite so much boxed up, and more, not so much under the influence of the elements which no man can control, though the bare mention of them forms some part of the stock-in-trade of the tools of the land-thieves whose Royal and other agricultural societies, which might be made real and true schools, are positively part of a system of fraud.

In commencing operations on a piece of land, it is necessary to have a tolerable stock of three articles: (1) Results of previous labour (material); (2) Results of previous thought (knowledge); (3) Patience. These things abound, but they are boxed up; to get them unboxed by shilling subscriptions is heroic. For my part, I confess I should have attached the £100 donation to the undertaking, but my view of that part of the case may arise from having been brought up on the soil, and worked on and in it, being in fact a delver, and recognising the difficulty under present circumstances of supplying thirty-seven millions of people with fairly mixed food from land which has been robbed as much as the workers upon it have been.

The system of profit-grinding in rents, etc., has reduced the bare face of the earth to a state of confusion. The nitrates have been got out and have gone down the sewers of ugly cities, and cannot return to the earth through the thick coat of weeds which the avarice and ignorance of the man who is master have allowed to accumulate; he neither knows nor cares whether the winds bring back resources of nature, and consequently does not cultivate for their reception.

The general condition of the food-producing districts of England is one of deplorable poverty, both of soil and people, which it will take years of free work to restore: under such circumstances £100 donations ought to be taken in, and chance the settling of accounts.

That the inhabitants of any part of the globe ought to be exclusively employed in agriculture I for one totally deny. It is work which, in a properly organised society, would come as a relief to all at its proper season, and yet be a primary rather than a supernumerary occupation. Its very nature requires the quick concentration on a given spot of all the available strength of a community, at certain seasons. We see this in the gooseberry pickers at Wisbeach and hop-pickers elsewhere, and the bare mention of the fact makes us shudder at their condition before they pick, while they pick, and after they pick both fruit and hops.

To have the necessary force at hand the workshops of all sorts must be in villages, and the workers should not be under factory-hell pressure, fearing loss of market or loss of dignity by changing from one kind of work to another for mutual advantage.

The cultivation of the soil is easier to do than to describe by pen and ink. It has suffered so much from the stupidity of the man who says he is master that it is not easy to interest the general reader by a description of Earth-work. If we could have a proper co-operative garden in some villages it would help to teach the workers who ought to be "in possession." The "allotments" of garden ground have not as yet served the purpose of schools, unless it be schools of the Primrose League sort. JOHN GREENWOOD.

### "SEAFARING."

SIR,—The correspondence anent *Seafaring* in your issue of last week has attracted my attention. I considered it a bounden duty of mine to read it to the members of the Hull branch, and I did so. The branch has, therefore, directed me to communicate with you and our executive, relative to the charge against our journal. In answering for myself and the members of my district, I can assure you, sir, we have been kept in ignorance as to our journal being printed by non-unionists, and, if such is the case, as a trades' unionist of a true stamp I will refuse to have any connection with the paper. If Mr. Cowie has deluded us, I say he could not have thrown a greater insult upon us. What must the feeling of union printers be to us, when they hear of us refusing to sail with non-union men and yet contributing to the support of a "rat ship"? I, therefore, wish to inform the readers of the *Commonweal* that both I and the members of the Hull, Goole, Grimsby, and Lynn branches are indignant as to what you have brought to light. I will immediately communicate with union printers of Hull and our executive, and I have no doubt, sir, but that this grievance will be speedily rectified. Our general secretary, Mr. J. H. Wilson, of Sunderland, and most of our delegates I know are thorough trades' unionists, and I know they would never consent to get *Seafaring* printed in a rat shop. I trust all trades' unionists who read this will communicate with our general secretary, and prove to him that such is the case, and you will find he will be the first to put a stop to it.

The non-unionist is a creature not worthy of consideration, able to look after his own interest but too lazy and ignorant to do so; he stands on neutral ground watching the cruel fight between capital and labour, ready like any coward to take the part of the strongest. The capitalist having the power to-day he supports him, but the dawn is about to break, then the scales will fall from his eyes and he will see the injury he has done his own class.—I am, sir, yours fraternally,

GEO. W. REID, Secretary (Humber District),  
National Sailor's and Fireman's Union.

Unity Hall, 3, Prince Street, Dagger Lane, Hull, June 31, 1889.

SIR,—Allow me to state in your columns that the printing of *Seafaring* at the National Press Agency was arranged for before I was aware that it was not a Society house, and that the work cannot—for at least the present—be given to another house.—Yours, etc.,  
EDITOR, *Seafaring*.  
150, Minorities, London, E., June 3, 1889.

NEW LABOUR CLUB, 5 Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green.—Thursday June 13th, H. Halliday Sparling, "Evolutionary Cannibals."

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Glasgow dock labourers have been instructed by their union to decline contracts at less than 27s. per week of 60 hours.

The plumbers at Fairfield have struck for an increase of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour. They have at present 7d. per hour, and all other firms are paying 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Some months ago the National Sailors and Firemen's Union numbered only five in Liverpool and Bootle, and now there are over 7,000 members. The Union now numbers about 60,000.

The report of the Sliding Scale Revision Committee of the South Wales coal trade was received at the collieries on Thursday 30th. It provides for a reduction on the advance of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. in wages.

The dock labourers in Belfast have struck for an advance in wages; the present rate is 17s. per week, they demand 22s. At a crowded meeting, held on Wednesday in the Lancastrian School, it was decided to hold out until the demand was conceded.

**HORSE-NAIL MAKERS.**—The horse-nail makers in Old Hill and Hales Owen districts are still out for an advance of 3d. per thousand. The Midland Counties Trades Federation have granted the strikers £10, and an appeal for support has been issued to the public.

Labour troubles are assuming larger and more significant proportions in Scotland. A large demonstration of seamen and dock labourers was held on Saturday at Glasgow, and an enormous strike is threatened. A proposal to import foreign seamen finds some apparent acceptance from shipowners, but it is "too thin" to hoodwink the men. The tramway men hold mass meetings every Sunday at present, and they have also midnight meetings.

**IRISH RAILWAYMEN.**—On the northern division of the G. N. R. of Ireland, the engine-drivers start from 4s. 6d. per day, and rise to 7s. They work on the 60-hour system, and if they cannot make 12 days per fortnight, they work on Sunday and make it up. This is on the Banbridge job. Firemen start at 2s. 4d. per day, and rise to 3s. 6d. By the agreement between directors and men in 1872, the wages should start—firemen, 2s. 6d., and drivers, 5s., but the men have allowed this to drop, and also let the six months' system for increase of wages drop. At one time a fireman got full money in 12 months, but now gets 3d. rise every six months. There have been some nice disputes about wages here since 1885, and but for the fighting of a few energetic men, who are termed restless spirits, things would have been worse.

**WALSALL BIT-MAKERS.**—An agitation for an increase is now going on, and in support of it the men say the wages do not average £1 per week, and some are barely keeping body and soul together. If a man works piece-work he has to buy his own files, amounting to at least from a shilling to two in a week, and in winter fourpence for gas, so this considerably reduces his already low wages. Besides, he has to pay a penny in the shilling for polishing; according to the rule, if a bit was 4s. filing, that would cost 4d. for polishing, and that could be accomplished in a quarter of an hour, so if a man polished four an hour he would earn 1s. 4d. an hour, whereas at the filing he might get sixpence. In small shops the men do their own polishing, but in the factories the penny in the shilling has to be paid without option. But the chief cause of the dispute is the 15 per cent. It seems some years ago the operatives won 15 and 25 per cent. on their wages—15 per cent. on best work: 25 on common,—but as the trade has been so completely revolutionised, the common work is nearly all done now by day-workers. But the best work is generally done piece-work. During the slackness of trade the men allege that the 15 per cent. has been taken from them, and now they demand it back again to be paid all round.

**MIDLAND MINERS.**—The following is a copy of the amended sliding-scale adopted at the meeting of the Wages Board held at Dudley last week. Two pence per ton rise or fall in average selling price varies thick-coal miners' wages one penny per day. Two pence per day rise or fall in thick-coal miners' wages varies thin-coal miners' wages  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day:—

Average selling price.		Thick-coal wages.		Thin-coal wages.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
4	9	3	4	2	8
(basis)		(minimum)		(minimum)	
4	11	3	5		
5	1	3	6	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	3	3	7		
5	5	3	8	2	11
5	7	3	9		
5	9	3	10	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	11	3	11		
6	1	4	0	3	2
6	3	4	1		
6	5	4	2	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	7	4	3		
6	9	4	4	3	5
6	11	4	5		
7	1	4	6	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

**THE MINERS.**—The National Miners' Conference was resumed at Manchester Wednesday 29th. The proposals of the Yorkshire coalowners that 5 per cent. advance be given on 1st July, and another 5 per cent. in October, on condition that no further advance be asked for till July next year, were considered. After a prolonged discussion, it was unanimously resolved to advise the Yorkshire colliers to accept the offer, but without the condition attached. All the other districts represented at the conference were advised to accept the same conditions. It was decided to make a levy to support any miners who may strike for the advance. The men have since agreed to the masters' offer of 5 per cent. advance on July 1, with another 5 per cent. on October 1; and the owners will not press their condition that the wages question should not be reopened for a year. The difficulty is therefore practically at an end, and the decisions to be laid before Tuesday's conference avert what threatened to be a determined strike.—The miners of Oakengates on the 31st held a meeting to consider the question of a further advance of wages, and to hear the report of their delegate to the Manchester Conference. Mr. Latham said that it was considered at the conference it would be the best thing they could do to accept the concessions of the Yorkshire coalowners. He trusted they would endorse that decision. After a little discussion the meeting passed a resolution in favour of so doing, with only one dissident. A communication was received from the agent of the Lilleshall Company, in which an advance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day was offered. This offer it was decided to reject.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING-MEN'S CONGRESS.

14TH TO 21ST JULY, 1889.

WORKERS AND SOCIALISTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.—

The Bordeaux Working Men's Congress, held by the delegates of upwards of 200 trades unions from all the industrial centres of France, and the Troyes Congress, constituted by the delegates of 300 workmen's and Socialist groups representing the French working class and revolutionary Socialism at large, have resolved to convene an International Congress in Paris, during the Exhibition, that shall be open to the workers of the whole world.

This resolution has been joyfully welcomed by the Socialists of Europe and America, happy to be able to meet and to clearly formulate the demands of the working-class on the subject of international labour legislation, which question will be treated at the Berne Conference, to be held by the representatives of the Governments of Europe in September.

The capitalists invite the rich and mighty to the Universal Exhibition, to contemplate and admire the achievements of the workers, doomed to misery in the midst of the most colossal wealth ever possessed by any human society. We, Socialists, whose aim is the emancipation of labour, the abolition of wage-slavery, and the creation of an order of things in which all workers—without distinction of sex or nationality—shall have a right to the riches produced by their common toil; it is the producers whom we invite to meet us on the 14th July in Paris.

We call on them to seal the bond of fellowship that, by consolidating the efforts of the proletariat of all countries, will hasten the advent of the new world.

"Working-men of all countries, unite!"

The adhesions from America and elsewhere that have been announced, but are not yet to hand, will be published in a future circular.

Delegates are requested to announce their time of arrival at least one week before the opening of the Congress, to enable the Organising Commission to make the final arrangements for their board and lodging and reception at the station.

**AUSTRIA**—For the Socialist Working-men's Party: J. Popp, V. Adler, E. Kralik, A. Zinnram, N. Hoffmann, J. Kreutzer, J. Winnig, G. Popper (Vienna), J. Mackart, H. Flöckinger, K. Sams, (Innsbruck), A. Weiguny, J. Siegl (Linz), A. Friemel, V. Wiener, T. Heinz, A. Bocek (Steyr), K. Schneeweiss, A. Sobotka, A. Klofac, J. Hybes (Brünn), V. Sturz, F. Dosek, T. Nemecek (Prague), T. Zednicek, R. Zaholtko (Prossnitz), A. Gerin, C. Giekar, J. Lax (Trieste), J. Doniluk (Lemberg), T. Adenan (Klagenfurt), E. Rieger (Bratzan), J. Zimmermann (Jägerndorf).

**BELGIUM**—For the Socialist Working-men's Party of Ghent: E. Anseele, E. van Beveren.

**FRANCE**—For the Federation of Trades Unions and Working-men's Associations of France: R. Lavigne. For the Socialist Federation of France: J. Batisse.

**GREAT BRITAIN**—R. B. Cunningham Graham, M.P. For the Socialist League: William Morris, F. Kitz. For the Labour Electoral Association: W. Parnell (Hon. Sec.), G. Bateman, H. Champion, Tom Mann. For the Ayrshire Miners' Union: J. Keir Hardie.

**GERMANY**—For the Social-Democratic Working-men's Party of Germany: Bebel, Frohme, Grillenberger, Harm, Huhn, Liebknecht, Meister, Sabor, Singer, Schumacher (members of the Reichstag).

**HOLLAND**—For the Dutch Social-Democratic Working-men's Party: Domela Nieuwenhuis, Croll.

**HUNGARY**—For the Socialist Working-men's Party: Leo Frankel (of the Paris Commune, 1871).

**ITALY**—For the Revolutionary Socialist Organisations: Amilcare Cipriani.

**POLAND**—For the Polish Socialists: S. Mendelson (of the periodical *Walka Klas*, "The Class Struggle"), L. Anielewski (of the Warsaw Working-men's Committee).

**PORTUGAL**—For the Socialist Working-men's Societies: Carvalho.

**RUSSIA**—Stepniak.

**SPAIN**—For the Spanish Socialist Working-men's Party: Pablo Iglesias, F. Diego.

**SWITZERLAND**—Brandt (Vice-President of the Grütli Association). For the Swiss Socialist Working-men's Party: A. Reichel, A. Steck.

(Issued by the Organising Commission of the Congress.)

PAUL LAFARGUE, 60, Avenue de Champs Elysees, Le Perreux, Paris-Banlieue, France, Secretary for foreign countries.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, July 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.: per post, 5s. 6d.

**Annual Conference.**—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th, at 13, Farringdon Road, at 10 a.m. sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Norwich (?). Bradford, Hammersmith, and Leicester, to end of April. North London, St. Georges East, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London and Clerkenwell, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees before Conference.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, June 11th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the *Weal*.

**Defence Committee.**—Next week there will appear a report of the work of this Committee.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; W. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Samuels, 1s.; Hill, 6d.; Nicoll, 1s.; and C. Saunders, 1s. Norwich, 8s.



## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Canterbury Road*—Brookes and Mainwaring spoke. *Ossulton Street*—Very good meeting on Thursday evening; speakers were Cantwell and Nicoll; fair sale of 'Weal. *Hyde Park*—Saturday evening, large meeting by Cantwell, Brooks, and Nicoll; some opposition offered by an individual who alternately declared that the present society was all that could be desired and that things must be improved, which contradictions provoked much laughter; queried, he said he was a coachmaker, and though not quite a foreman he was near it; the discussion was continued by various people until nearly ten, and satisfactorily replied to by Nicoll; 3s. 9d. collected and 35 'Weal sold. *Regents Park*—Sunday morning very good meeting addressed by Cantwell, Bain (of Edinburgh), and Samuels; 59 'Weal sold and 5s. collected. Sunday afternoon in *Hyde Park* speakers were Brookes, Nicoll, Lyne, jun., Lyne, sen., Mainwaring, and Bain; total number of 'Weal sold, 135. *Gibraltar Walk*—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Davis, Schack, and McKenzie. *Mile End Waste*—Good meeting on Saturday addressed by Cores and Davis; the meeting was disturbed by two drunken roughs. Comrades are earnestly requested to turn up at this station and support speakers. *Battersea*—A good meeting held near Christ Church, when Parker, Kitz, and Samuels spoke; 14 *Commonweal* sold. *Streatham*—A large meeting held at the Fountain by Parker and Kitz; *Commonweal* sold out, and a great number of leaflets distributed. *Clerkenwell Green*—Good meeting held here on Sunday, Cores and Hill spoke.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday evening, Rev. Stewart Headlam lectured on "Christian Socialism." Hall filled, many questions, and good discussion; 2s. 6d. collected.—S. P.

**EAST LONDON.**—On Sunday, good muster of members to hear Mrs. Schack lecture on "How Women can help the Socialist Movement." Very lively discussion, some female comrades taking part.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road Sunday morning, speakers, Miss Spooner, Mrs. Edwards, Lyne, sen., Dean, Crouch, Maughan, and Bullock. 44 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road in evening very good meeting; speakers, W. Morris, Catterson Smith, Bullock, and Maughan; 12 *Commonweal* sold. In evening at Kelmscott House, Sydney Olivier lectured on "The Old Poor Law."

**MITCHAM.**—Good meeting on Sunday morning addressed by Kitz and Parker. Fair sale of 'Weal. In room in evening election of delegate for Conference was discussed, and S. Gregory elected.—S. G.

**ST. GEORGES EAST.**—Mr. Vaughan Nash (of Toynbee Hall) lectured on Wednesday on "Socialism and Co-operation." Fair meeting, with questions and discussion at the finish.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 27th ult., Morris's lecture, "The Society of the Future," read and discussed. On Friday 31st, Webster and Leatham walked out to Woodside, and addressed a good meeting at the Fountain in concert with comrade W. Cooper, who is a police commissioner there, and "goes for" his brother commissioners, especially the chief magistrate. A desire was expressed to hear the speakers again, and it was arranged that they should go, if possible, once a fortnight. At Castle Street on Saturday night, the usual weekly meeting was addressed by Duncan and Aiken.—L.

**EDINBURGH.**—We have held successful meetings on Sunday afternoons in the Queen's Park for the last five weeks, addressed by comrades Smith, Davidson, Gilray, and Campbell. Last Sunday, Smith held a select audience of between two and three hundred for an hour and a quarter. Sale of literature prohibited.

**GLASGOW.**—Sunday, owing to great thunderstorm, no open-air meetings held. Glasier and Tim Burgoyne addressed meeting of Partick branch of Irish National League at 4 o'clock, lightning making brilliant accompaniment to their speeches.

**LEEDS.**—Although the branch has sent no reports it has been doing good work during winter, having indoor Sunday lectures during cold season, and it is now carrying on vigorous outdoor propaganda. On Sunday morning a grand meeting was held at Vicar's Croft, between six and seven hundred being present; the speakers were Paylor, Hill, McCormick (of London), and one of the Sweating Commission witnesses, named Sweeney; good impression made. After meeting small groups could be seen discussing. At 7.30 another meeting at same place; notwithstanding another meeting being held audience fully a thousand; Hill, Sweeney, McCormick, and an S.D.F. comrade from London spoke. A number of pamphlets sold, and good collection made. Good work could be done in Leeds if speakers would but turn out.—J. McC.

**LEICESTER.**—Our second open-air meeting was an improvement on the first. On Sunday, Barclay lectured at Humberstone Gate on "Capital and Labour." The audience was much larger than previous week; the discussion was lengthy, several taking part and showing great sympathy with the replies to their difficulties. We sold 2s. 2d. worth of literature.—A. G.

**MANCHESTER.**—On Saturday night Marshall and Barton addressed a large meeting at Middleton; many questions put, and hot discussion followed; 28 *Commonweal* sold. A severe thunderstorm prevented the usual meeting being held on Sunday afternoon. At night we held a good meeting at Chester Road; Marshall, Bailie, and Ritson spoke; 20 *Commonweal* sold. Bailie and Marshall addressed an enthusiastic meeting of workmen on Monday night at Holt Town, in the midst of one of the "slum" districts; sold out *Commonweal*—in all, 81.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday we received a visit from Mowbray, who addressed three good and sympathetic meetings in Market Place; good sale of *Commonweal*; 15s. 5d. collected for propaganda. Adams and Poynts addressed a very fair meeting in the morning at Bawburgh, a village 8 miles distant. In the evening a special meeting of members was held and various matters discussed. Mowbray was elected delegate for this Branch at the forthcoming Conference.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Sunday morning Ruffold and Brightwell held another meeting at Brackwell. In the morning Reynolds spoke on Priory Plain; again in afternoon, assisted by Ruffold; 2s. 2½d. collected. On Monday week evening another good meeting was held at Belton, and 3s. collected. Last Monday another was held there by branch, assisted by a deputation from the Great Yarmouth Radical Association.—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressive Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday June 1st, Mr. E. Hamilton lectured on "Some Objections to Socialism," trotting out the familiar war horses—thrift, incentive to exertion, religion, and individual liberty. He was well replied to by Smith, Shields, Toomey, Frizelle, and others.

**ISWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.**—Thomas and Creed held very large outdoor meeting on the Knolls Sunday morning. In the evening Thomas opened debate on "Organised Labour" (Southron in chair); good discussion, Khill, Day, Mackey, and some strangers taking part. Creed adjourned debate until next Sunday, when he will re-open the subject.—M. C.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Largely attended meeting in the Market Place on Sunday night. Peacock and Hickling spoke on "Christian Socialism" to an appreciative audience. Literature sold well; 3s. 7d. collected; several new members joined subsequently. It moves!—R. P.

## On Whit-Monday, June 10.

**HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD.**—A Grand CONCERT and BALL will be held on Whit-Monday, June 10th, for the benefit of the Propaganda Fund. The following comrades will sing and recite: W. Morris, W. Blundell, Annie Taylor, J. Turner, Miss Emily Fisher, Fred White, F. Kitz, C. W. Mowbray, D. Nicoll, J. Presburg, Mrs. Tochatti, T. Cantwell, A. Brookes, and others. **DRAMATIC SKETCH** by Darwood and Jeffries. To conclude with a Ball. Admission by Programme, 6d., to be obtained at branches of the League, the International clubs, and of the Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday June 9, no lecture, owing to Conference.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Thursday June 13th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 14th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 8.30 sharp, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—The Branch will meet temporarily in the Ram's Horn Assembly Hall, Ingram Street, every Thursday and Saturday evening at 8 o'clock, and on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. All communications to be addressed to above Hall.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class at comrade Hadley's every Friday at 8 p.m. *Commonweal* sold by Mr. Hous, newsagent, George Street.

FRIENDS WILLING TO AID in forming Branches in the undermentioned places are asked to write to the addresses given: *Liverpool*—W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Chapman St. *Walworth and Camberwell*—3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green. *Wimbledon and Merton*—F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. *Hoxton*—H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. *Streatham*—J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## SATURDAY 8.

- |   |       |                                  |       |                            |
|---|-------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| 7 | ..... | Hyde Park                        | ..... | Hill, Nicoll, and Brookes  |
| 8 | ..... | Battersea—opposite Christ Church | ..... | Samuels, Kitz, and Charles |
| 8 | ..... | Mile-end Waste                   | ..... | Cores, Davis, and Mowbray  |

## SUNDAY 9.

- |       |       |                                 |       |                                      |
|-------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| 11    | ..... | Latimer Road Station            | ..... | Lyne senr, Maughan, Dean, and Crouch |
| 11.30 | ..... | Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk    | ..... | Cores                                |
| 11.30 | ..... | Hammersmith—Beadon Road         | ..... | Hammersmith Branch                   |
| 11.30 | ..... | Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms"  | ..... | Hill and Mainwaring                  |
| 11.30 | ..... | Leman Street, Shadwell          | ..... | Samuels and Moore                    |
| 11.30 | ..... | Mitcham Fair Green              | ..... | The Branch                           |
| 11.30 | ..... | Regent's Park                   | ..... | Hill                                 |
| 3.30  | ..... | Hyde Park                       | ..... | Mainwaring and Brookes               |
| 3.30  | ..... | Victoria Park                   | ..... | The Branch                           |
| 7     | ..... | Clerkenwell Green               | ..... | The Branch                           |
| 7     | ..... | Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park   | ..... | Hammersmith Branch                   |
| 7.30  | ..... | Mitcham Fair Green              | ..... | The Branch                           |
| 7.30  | ..... | Streatham—Fountain, High Street | ..... | The Branch                           |

## TUESDAY 11.

- |   |       |                                    |       |            |
|---|-------|------------------------------------|-------|------------|
| 8 | ..... | Fulham—back of Walham Green Church | ..... | The Branch |
|---|-------|------------------------------------|-------|------------|

## THURSDAY 13.

- |      |       |                 |       |                     |
|------|-------|-----------------|-------|---------------------|
| 8    | ..... | Ossulton Street | ..... | Nicoll and Cantwell |
| 8.15 | ..... | Hoxton Church   | ..... | Mowbray and Davis   |

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Bradwell** (near Yarmouth).—Monday evening.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.

**Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Middleton Market Ground, Saturday at 7.30.**

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. A Meeting at Belton every Monday evening.

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatown and Dysart** (Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A.

**Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every

alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—

Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

## AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

**Sydney.**—533 George Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. W. H. McNamara, Secretary.

**Melbourne.**—"Golden Fleece" Hotel, Russell Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. J. A. Andrews, 18 Ophir Street, Richmond, Secy.

**LONDON ANARCHISTS'** open-air propaganda, Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).—Sunday 9th, at 4.30, James Harragan, "The Four Frauds of History."

**FERNDAL LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 35 Bedford Road, Brixton.**—Thursday June 13, at 8.30, Mr. S. E. Fraser, "The Political Duty of a London Club."

**PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Rd.**—Sunday June 9, at 7.45, Albert Tarn, B.Sc., F.C.S., "A Free Currency: What it Means, How it can be Established, What it can Accomplish."

**EAST LONDON BRANCH—BANNER FUND.**—The members of this Branch, being desirous to obtain a suitable banner, have opened a subscription for that object. Already received—Mrs. G. Schaack, 1s.; By collection, 1s. 4½d. Those wishing to subscribe to this fund will please send subscriptions to M. Matthews, 95 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. . 3d.  
 Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.  
**True and False Society.** By Wm. Morris. . 1d.  
**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . 1d  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

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[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE dam above what was once Johnstown in Pennsylvania turns out to have been the crowning triumph of what we call in England jerry-building—i.e., building not for the use of the public but for the profit of the speculator. The crowd of unfortunate people who were lost in that stupendous tragedy have in fact been sacrificed to the demon of profit-mongering to which hundreds and thousands of the disinherited classes are sacrificed every day, whether the kind of sacrifice be the actual death caused by privation, or the living death of hopeless poverty.

To the demon of profit they were sacrificed, and also to the demon of waste: for it seems that that huge mass of water, held temporarily in check by its jerry-built dam, was in fact a pleasure lake, the property of a fishing-club; so that this gigantic threat of sudden death to thousands was simply one of the means of wasting the riches which the idle class wring by force from the workers, and which they cannot use but can only waste.

I do not wonder at the anger of the survivors from this artificial deluge, this subsidised terror, against the owners or holders of the pleasure-lake; but if there be any members of the class which lives on the enforced labour of the workers amongst these angry men, their anger is illogical; because they themselves are doing the same kind of thing (unconsciously maybe) every day. Let Keats speak to it:

"For them alone did seethe  
A thousand men in troubles wide and dark:  
Half-ignorant, they turned an easy wheel  
That set sharp racks at work to pinch and peel."

On the other hand, those of the disinherited classes who have shown their anger are abundantly justified in being angry; but if they understood their position better, their anger would seek wider afield, for they would know that the profit and pleasure of the masters of slaves does not produce mere spasmodic accidents only of death and misery, but is and must be the constant and necessary cause of continuous death and misery.

Will you say, "How do I know that there was a slave class in and about Johnstown?" If I did not know it otherwise, I should be sure of it by the token that after the catastrophe there were people found so miserable and brutalised that they used the occasion to rob the dead bodies—and were shot for doing it by others (doubtless maddened by the terror that surrounded the place) who did not, and we will say could not, remember the words of a great teacher, "Let him who is without sin amongst you lift up the first stone against her!" O shooters of the robbers of the rich dead, is it not a worse crime to rob the living poor, and that not now and again, but constantly, systematically, and legally?

The "large employers of labour in the printing trade," who have just lately published a circular to prove that they are the true friends of labour, "protest too much." We don't need to be told that they will do what they think best to bring them in a profit; but surely workmen don't need to be told that this *must* mean their paying the lowest wages they can safely pay. We shall have more on this subject.

Advanced Radicals boycotting Socialists is a sight which would please Tories more than any other party. *Reynolds* please take note of this, and do not refuse to publish our lecture-lists. *Star* please take note also, since you seem to be beginning that game. The *Dispatch* has not the same terror of us as other Radical papers have, but publishes our places and times of meeting regularly.

A poor little boy was run over and killed the other day in getting out of the way of a tram-car. The driver of the said car was arrested and brought before Mr. De Rutzen. But the evidence that the man was not in the least responsible was so clear, that the magistrate remarked that "no doubt what had been done by the police was in

accordance with police regulations, but why the person before him should be taken into custody he was utterly at a loss to understand." The reason, I think, is rather clearer to us; it is in accordance with police regulations to badger and bully poor men on every possible occasion, and even on what would seem to ordinary persons impossible occasions. W. M.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has been again throwing off some feverish yammerings—prognostics of death—respecting the non-church goers and "lapsed masses." The Rev. Donald McLeod has emphasised the fact "that this, like other countries, was passing through what he might call a cold wave of religious indifference arising from many causes, but certainly affecting the religious interests of the people to a very enormous extent." The fact of the existence of the cold wave referred to is beyond dispute, but the new birth which it forbodes is what really alarms the leisured professional prattlers in our churches, presbyteries, and assemblies. Its cold calm characteristics are guarantees of the coming cyclone which will sweep away the sham sentimentalists who, while preaching of honesty, holiness, and love, substract from the sum of social wealth more than they render an equivalent for, and whose honesty of purpose is as the inverse ratio of "the cold wave of religious indifference."

The Rev. Dr. D. McLeod confesses that "Bible women, missionaries, and students are not the persons to deal with working-men. These working-men needed good strong teaching." The necessities and miseries of the workers have too long been the playthings of pious pretenders and moneyed sensation-seekers, who have other objects in view, as the fruits of their "labours," than those actually professed; and because "these working-men" refuse such stuff as the pious pretenders provide, it does not follow that they will shut their eyes and open their mouths and take the "strong teaching" of the church. What does the church propose to do, or what can it do, to secure for "these working-men" the full results of their work? If the "strong teaching" of the church can reach those who steal from "these working-men" now, so as to make them steal no more, then it will be able "to deal with working-men."

But it is clearly evident the church does not intend to reach those who steal from "these working-men," and the burdens which the church sanctions to be laid on the backs of the latter by the former, as by the design and will of God, are such that "these working-men" are physically unable to look towards heaven. It is in the nature of man to stand erect, and nature must have its way. It is the knowledge of this fact that has aroused the bats of the church, for they know when the workers throw off the burdens that deform them, the church, as it now is, will be in the lot. Until the church renders an equivalent to the workers for what it takes from them, the church will be in danger. G. McL.

The L.P.D.L. has issued another circular, soliciting "your opposition to the following bills," etc. Considering the hopelessness of the business, either from the point of view of the devoted M.P.'s who introduce these wicked bills, or of the unhappy idiots who think them worth opposing, it is a matter that calls for our pity rather than for our anger. It is a dispiriting spectacle, this of the old watch-dog of property scratching so incessantly to keep down the fleas. Poor beast! He is terrified, but they will never cause his death (indeed, it wouldn't suit them to do so); nor, again, will he ever be clear of them, till his miserable life is summarily cut short by the triumph of Socialism.

Some of the flea-bites of bills are certainly large of their kind, and must be sufficiently terrifying to the wretched dog. But that is no reason why the fleas should shriek, as some of them have lately done, for Socialists to come and help them. We desire to kill the dog, and neither can share the feast with his Liberal and Radical parasites, nor can look on them as our allies. Their bites only touch the skin, and we, who have decided he shall die, must find some more effectual means of killing him; which, indirectly, will be bad for the fleas as well.



Perhaps it might be instructive to be the owner of property for a day or two, or say a week at the most—one could hardly stand more of it—just to see where the fun comes in. To an outsider it seems dull past all defending, a very desert which no living thing can hope to cross without falling a prey to vultures and other devourers of carrion. The liberty we desire for all, of fully developing all our faculties of personal enjoyment, and by pleasant arts sharing our delight with friends. All this is by property restrained, so that but few have, and fewer make use of, the chance of self-culture; and these miss the full fruition of happiness for lack of the sympathy of those others, who, trained for property's purposes into a sort of cattle, must forego all that makes life good to live if they would obtain permission from property to live at all.

On the whole it would be amusing, were not the circular so fearfully dull, to observe the high moral ground taken up by the earls and dukes who are responsible for it. Under the mildest proposals they seem to see the cloven hoof, and are plainly ready to prove, with the very best of economical logic, that its owner must be the devil. But their logic need not concern us, who can answer to it all: "You may have argued well, but we know a better way of living." Meanwhile, we may rejoice to see property refusing to bend; it will presently be the more easily broken.

G. S.

### DREAMS AND NIGHTMARES.

It is well known that we Socialists are dreamers—at least we have been told so over and over again by our opponents. Our ideals are impracticable, our proposals visionary, and we ourselves are dreamy enthusiasts. If it be true, there is some satisfaction even in that. At least in our dreaming we have entered a protest against the inferno which the realists seek to make us believe is unchangeable. And we could scarcely imagine anything more horrible than that which is. Misery everywhere; in the mansion and in the garret alike. The misery of greed and the misery of want; the torture of not having enough, and the satiation of having too much. The toiling of one class from morning to night with but the slightest intermission, and never a chance to exercise their mental and physical faculties as nature meant them to be exercised; the idleness of the other class giving them no incentive to rational enjoyment, and, often assisted by the helplessness of those whom they have made poor, rendering them an easy prey to vice. Such is the reality which we are asked to believe endureth for ever! For my part, I do not hesitate to say that those who really believe in the lasting of this chaos of unhappiness are suffering from nightmare.

Notwithstanding the evil state at which we have arrived in the course of the evolution of society, in spite of our surroundings, which are certainly calculated to make us have very gloomy ideas of the condition of posterity, it is easy enough for dreamers such as we are to look into the future and see a poetic vision of coming grandeur and beauty. Basing our dreams upon such real things as tendencies, previous events, and science, and, if you will, being optimistic rather than pessimistic, we see the cities of the coming time full of architectural splendours, in the place of the squalid low-roomed brick hovels of to-day. Only those who have themselves felt the influence of a magnificent building can imagine the effect upon men of a beautifully constructed city. I remember well how impressed I was myself when I saw for the first time the great temple of Themis at Brussels standing out like a giant among the surrounding buildings, as a monument to the glory of humanity and a promise of the future capacity of the race, seeming to encourage mankind to press onward to the conquest of the treasures which science and art have in store. It is of course only dreamers who can imagine a regenerated humanity in a rejuvenated city full of beautiful parks and palaces and dwelling places, into which every man, woman, and child can enter and enjoy themselves to the full of their desire. And then the forests and mountains and valleys, the fertile plains and meadows, the joys of a rural life, which are to hundreds of thousands in London and our other great cities incomprehensible. We dreamers can imagine under the new order of things the dwellers in the city and the village mingling together and living each other's lives in healthful change. We can imagine the people drinking in to the full the delights of life in a rational and freely organised society. We can see how much superior to us the men and women will be who are born in an environment favourable to the development of their best qualities. All this is manifest to us. And, though the wise men who are careful not to look beyond their noses do not believe it, we dreamers have not the slightest shadow of a doubt that what we see in our dreams is as real as the promised land which Moses saw from Mount Pisgah. We may not enter therein, but those who follow after us will assuredly do so.

And so at least our dreams would be pleasant even if they were only dreams. But the nightmares of our opponents, what shall we say of them? If a man never ventured out of his house for fear the slates on the roof would fall upon him and kill him; if he never crossed a street for fear a brewer's dray or a cab, or a tramcar would run over him; if he never entered a railway train for fear of a collision, or a steamboat because he dreaded shipwreck; if he was afraid to eat or drink anything because of what the *Lancet* man has said,—you wouldn't be content with saying he was in a highly nervous state or calling him an idiot, you would unhesitatingly say he was mad. Yet the arguments of the enemies of Socialism and progress are very

often pretty much on the same level as those of the individual I have instanced. Admiral Maxse—who is one of those persons who call themselves Radicals because they never go to the root of anything—had an article in a daily paper the other day, in which he said he was against Home Rule for Ireland because it would lead to separation, and then we should have an independent country at the disposal of a foreign power seeking to invade us. No doubt the gentleman in his unpleasant nightmare had seen vast armies of Frenchmen, Germans, Russians, Austrians, and Italians landing on the coasts of the tight little island, using Ireland as a huge barracks and assisted by American cruisers. I pity the Admiral. A grain of common sense should assure him that a friendly nation is a far better neighbour than an enslaved country. Then again, the Admiral opposes Home Rule because it might lead to Home Rule for Scotland, Wales, and even Cornwall. Terrible thought to this excellent Radical! He imagines that it is necessary for every individual and every county to be bound together by chains, and for the four divisions of the United Kingdom to be united by force. We consider this a foolish dream on his part—a nightmare in fact. Any union which is based upon coercion instead of upon community of interest must necessarily defeat its own ends. Indeed the compulsory co-operation which exists to-day between England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland prevents the development of the people. When the interests of two or more individuals, towns, or districts are such as to require combination, they will certainly unite without any coercion whatever as soon as they understand the necessities of the situation.

The Malthusian delusion is another form of nightmare to which those who oppose us are subject. We are increasing at such a tremendous rate that in a few years there will be nothing to eat. That is the burden of their perpetual dreary song, which appears to be inspired by the crowded cities of which London, Glasgow, and Manchester are types. Listen to one of these unfortunate croakers: "We punish a man with death for killing his fellow; but a little reflection should make the dullest understand that the crime of bringing a being into the world exceeds by a thousand, a million-fold that of putting out of it. Men are to-day as thick as flies in a confectioner's shop; in fifty years there will be less to eat but certainly some million more mouths. I laugh, I rub my hands! I shall be dead before the red time comes. I laugh at the religionists who say that God provides for those he brings into the world. The French Revolution will compare with the revolution that is to come, that is inevitable, as a puddle on the roadside compares with the sea. Men will hang like pears on every lamp-post; in every great quarter of London there will be an electric guillotine that will decapitate the rich like hogs in Chicago." The amiable lunatic who writes in this pleasing strain is the well-known novelist, Mr. George Moore. Mr. Moore needn't frighten himself any longer. That there is going to be a revolution is true enough; that some lives may be sacrificed is probable; but the cause of the coming revolution is not too many mouths, but monopoly and tyranny. The bloodshed which may take place will be trifling compared with the number of lives which are sacrificed in commercial wars, and it will be solely due to the attempts of the capitalists and landlords to maintain the present order of things. Nobody wants any electric guillotines: if the Socialists want any particularly murderous weapons to use against the powers that be, they could well be content with the murder-machines designed by the military inventor. But the workers wish to put a stop to the present reign of terror, not to inaugurate a new one. They seek to establish Liberty, Equality, and Brotherhood, and don't wish to punish the ruling classes for being foolish; they recognise that nature is to blame for that. But nevertheless the workers will not stand any nonsense from those who oppose them in the days of struggle. Mad Malthusians really ought to read up their geographies, and try to form some idea of the vast areas of land which are out of cultivation. A course of agricultural chemistry sufficient to teach them that the land in cultivation can be made to produce a great deal more than it does now, a course of Socialism to show them that the causes of the present crisis are not what they believe them to be, and a course of history to show them that population really doesn't increase in the way they imagine, would probably complete their cure, and the nightmare would vanish.

There are a vast number of other unpleasant delusions which non-Socialists suffer from. There is the Chinese invasion mania, the foreign conquest bogey, and very many others which will suggest themselves to various comrades. But they are all specimens of what may be termed capitalistic nightmare. I prefer the dreams of Communism.

JAMES BLACKWELL.

The shutting down of locomotive works at Albany, New York, renders 1,000 men idle.

Coal miners in the Gallitzin region, Pa., have accepted a 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

Bradstreet reports strikes in the United States from May 1st to 25th at 63; number of strikers, 24,962.

The question of admitting coloured men to membership in the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Association is receiving attention.

THE YANKEE-BRITISH BEER TRUST.—The British capital, now on the tramp after big and easy made profits, seems not to content itself with the look-out of being able to buy up the entire beer-brewing industry in the United States. It wants more. The syndicate in charge of this unemployed mammon has sent some agents to Minneapolis, Minn., with the instruction to obtain a controlling interest in the flour mills of that city, the greatest producers of flour in the world. Dame Rumour and her vigilant representatives, the reporters, know not as yet whether the agents have been successful.—H. F. C.

## WE LIFT THE BANNER RED.

We lift the banner red,  
Like the brave men who have bled  
For the liberty of man ;  
As they've gone we will go,  
With our faces to the foe,  
And finish what they well began.  
Wrong we know is strong,  
The upward path is long,  
But through danger undismayed march we ;  
So we all, young and old,  
The red flag uphold,  
And cheer for it with three times three.

Stout-hearted men are here,  
And women without fear,  
Who flinch not from the fray ;  
Though Death do us take,  
At his terrors we'll not quake,  
Nor waver in our upward way.  
Right is often weak,  
And Justice far to seek,  
But we'll alter that when we are free.  
So we all, young and old,  
The red flag uphold,  
And cheer for it with three times three.

Before our flag shall fall  
With a crash the prison wall,  
And the slave shall snap his chain ;  
Then Labour free from toll,  
Of its fruit shall have the whole,  
And Plenty through the world shall reign.  
Free and happy then,  
Shall be the lives of men,  
And the earth a merry place shall be.  
So we all, young and old,  
The red flag uphold,  
And cheer for it with three times three.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 22, 1889.

16	Sun.	1381. Wat Tyler murdered. 1808. Trial of John Harriott Hart, printer, and Henry White, proprietor, of the <i>Independent Whig</i> , for "libel upon the administration of public justice in England." 1816. Debate in the House of Commons on the employment of spies and informers. 1819. Meeting of 30,000 weavers at Glasgow in favour of Reform. 1848. Berlin Arsenal stormed. 1885. Labour riot at Birmm.
17	Mon.	1637. Trial of John Hampden begun. 1775. Battle of Bunker Hill. 1789. The <i>Third Estate</i> resolves itself into the <i>National Assembly</i> . 1810. Ferdinand Freiligrath born. 1830. Cholley "outrage." 1882. Seizure of arms in Clerkenwell.
18	Tues.	1643. Battle of Chalgrove Field; John Hampden mortally wounded. 1815. Battle of Waterloo. 1823. Petition to the House of Commons from the Hibernian Philanthropic Society, asking "that the House would take into consideration Mr. Owen's plan for the employment of the poor, with the view of ascertaining how far it could be applied to the employment of the peasantry of Ireland." 1835. William Cobbett died. 1864. Ivanitzki, Mrochek, Stankevich, and Kinevich, delegates from Polish revolutionary executive to organise a rising in Russia, shot in Kazan. 1864. William Smith O'Brien died. 1881. Most sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment. 1884. Explosion at Madrid.
19	Wed.	1843. Inauguration of Hampden Memorial on Chalgrove Field. 1843. "Rebecca" Riots in South Wales. 1867. Maximilian of Mexico shot.
20	Thur.	1764. Theobald Wolfe Tone born. 1789. The Hall of the National Assembly shut by order of the king; the National Assembly adjourn to the Tennis Court, and swear not to dissolve till they have given France a constitution. 1791. Flight of Louis XVI. from Paris to Varennes. 1792. Parisians enter Tuileries. 1836. Abbé Sieyès died. 1848. A. R. Parsons born. 1853. Tennis Court at Versailles opened as a national museum and monument.
21	Fri.	1628. Dr. Manwaring "makes submission" at the bar of the House of Commons. 1798. Battle of Vinegar Hill. 1867. S. J. Meany sentenced for Fenianism. 1886. "Trial" of the Chicago Martyrs begun.
22	Sat.	1736. Captain Porteous tried. 1772. The "Negro Case"; James Somerset discharged. 1780. Rev. Henry Bate tried for libel on the Duke of Richmond. 1805. Mazzini born. 1866. Military rising at Madrid. 1870. Third prosecution of the International at Paris; 38 prisoners. 1872. Trial of 50 peasants of Chigirin, in Kieff, for taking part as men in a secret revolutionary society organised by Stephanovich, Deitch, and Bukhanovsky (who escaped for the time); sentences: Siberia, 5; prison, 2; reprimanded, 23; acquitted after a year's imprisonment, 1; died before trial, 2. 1882. Monument to Mazzini unveiled at Genoa.

## A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA.

NOTICING in a late number of the *Commonweal*, dated March 2, 1889, that you are apparently at a disadvantage in not knowing the state of affairs regarding employment and wages in Australia, and kindly requesting the *Australian Radical* for information on that subject, I herewith send you a brief letter, roughly showing you the condition of the working classes in this country.

The position of the toilers is very bad indeed; and things are fast drifting to a crisis; workers from other countries (chiefly Britain) have been wrongfully deceived by immigrant agents advertising in newspapers the great advantages that Australia affords, which necessitates their selling off what goods they have to pay for conveying them this far, and immediately on landing—work is found in abundance and good wages too.

Looking over some back numbers of the Northumberland *Morpeth Herald*, England, I find in its columns a "standing ad.": "Special Notice!—2,000 female servants, miners, farmers, labourers, quarrymen, and others wanted for Queensland, Australia. Immediate employment on arrival." The above is the plausible style in which these agents and shipping companies (who are making heaps of money out of it) gull the minds of the working-classes at "home"; and the people who have immigrated to this country these past few years, and living in this district, have found it out to their cost; anyhow, suffice it to say that the information given by unscrupulous advertisers in British papers about Australia is, undoubtedly, untrue.

I cannot refrain from adding a little more about the doings of these agents. When rumour has it that certain individuals are thinking about journeying to Australia or other countries, the immigrant agents make no delay in attending to their wants,—as in the matter of selling off what furniture they possess, and seeing them dispatched to the ship. I have conversed with several persons here who have come from the "old country," and they state that they were treated with mean cunning trickery by their agents. The latter gentlemen being generous and hard-working in their way, gave the intending immigrants to understand that they need not necessarily put themselves to much trouble, for that they would see after and procure auctioneers if they chose (let me say here that many of these agents are auctioneers themselves). But here is the trickery: the immigrants' kind advisers, finding that they possessed good furniture, made no hesitation in uniting with the auctioneers to buy up the greater part of it, if possible; by the latter men employing different persons to stand and bid, they were thus able to gain the goods very cheap; by such deceitful dealings these sharpers were able to get plenty of money by selling the articles out again at their real value.

It is to the interest of the upper classes that Britain should dispossess some of the lower classes—whom the former have barbarously robbed of their rights—by exiling them to shores which are fast becoming themselves cumbered with the wreckage of monopoly.

The winter that is coming on will prove disastrous to the workers in our large cities. As it will be seen through J. A. Andrews' report, "Unemployed in Melbourne," published in the *Australian Radical* of April 6th, armies of unemployed are tramping the streets of that city, and the same in Sydney. Notices are appearing every day in our dailies, being the opinions of people in many of our districts, stating that "they are indignant at the action of the immigration department in sending a continuous stream of penniless unemployed up country by the free pass system. . . . Even though all were respectable, yet it is unjust to send penniless men into districts where there are already too many unemployed." Swagmen may be seen everywhere tramping in great numbers in search of employment; workers from other countries come here for the greater part to starve; heartrending cases are occurring every day, ending in suicide and other fatalities through destitution. The other day a poor girl committed suicide in Melbourne, the reason being that she was only earning 2s. 6d. per week, and had to support her aged father besides herself on that small sum. She would rather cease living suddenly than by slow starvation.

Of the late strike amongst the miners in the district of Northumberland, and which comrade W. H. McNamara explained at length in the *Commonweal*, some months back, the outcome was a great reduction of wages. Men working some pits have suffered a loss of 1s., 1s. 6d., and 2s. per day, through the "agreement" they were forced to come to. The majority of the miners are greatly dissatisfied over their defeat, and some pits are making an attempt to come to a more reasonable settlement by arbitration; but the coal-getters will not, I think, be benefitted by these proceedings, for their masters are too cunning to be "had." It is to be feared that another fight will take place between capital and labour, in which the former will rely upon the Government for protection; for it is certain that they will employ soldiers and Nordenfeldts to keep law'n'-order in the time of trouble.

At the present time work is slack amongst the mines; many pits are working three and four days per fortnight—men scarcely obtaining the necessities of life, instead of "saving a little for their old days," as the thrift people tell them they ought to.

While the people on an average get a little more in wages than the workmen in Britain, it is taken from them again by their being charged exorbitant prices for the things they eat and wear. I have lived at "home" and know it. Rents are very high; tenants living in small cottages in the suburbs are forced to pay 8s., 10s. 12s., and upwards per week, also paying dear for light and firing. Sports took place at Maitland the other day, in which the public were charged 1s. for admittance into shows where only 2d. and 3d. would be the price for the same amusement at home.

Yes, Australia is drifting fast into a bad state—fast following in the footsteps of Britain and other countries. The monopolists have the land locked up in N.S.W., and production is therefore checked. "It is protection that we want," cry the majority; and protection they are going to get; the policy of restriction will come sooner or later, worse luck for the workers of this colony in the future.

One good thing could be brought about in Britain (if it is not being carried out now): if Socialists and others would warn the toilers against the notorious lies put forward by immigrant agents and other individuals, both in newspapers and pamphlets, about the "great advantages" in Australia, thus causing the people to break up their homes, leading them astray to far distant shores where there is every likelihood for the greater number of them to hopelessly starve.

The three Irish members, Dillon, Deasy, and Ormonde, have arrived in Australia; they have started their lecturing campaign, and intend to visit every prominent city in this country.

The Socialists and Anarchists are going ahead in Melbourne. They have formed a branch of the League, and all have worked tremendously hard, both in speaking on the wharfs and other places and writing on the social question, this last summer. They deserve unlimited praise.

The League in Sydney is all alive, carrying on their weekly debates, and so on, but they seem not to be so active as the newer branch in Melbourne. From over-pressure of work they have not been able to keep up constant correspondence with the *Commonweal*, and this letter has been penned to repair the breach a little.

ROBERT STUART.

New Lambton, near Newcastle, N.S.W., April 15.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 12.

ENGLAND	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	ITALY
Die Autonomie	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	SPAIN
Personal Rights Journal	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Sozial Demokrat	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
UNITED STATES	Le Proletariat	Porto—A Revolta
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revolte	GERMANY
Freiheit	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Truthseeker	Commentry—Le Socialiste	AUSTRIA
Justiz Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	Wien—Gleichheit
Women's Advocate	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
United Irishman	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmo—Arbetet
Investigator	Antwerp—De Werker	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Liege—L'Avenir	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	SWITZERLAND	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Milwaukee—Arbeiter Zeitung	Arbeiterstimme	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Die Wahrheit		

COMPETITION AND WAR.

COMPETITION has been termed the bloodless war of civilisation. This, to the Socialist at least, looks suspiciously like and means much the same as another phrase we often hear—Killing no murder. It may be that it does not maim or slaughter in the same manner as on the battlefield; yet it would be difficult to form an estimate of its victims. Actual war, its horrors intensified by modern murderous inventions, is a spectacle indeed that would make the angels weep; but the misery inflicted and the lives sacrificed in this struggle of militarism, gigantic though they are, would be dwarfed if the half could only be told of the evil effects of modern industrialism. In the military phase of this necessary evil, so called, there are times of peace. But in the industrial conflict nation is ever against nation, industry against industry, man against man, wives and children against their husbands and fathers. We as a Christian nation make a great outcry when two rival nations are at war. Philanthropists of the John Bright type shriek out in holy horror at the waste of human life, the horrors of the battlefield and of war in general; yet they will uphold a system that slays its tens of thousands for every one that is destroyed in actual warfare.

Further, we Socialists declare that this slaughter directly due to war, when traced up to its primary cause, is but an effect of competitive commercialism. As this is rather a serious indictment, proof will be necessary to support the assertion. Take the recent history of this country for instance; and as the most of history is but an account of the wars engaged in, with a few particulars concerning the principal actors engaged mixed through it, so a brief survey of the recent history of Great Britain will be but a catalogue of recent wars. And they were all without exception due to this industrial conflict: forcing our shoddy goods and our shoddy civilisation, our missionaries and our rum, or some other commercial matter, on an unwilling people, has been at the root of all the trouble this last half century or so

the whole world over. The late Burmese War originated through British capitalists and traders forcing their markets and wares on a people who wanted neither. The late Egyptian War is another instance. What but the commercial interests involved in the Suez Canal and the route to India, and the British bondholders' twenty per cent., lay at the bottom of the trouble there? The Afghan War originated somewhat similarly—the commercial interests of this country at stake in India. And that shortly means the exclusive right of the British plutocrat to exploit the masses of India, and to prevent the Russian from having his finger in the pie. Those so-called interests demanded what they call a scientific frontier; hence the trouble. The wars we had with China originated through us, a Christian nation, forcing the opium traffic on the heathen Chinese. The petty wars we were engaged in on the west coast of Africa had their origin somewhat similarly. This eternal Eastern Question that crops up now and again and that keeps all Europe one vast armed camp, has its root in commercial rivalry. Who is to hold the key to the East, this mighty field for exploitation, after the sick man takes his departure bag and baggage—this is the question. In support of this commercial theory of the causes of war, hear what John Ruskin says:

"The first reason for all wars and for the necessity of national defences is, that the majority of persons high and low in all European nations are thieves, and in their hearts greedy of their neighbours' goods, land, and fame. . . . And the guilty thieves of Europe, the real source of all deadly war in it, are the capitalists; that is to say, people who live by percentages on the labour of others instead of by fair wages for their own."

It is an ill wind that blows nobody good. This old saw applies with full force to this question of war; for under existing conditions and in the present constitution of society, if a great war was to break out it would be a positive blessing in those times of depression—at least to all those not directly engaged in the melee. It would cure for the time being at least both over-production and over-population, two very serious ills that at present afflict society. The over-production would be used up in providing the over-population with the means of exterminating each other. This would be killing two dogs with one bone. There is no cure for dull trade like a good war: how often do we hear that given expression to. A good war, save the mark! Under a rational and just constitution of society, it would just be as sensible to speak of a healthy plague or a benevolent earthquake; but as in the existing order, or disorder rather, everything is upside-down, we can speak of and justly appreciate the benefits of a good healthy war. Most of us can remember the good times that accompanied and followed the last Franco-German war. Why, everyone in this country at least, from Rothschild down to the little boys that vended the evening papers, was, to use current phraseology, "getting on immense." The French and Germans having all their energies engaged in exterminating each other, we had the markets both home and foreign all to ourselves. Trade enlarged, as Gladstone told us, by leaps and bounds; wages ruled high, profits still higher, millionaires got to be plentiful amongst us, whilst working people got double the quantity of beer to drink. Yes, there is nothing like a good war. A great deal of hypocritical cant is given vent to when wars are engaged in; the time is prayed for when men shall know the art of war no more, when they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. A certain book we profess to believe in, theoretically at least, lays it down as the right thing to do; but when we consider the time and place it was written in, it shows clearly the truth so well put by the author of the Biglow Papers, that they didn't know everything down in Judee. And apparently they failed to see the blessings that flow from a good war. Yet we who know better nowadays are hypocritical enough to ring the bells, burn bonfires, fire cannon, and so on, and make believe we are extremely glad when peace is proclaimed, when we know quite well that it means a return to hard times again. This is surely the height of insincerity. The Orkney minister who petitioned the Lord to send plenty wrecks that way through the winter was sincere and honest. Candour like that can be appreciated. But to make great demonstrations of joy when the hard times that follow peace are on us again is hypocrisy indeed. To be honest and consistent, we should wear mourning and go about lamenting, in the words of Robert Owen, our best friend the war is dead.

If anyone should think these remarks on the blessings of war callous and cold-blooded, let him bethink himself whether they are not justified in our present way of living; and if even after having done so, he still feels uncomfortable, I hope he will be rational, and join with us in our efforts to crush the competition that makes war.

WILLIAM DAVIDSON.

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE.—That it really does not and cannot much matter to the capitalists which party is in office, must in our days be plain to every watcher of the political game. In 1880 Jay Gould contributed 100,000 dollars to the late Mr. Garfield's (a Republican) fund, on the condition that Jay should have the choice of a Supreme Court judge, which of course he had later on. Before Mr. Cleveland's (a Democrat) election in 1884 Gould still continued to support the Republicans because the Democrats were then as yet an unknown quantity in politics, and considered by the monopolists to be disposed rather in favour of labour. Since then the Democrats have been in power, and in 1888 Jay Gould subscribed 50,000 dollars to the national Democratic committee, because "Mr. Cleveland's administration has not disturbed the vested interests, and that was enough for him." Republican or Democrat, Tory, Liberal, or Radical, it all comes to the same. They must serve the supreme boss of politics, Capitalism, or be turned out. And to regard it as possible that the workers can ever obtain control of the political machine on parliamentary lines is equal to believing that our capitalistic antagonists are noodles—which they are not.—H. F. C.



## TO BATTLE!

SOUND the alarum-bell, sound,  
Dash all your tools to the ground,  
And strike,  
And strike!

Ere toil in this iron age,  
With hunger and cold for wage,  
The grave,  
The grave!

Nay, comrades, never give in;  
To battle! until we win  
The world,  
The world!

LOUISE MICHEL, translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.

## SOCIALISM IN LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE.

It would be a very clever man who could tell exactly how much headway Socialism is making in the country, but one who takes events as they come, and looks at them from a Socialistic point of view, has every reason to rejoice in the progress that is being made. I have not yet visited a very large number of towns, but I intend doing so, and shall give my experiences from time to time in the *Weal*. Both in Lancashire and Yorkshire the movement is "marching on," far better than I expected to see them from the reports that reach London. Let us take Manchester; here great things are being done, and fresh converts being made at every meeting. The branch of the League has carried its propaganda into the little outlying villages around the town, and have spread the light of Socialism among the dark and dreary "homes" of the workers. It will, I fancy, take a great deal of the cant and hypocrisy of the politicians to make the villagers believe in or have much to do with them any longer. Such a strong hold are our ideas taking, that one has only to take up a local paper to see which way the wind is blowing; articles and debates on Socialism are to be found therein for and against. A County Councillor has been advising working-men not to stop at street corners listening to "Socialistic ranters," a "Liberal" too! All this points to the good result of the work being done by the comrades in Manchester. I don't say this to flatter them, but they really deserve all they can get in the way of praise.

From Manchester to Leeds, in Yorkshire, is 38 miles by train and only 37 by road. As I didn't patronise the railway monopolists, but walked it, I saw many sights on the road I should have missed otherwise. Horrible sights, some of them; hundreds of men and women tramping with pinched and haggard faces in search of work, with hardly any covering on them; *clothing* it could not be called. Little children along with them, half starved, no boots or covering to their feet. All obliged to sleep out in the open-air of a night, having no money for beds; afraid to beg for fear of getting locked up, and the parents sent to prison, the children to the workhouse, to become thieves or something worse after the fashion of this "Christian" country. I wish that the lying "Christian" scoundrels who teach the workers to slave and sweat in producing wealth for others to rob them of, and then ask them to live contentedly in dirty filthy slums, eating muck or starving, could be made to go through the same mill, and then they wouldn't after that talk so much bosh about consolation in the sky. As for me, the sights that I have seen since I left London have made me even more incensed than ever against the present system.

In Leeds the summer propaganda has begun, and on Sunday morning I went to see the League meeting in Vicar's Croft. This is one of the local historical spots, and it is always easy to get an audience of over 600, who listen attentively. No interruptions take place, and here good work is evidently being done. There is a good Socialist club, and I doubt not that before long Leeds will be to the front. Horrible details could be given of the sweating carried on in this town; vest making for a halfpenny, a pair of trousers made for three-halfpence. Match-box making is also carried on, and the women are paid a penny a gross. One can guess how they live, when a mother and her four girls, two of them grown up, earn 1s. 8d. per day between them, twenty gross being as much as they can make. All of these things are impressing the workers, and showing them the sort of system under which they live. Leeds, like most places nowadays, is discontented, and the workers will soon be flocking around the red flag, the emblem of their liberty.

JOHN MCCORMACK.

## PROVERBS.

THE following saws were picked up from an old collection, but are worth a niche in the memory of workmen to-day, if workmen have such a thing:

He that hath but a little, he shall have less,  
And he that hath right nought, right nought shall possess.

A jailer's conscience and his fetters are made of one metal.

A hunger-starved belly hath no ears.

Trim up a hedgehog, he looks like a lord.

Who makes himself a sheep the wolf devours him.

What, shall we starve in a cookshop, and a shoulder of mutton by?

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.—On Saturday the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee issued a notice to the officers of trade societies and trade councils throughout the United Kingdom, stating that the twenty-second annual Trades Union Congress will be held in the Gilfillin Memorial Hall, Whitehall Street, Dundee, on Monday, September 2, and five following days. In the notice the trade societies and the trade councils of the United Kingdom are invited to send representatives to the Congress, the delegates to which shall only be such persons as are or have been bona fide workers at the trade they represent and who, in the case of trades councils, represent upon such councils their own particular trades. The Parliamentary Committee "expect the gathering at Dundee will be a large one, well representing all parts of the United Kingdom."

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## COURNET'S GRAVE.

It will interest most of your readers to hear that Cournet's grave is in Egham Churchyard, where, after some difficulty, I have succeeded in finding it to-day (in a very neglected condition). Cournet, the Socialist hero of the barricade Saint-Antoine of '48, was killed by Barthélemy, the hero of the barricade du Temple, in a duel at Priest's Hill, near Englefield-Green, and died at the Barley Mow Hotel in this village. This happened in 1852. Old inhabitants still remember the great funeral and the red flags. The part played by the two in the days of June 1848, and the fact of the disastrous duel, are mentioned by Victor Hugo in the last part of 'Les Misérables,' entitled Jean Valjean, book I. ch. i.

Vine Cottage, Englefield-Green, May 16.

J. E. BARLAS.

## ST. GEORGE'S FARM.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Ruskin's name having been freely mentioned by a correspondent of yours *re* the Sheffield affair in your issue of 25th ult., and thinking Mr. Ruskin might have somewhat to say in the matter, I submitted the article in question to him, and have received the following replies.—

Faithfully yours,  
27, Portland Row, Dublin, June 1st, 1889.

H. SUTTON FRIZELLE.

[COPY.]

My Dear Sir,—Not only am I grateful for your letter and enclosed bit of newspaper, but they come precisely at the moment when I want to learn all I can of what has been doing, or undoing, since I was last at Sheffield. I will answer the main points you enquire about to-morrow, having no time to read the articles to day, but in glancing at it I see one statement which should be corrected at once. I am not the owner of the farm in question. The St. George's Guild is. What legal forms exist inconveniencing my action, or yours, I don't know—and never could know—as I waste no moment of life that I can save in reading the obscure language of British law; but assuredly I get no good of the land, but have, on the contrary, paid constantly annual losses on it.

Secondly, Mr. Riley was no friend of mine. I tried him as an exponent of modern liberalism, and was as little pleased with the result as those members of your League were!

I will complete my reply to-morrow. You may print this beginning of it—and the end I shall print myself if you do not—when and wherever you like, as anybody else may whatever I write, at any time, or say, if only they don't leave out the bits they don't like!

Ever faithfully yours, JOHN RUSKIN.

Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire, May 29th, 1889.

[COPY.]

Dear Sir,—I have now read the cutting enclosed in your favour of the 27th inst. My letter yesterday contains all the notice of it which I think needful.—Believe me always, your faithful servant,  
May 30th, 1889.

JOHN RUSKIN.

## "SEAFARING."

SIR,—In reply to former letters, allow me to state that I believe the editor of *Seafaring* and the "rat type-stickers" are "birds of a feather." Paid servants (not the executive committee) made an agreement with Mr. Cowie to take ten thousand copies per week, providing the paper advocated the Union's interest. The paper has not fulfilled that contract by giving employment to "rat" printers. The members of Tower Branch do not want *Seafaring*, for when reports are sent to that paper from us they have to be sent to Sunderland before being published, if there is anything in them like the advocating of true national trades union principles. National unions should be built on the rock of truth, with stone honestly hewn, and cemented with industry and sobriety; then they will last as long as the nation. If Mr. Cowie will reply, I will show him how far I can throw a deep-sea lead, and report soundings if necessary.—Yours faithfully,

3 Mint Pavement, Tower Hill,  
London, June 9, 1889.

ARTHUR R. ABBOTT,  
London District Secretary.

ERRATUM.—In the second or third paragraph of my letter, "Looking Forward," you will find (it appeared May 31st) this sentence, "Albeit of noble sentiment and not a little mad." It should have been "not a little read."—JOHN ARMSDEN.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP IN BRITANNY.—The British Consul at Brest, in his last report, refers to the condition of the Breton peasant proprietor, and says that although he has a great natural aptitude for tilling the soil he labours under considerable disadvantages. As a rule, he cannot furnish himself with the proper plant, cattle, and implements for agriculture, and, above all, bear the expense of draining. Nearly all the land cultivated by the peasant proprietor is worked with the spade, and the fear of losing, or even risking, the slender profit he is able to make by his severe labours effectually prevents any enterprise, and engenders a spirit of avarice difficult to describe. The peasantry apparently live in a condition of squalor—"happily unknown to the English agriculturist," says report! Thanks, however, to their extraordinary parsimony, it is perhaps doubtful if they are actually as poor as they seem; but their pale and troubled faces and bent forms, even in early life, show how badly they are fed, whether they can afford comfort or not. In Brittany, certainly, under the peasant proprietorship system, the land is not properly worked, and much goes out of cultivation. It is the custom to raise immense banks as hedges between their little plots, to grow scrub oak on. These banks, with their high crest of scrub, shade the land to a great extent on each side, and from the resulting damp little will grow under them. The object is to obtain the firewood, which is of very slow growth, and the peasant, in thus trying to get too much out of his plot, is half-starved, whilst half killing himself with labour. Many other instances could be presented of the same shortsightedness in squeezing the land. Men and women indiscriminately perform the work of the agricultural animals they cannot afford to buy, with the usual consequent evils to health. It is no common sight to see women working with the flail for hours, a labour so severe that it often breaks down the men.

## THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE.

THE strike of sailors and firemen for increased pay, of which we spoke in last number, had fairly begun as we went to press, and shipowners were experiencing much difficulty in obtaining crews for their vessels. The Cunard steamer Bothnia sailed, however, from Liverpool with a full complement of rats. The Cunard Company's British Queen, bound for Havre, the White Star steamer Celtic, and the Inman International Company's City of Chicago, were filled with rats. The shipowners appeared determined to resist the demands of the union, and were prepared to take any course rather than grant the increases demanded. To prevent "intimidation" the police were "on duty" all over the place. At a meeting of unionists on Monday it was decided to, if necessary, forcibly fetch out rats. Telegrams were received announcing settlements at Cardiff, Swansea, and Newport. A meeting of the union in Glasgow resolved to give in their 24 hours' notice Wednesday, and come out on strike at the expiration of that time. There are about 6,000 members of the union in Glasgow.

On Thursday it was reported from Leith that owners were laying up vessels all round rather than give in. Glasgow owners were doing the same, except a few who succeeded in getting rats. From Dundee and Aberdeen came news of almost complete victory. The western ocean steamers which left Liverpool obtained their crews without paying advance. In the case of the steamer to the West Indies, the owners had to give the rate demanded. A sailing ship, the Sagona, which was the only one signing articles at the Sailors' Home, had also to pay the strike wages. To the casual observer nothing in the shape of a strike was apparent. The owners of the mail and passenger steamers to the west said they had plenty of competent rats. All the mail steamers sign articles on board in the various docks, to prevent the union men from intimidating others who are willing to sail on the masters' terms. No disturbance has been so far reported.

On Friday the officials in Sunderland stated that the union demands had been conceded in twenty ports. Nearly 600 men are now on strike at Leith, and as the shipowners still hold out, there are over twenty steamers laid up in the docks. The only line which is working is that of the North of Scotland Steam Navigation Company, the men on these vessels receiving the union rate of pay. A number of "men" were brought from London to form a crew for the London and Edinburgh steamer Iona. They were met by the secretary of the Seamen's Union, who induced some of them not to join. The Iona sailed with a crew made up of these men and officers of other steamers. The steamer Kinghorn yesterday sailed for Antwerp with a crew of Japanese and Dunkirk Frenchmen.

Saturday's telegrams said: At Liverpool matters were progressing quietly. The branch secretary having applied to the shipowners for an interview, with a view to ending the struggle was informed that no meeting was necessary, as the shipowners declined to pay any advance, and had made arrangements for bringing men from Scandinavia and Denmark, for whom they must find employment. During the week fifteen large western ocean steamers, sailing from Liverpool, each obtained a full rat crew. Seamen and employers maintain a determined attitude at Leith. A meeting of 700 seamen, firemen and dock labourers resolved to take combined action in demanding increased wages, and to pledge themselves to support each other until their demands were conceded. It was also agreed that seeing that some of the companies had begun to import foreigners into the port the Royal Naval Reserve men should in a body resign. The shipowners met and resolved to advertise for seamen and firemen at 30s. a week, with a six months' agreement.—The crews of the Dublin and Glasgow Steam Packet Company's steamers struck, and it was feared that the strike would extend itself at the Dublin port. This it had already done, the following notice having been extensively posted:—

### AMALGAMATED SEAMEN'S AND FIREMEN'S UNION.

#### DUBLIN BRANCH.

##### STRIKE IN DUBLIN.

The following rates of wages shall be demanded:—

##### WEEKLY STEAMERS—COLLIERS.

Sailors	...	...	...	...	...	£1 12 8
Firemen	...	...	...	...	...	1 12 8
Stewards and Cooks	...	...	...	...	...	1 16 0
Donkeymen	...	...	...	...	...	1 16 9

##### CHANNEL PASSENGER BOATS.

Sailors	...	...	...	...	...	£1 19 4
Firemen	...	...	...	...	...	1 10 4

##### TO THE SHIPOWNERS OF DUBLIN.

We trust you will see your way to adopt this scale of wages for the future, so as to prevent any inconvenience arising either to owners or men through the stoppage of work.

##### CAUTION.

To the Merchants, and Public, and Cattle Shippers, and Passengers.  
Do not sail or send your goods in ships manned by incompetent crews.—I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

J. H. WILSON, General Secretary.

Some owners have given in, others have laid up their vessels, and the men are determined.

Monday's messages said:—Affairs on the Clyde on Saturday assumed a more serious aspect, 3,000 quay labourers having joined the strike. They ask for an advance of halfpenny per hour, and the stevedores want a penny increase. The seamen appear as determined as ever to hold out. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the Seamen's Union three steamers were got to sea from Leith on Saturday with rat crews. The Moscow left for Cronstadt, the Britannia for Newcastle, and the Meteor for London. The crew for the Meteor were collected at ports in the Firth of Forth, and were taken out to Leith Roads in a tug, whence they were transferred to the Meteor. The seamen held a demonstration on Saturday, and marched to Edinburgh, where they held a very large and enthusiastic meeting, with the president of the Edinburgh Trades Council in the chair. Of twenty steamers that came into port during the week, only five have got away again. One hundred and fifty seamen remained on strike at Londonderry. The steamer Voltaie, after being three days laid up, shipped a crew, mostly Germans forwarded from Belfast, and left on Saturday for Liverpool. In Belfast the trade of the port is pretty well tied up. A number of owners granted the advance, but the men declined to resume work until all yielded. As to ocean-going steamers, the employers have conceded all demands, but refuse to use their influence with owners of coasting vessels to act in a similar manner. They say their hands are engaged by the month, whereas those employed on coasting vessels are paid by the week. There is no sign of any settlement. On Saturday a number of vessels were being discharged by ordinary labourers, protected

by harbour constables and Royal Irish Constabulary, while in a few cases the owners themselves and their sons were giving a hand to clear the vessels. Mr. King, who imports coal extensively, posted a notice offering half-a-sovereign for five hours' work to labourers, but there was no inclination to accept the offer.

On Tuesday we heard that the able-bodied seamen and firemen sailing from Maryport had the advance. The labourers employed in loading ships with coal also struck on Monday, but resumed on their wages being increased from 4d. to 6d. per ton. The strike only lasted an hour.

Wednesday's news spoke of no new move of any importance; but the look of affairs is rather promising for the men, whose victory we hope to report in our next.

The Annual Conference of the Socialist League on Sunday, June 9th, passed the following resolution unanimously:—

### TO THE SEAMEN AND FIREMEN NOW ON STRIKE.

COMRADES.—We, the delegates of the Socialist League, in Conference assembled, tender you our heartiest congratulations upon the success with which you have welded a hitherto wholly unorganised multitude into a compact and powerful Union. The struggle in which you are at present engaged is part of the great fight for life which the working-class is compelled to unceasingly wage if it would not perish in the grasp of monopoly. That your efforts may result in a complete and crushing victory over your opponents is our ardent wish, and in achieving that end we pledge ourselves and the body we represent to afford you any and every assistance that lies within our power.

ERNEST RADFORD, *Chairman.*  
R. A. BECKETT, } *Secretaries.*  
A. BROOKES, }

## SUTTON HALL.

In the centre of an estate of some four thousand acres or more of fertile land, situated in Derbyshire, lies Sutton Hall, the seat of Mr. Arkwright. In some ways this is rather a model estate; any one walking across it will be struck by the prosperous look of the prettily situated farm-houses and cottages; all the gates are painted white, and the roads and paths seem well kept, and the whole estate has rather the air of being a continuation of the park. It consists of undulating country, beautifully wooded; handsome trees may be seen growing in all the hedges, and often away out in the fields, and there is one wood known as Sutton Springs of some considerable size, where, besides the usual English trees, the Spanish chestnut and rhododendron may be found in abundance. The labourers' cottages are often very prettily situated, and usually have a good bit of garden, and the rents are low comparatively. Mr. Arkwright's mother, who used to live on the estate, was very good in looking after the tenantry; if they were ill she would go to see them, and let them have almost anything they wanted from "The Hall," but—oh, that little word!—they must order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters, i.e., the gentry of course, and be contented in that state of life in which it has pleased God to place them. If they do all this, and work hard and not grumble, then they will be well looked after if ill and helped a little if poor, and so on.

Such is the estate in the centre of which lies Sutton Hall, a fine square building, with a little ivy grown church hanging on to one corner, well lifted up and commanding a splendid view of wooded country, with a somewhat steep ridge in the distance, on which stands Bolsover Castle in full view, and further on Hardwicke Hall, the seat of the Unionist leader, the Marquis of Hartington. Around the Hall lies a lovely park, a fine avenue of trees runs down from the house towards the lake, and as we passed through last Sunday the deer could be seen grazing about, and a peacock and his wife were walking about the garden, adding the lovely blue of their necks to the already rich colouring of green, which was splendid with the freshness of a day's rain. But, alas! the great house looked all shut up and forsaken! I believe some servants live in the back parts out of the way, but Mr. Arkwright seldom lives there now; his rents and royalties supply him with an income of some ten or twenty thousand a-year I suppose, so he can go and live in some livelier though hardly more lovely place than Sutton Hall.

Small wonder that, as we stood looking at the house and the splendid view it commands, we should fall to talking of "the days that are going to be," when this Hall and others like it will be the centre of a happy communal life. Plenty of room in that large house for quite a small colony to live, each one having his own den upstairs where he could go to write, or sulk, or spend a quiet evening with his lady-love or his boon companion; and downstairs would be large common dining-halls, dancing-halls, smoking rooms—if indeed life shall still need the weed to make it perfect. And we chatted on, each one adding a bit to our picture; how some would till the land around and others tend the cattle, while others perhaps would start some industry, working in the outbuildings or building workshops about the park, and taking care not to spoil our view with a hideous building or blight our trees with smoke. Others, again, could work in the mines and bring up coal, of which there is a good supply just now being worked by a neighbouring company, who will have to pay, I suppose, about £6,000 a-year in royalties. And as we thought of what might be there, what health, what happiness, our indignation arose against what *was*,—the forsaken house, the wealth which should make comfort for all the people round, going to keep two or three people and their hanger's-on in idle enervating luxury. And as we turned to walk home through the beautiful Sutton Springs, carpeted with blue bells and young ferns, we all felt, I think, more than ever determined that what *might* be shall be.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

## ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

THE Fifth Annual Conference of delegates from branches of Socialist League, was held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Sunday, June 9th. The following branches were represented at the Conference:—Hammersmith, North London, Clerkenwell, East London, St. George's-in-the-East, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Norwich, Leicester, Yarmouth, Oxford, and Manchester.

All the reports read were of the most satisfactory nature. Harmony permeated the meeting, and various important resolutions were unanimously adopted. At no previous Conference of the Socialist League were Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality so practically set forth.

The following members were elected to the new Council: J. Turner, Morris, Mowbray, Nicoll, Cantwell, H. Davis, Webb, Mrs. Schack, Sparling, Blundell, Bullock, Samuels, J. Davies, Tarleton, and S. Presburg.

Bullock and T. Davis were elected as auditors; Morris and Lane, as trustees; and Morris, Sparling, and Nicoll, as editors of 'Weal.'

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, July 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, St. Georges East, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, and Leicester, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Defence Committee.**—The Home Secretary, Mr. Matthews, seeing no reason to alter Jeffries' Edlin's sentence upon Diemshietz, a meeting of the Defence Committee will shortly be held to audit accounts and determine future action. Meanwhile, an appeal is made to enable the friends of Diemshietz to compensate him.

The Conference of the Socialist League, held on Sunday, June 9th, passed the following resolution unanimously:—"That this meeting of delegates of the Socialist League, in Conference assembled, do most emphatically protest against the brutal and unjust sentence passed on Lewis Diemshietz, steward of Berner Street Club, for the commission of no other crime than protecting the property of the Club, and the persons of his wife and friends, from the unbridled brutality and organised attack of the police. And this Conference further condemns the attitude taken up by the Home Secretary in refusing to interfere, and is of opinion that by so doing he is neglecting that 'public duty' which he makes his excuse for non-interference."

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Battersea*—A good meeting was held here on Saturday evening; Samuels and Horne spoke. There were no papers present, but 8d. was collected. *Leman Street*—A meeting was held here on Sunday morning, addressed by Samuels, W. Moore (of Norwich), and Mrs. Schack; literature went well. *Hyde Park*—On Saturday evening, Cores and Nicoll addressed a good meeting; 30 *Commonweal* sold.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—At Weltje Road on Sunday evening, a very good meeting; speakers were Robinson, Lyne, jun., Maughan, Catterson Smith, and Crouch; 29 *Commonweal* sold. At Kelmescott House, W. L. Phillips (Fabian) lectured to fair audience.

**LATIMER ROAD.**—Good meeting held Sunday morning; speakers, Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., Maughan, Saint, and Mrs. Edwards; 33 *Commonweal* sold.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 3rd inst., comrade Forrest's paper on "Ideal Democracy" was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, Cooper and Leatham spoke to a most extraordinary meeting. The latter was kept on the platform for two hours and a-half answering questions, the meeting not concluding till long past eleven.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday, Pollock, and T. and J. Burgoyne addressed very large audience on Jail Square. At 5.30, T. and J. Burgoyne spoke at Paisley Road, where we had a musical accompaniment from the Salvationists, who took up their position right in front of us.—J. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—Last Saturday, Holland, Stockton, and Bailie addressed an attentive audience; much discussion followed; 24 *Commonweal* sold. Sunday, at Stevenson Square, Barton, Bailie, and Ritson addressed a good meeting in the afternoon; collection for propaganda. At Chester Road, a large audience listened to Marshall and Barton at night. Holt Town on Monday, good meeting held; much opposition; sold in all at the above meetings, 72 *Commonweal* and 20 *Freedom*.

**NOEWICH.**—On Sunday last, a meeting was held in the afternoon at the Market Place; comrade Mainwaring (London) unexpectedly turned up and took part, assisted by Darley; in the evening, another meeting was held in the open-air; Darley and Mainwaring spoke; *Commonweal* sold out, and fair collections.

**YARMOUTH.**—Large meeting Monday, June 3rd, at Belton, under the auspices of the Commons Right Association; stirring addresses given by Reynolds, Ruffold, Hadley, and Brightwell, assisted by a deputation of the Radical Association. Two meetings held at Yarmouth last Sunday, addressed by Morley (Norwich), S. Mainwaring (London), and Ruffold; sold 13 *Commonweal*, and collected 1s. 10½d. Brightwell and others held meeting on Sunday at Bradwell.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressive Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday June 8th, A. Shields lectured on "Socialism: Signs of the Coming Change," in the course of which he gave an interesting description of the progress of "Vooruit." A lively discussion followed; Frizelle, Toomey, J. A. Cree, and O'Gorman taking part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in Market Place Sunday, Proctor presiding. Peacock and McCormack (late of Leeds) spoke. A collection to enable McCormack to reach London realised 8s. 7d. *Commonweal* sold out. Subsequently at the club subscription made for Webb (S.D.F.), who is unemployed.—R. P.

**13 FARRINGTON ROAD.**—The concert and ball came off with *eclat* on Monday last. The weather no doubt kept a good many away. Songs in German, Russian, and English were well received and much appreciated by the audience. Readings by Nicoll and Darwood were rendered with good effect. The few that remained for dancing went into it with great spirit. Fraternity pervaded the meeting from beginning to end.

**NORTH LAMBETH LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, 108 Westminster Bridge Rd., S.E.—Sunday June 16, at 8.30, Hubert Bland, "Where Radicalism Fails."

**BERNER STREET CLUB.**—A Concert and Dramatic Entertainment will be given on Sunday June 16th, at 8 p.m., for the benefit of the *Workers' Friend*. To conclude with Dancing. Admission by ticket, 6d.

**LANCASHIRE.**—Meetings will be held on Friday 21st June in Rochdale, and on Saturday in Middleton; and a Demonstration will be held at Stevenson Square, Manchester, on Sunday 23rd. Speakers—Kitz, W. K. Hall (Salford), Leonard Hall (London), J. Marshall, J. Ritson, and others. Subject—"Why the Workers Live in Slums." Chairman—Packinton.

**EAST LONDON BRANCH—BANNER FUND.**—The members of this Branch, being desirous to obtain a suitable banner, have opened a subscription for that object. Already received—Mrs. G. Schack, 1s.; By collection, 1s. 4½d. Those wishing to subscribe to this fund will please send subscriptions to M. Matthews, 95 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 16, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. Thursday June 20th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 21st, at 8, French Class; at 8.30 sharp, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—The Branch will meet temporarily in the Ram's Horn Assembly Hall, Ingram Street, every Thursday and Saturday evening at 8 o'clock, and on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. A special meeting of the branch will be held on Sunday first, at 7.30 p.m., when the question of reorganisation and other matters of importance in connection with it will be considered. A full attendance of members is most earnestly requested.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class at comrade Hadley's every Friday at 8 p.m. *Commonweal* sold by Mr. Houes, newsagent, George Street.

FRIENDS WILLING TO AID in forming Branches in the undermentioned places are asked to write to the addresses given: *Liverpool*—W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Chapman St. *Walworth and Camberwell*—3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green. *Wimbledon and Merton*—F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. *Hoxton*—H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. *Streatham*—J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 15.

7 ..... Hyde Park ..... Nicoll and Hill  
8 ..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Blundell, Kitz, and Cores  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Davis and Mowbray

SUNDAY 16.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... McLeod, Humphries, Lyne and Maughan  
11.30 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Cores and Mowbray  
11.30 ..... Hammersmith—Beadon Road ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30 ..... Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms" ..... Mainwaring and Brookes  
11.30 ..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Davis and Turner  
11.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Kitz  
11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... Tochetti and Blundell  
3.30 ..... Hyde Park ..... Nicoll, Brookes, and Mainwaring  
3.30 ..... Victoria Park ..... Davis, Mrs. Schack, and Mowbray  
3.30 ..... Wood Green—Jolly Butchers Hill ..... Blundell and Lerner  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... The Branch  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch  
7.30 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Cores

TUESDAY 18.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch

THURSDAY 20.

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Cores and Hill  
8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... Nicoll and Davis

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Bradwell** (near Yarmouth).—Monday evening.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.

Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Middleton Market Ground, Saturday at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3. Bawburgh, at 11.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. A Meeting at Belton every Monday evening.

### SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. *Gallatoun and Dysart* (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. A.

Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. *Kilmarnock*—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. *West Calder*—

Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

### AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

**Sydney.**—533 George Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. W. H. McNamara, Secretary.

**Melbourne.**—"Golden Fleece" Hotel, Russell Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. J. A. Andrews, 18 Ophir Street, Richmond, Secy.

LONDON ANARCHISTS' open-air propaganda, Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).—Sunday 16th, at 6 p.m., Lothrop Withington and W. Humphreys.

NEW LABOUR CLUB, 5 Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green.—Thursday June 20th, F. Kitz, "The Criminal Classes, High and Low."

PADDINGTON RADICAL CLUB, Paddington Green.—Sunday June 16, at 11 a.m., Readings from 'Kimburton' will be given by John Bedford Leno.



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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 180.

SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

On this side of the Atlantic we have had an "accident" of the kind the responsibility for which it is impossible for us not to take on our own shoulders; nature or ill-luck or what not, must be accused after us and not before us. As a matter of course, we have nothing to say about the men who have been arrested: even if they should be proved guilty of carelessness, yet after all it is not they who would be the real criminals, but rather ourselves, who allow monopolist companies to work our railways for profit, with the necessary consequence of low wages and long hours and short-handedness amongst the underlings out of whose pay and leisure the monopolists have to scrape up a dividend. What *can* come of such a system but misery and disaster on all hands?

I see the Rev. Mr. Viner, in presiding over a meeting of the Plumstead tram-car men, said that the object of the movement was not to make war on the company, but to get for the men a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. Well, the words are pretty, but unmeaning; the men *are* at war with the company, and must be so as long as they don't get a fair day's wage for their work; that is, until *they* are employed by the public and get what the public pays for riding in the cars instead of their do-nothing, dividend-drawing masters. The masters are showing them pretty well what war means already, and it is much to be feared that if the men don't learn to understand their position, and fight as hard as they can, they will soon be taught by their masters the meaning of one of the maxims of war: "Woe to the vanquished."

In point of fact, they are at the lesson now: the companies are acting in a quite straightforward commercial manner, and see the necessity of crushing the movement at once: they know their enemies, and put them *hors de combat* by giving them the sack without quarter. The public, however, are beginning to be a little uneasy at such straight "application of economical principles," as the bourgeois slang goes, and it is not so certain that the dividend-drawers will win.

Here is what a non-Socialist friend told me last night. Asking why a certain tram was late, one of the men told him that the company had extended their dinner time ("hour," I was going to write) from eight minutes to fifteen; and that in consequence they had to put on the extra minutes' work at the end of the day. How is that for shabbiness in this world where nature is so superabundant? I call it the very sublime of shabbiness: the true antithesis to the Widow's Mite.

The respectable critics have been very much down on Ibsen's play of "A Doll's House," now being acted at the Novelty Theatre, and profess to be shocked: Mr. Buchanan, *e.g.*, reiterating the phrase a "young woman of criminal proclivities" *apropos* of the heroine, whose crime one may say in passing is merely a technical one. How is this to be explained, linked as it is with the fact that the Socialists obviously look on the play as making for Socialism, and are enthusiastic about it? It is not difficult of explanation: whatever may be the demerits of "A Doll's House" as an acting play (by the way, if it is *different* from an ordinary modern play it must be better, just as any day different from last Whit-Monday must be better than it)—I say in any case it is a piece of the *truth* about modern society clearly and forcibly put. Therefore clearly it doesn't suit the critics, who are parasites of the band of robbers called modern society. Great is Diana of the Ephesians! But if my memory serves me, her rites were not distinguished for purity.

I note that the critics say that Ibsen's plays are pessimistic; so they are—to pessimists; and all intelligent persons who are not Socialists are pessimists. But the representation of the corruption of society carries with it in Ibsen's works aspirations for a better state of things, and that is not pessimism. Therefore Socialists recognise in them another token of the new dawn.

W. M.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* in a recent issue says: "The proposal to administer the territory between Bechuanaland and Lake Tanganyika by means of a company armed with a Royal charter, has excited considerable uneasiness at Berlin, and it is understood, says the *Standard's* correspondent, that Germany and Portugal are both preparing to prevent any encroachment by the English company on their spheres of interest." Of course; this *administering* (beautiful word) of the territory mentioned may involve "poaching on the manors" of Germany and Portugal; the vultures don't want too large a company at their dinner-party.

On June 12th and 14th, we have two articles by Mr. John Mackenzie on "British Supremacy in South Africa," in which the writer impresses on us the quantity of healthy habitable land available in this region. He remarks: "Considering the landlessness of the people of these [British] isles, I have yet to find the man who will come forward and propose that her Majesty's Government should give away any part of Bechuanaland, up to the Zambesi, to any other administrative power whatever." It never occurs to Mr. Mackenzie, or any other advocate of "extended Imperial administration," that her Majesty's Government should leave any part of Bechuanaland in the hands of the natives. In fact, he expresses his feelings with ingenuous openness in the next quoted lines: "All would agree that the simplest and best method of overtaking our work in Bechuanaland would be to extend Imperial administration there, so that the whole country, from the border of the Cape Colony up to the great river at its northern boundary, may be in our hands." This is truly comprehensive and all-embracing; the writer should be congratulated on his large-minded views. He adds, "This also is what the natives desire." No doubt they do; we have it on the most trustworthy authority (of sportsmen) that the fox likes being hunted—rather enjoys the fun, in fact.

Mr. Mackenzie suggests an opening to British railway capitalists here, and even waves the glint of gold before our eyes, provided permission could be obtained from one of the native chiefs to begin gold-mining, "which would amply secure those dividends which shareholders in a commercial undertaking always look for." There is "room for all" in South Africa, he thinks; the white man will find scope for his energy, and will bring his chastening influence to bear upon the untutored native, who will "find that with the passing away of his old methods and beliefs, he has offered to him more ennobling teaching, and the possibility of living in peace, and enjoying the fruit of his industry." Mr. Mackenzie becomes pious towards the end of his second article, and says that he regards the recent concurrence of events in South Africa as "the call of Divine Providence to occupy and administer that great country till it is ready for self-government."

The Queen has sent a message of sympathy "kindly worded" to the scene of the railway disaster at Armagh; that done, she very likely troubles herself no further about the matter. Her Majesty's "messages of sympathy"—seldom or never accompanied by anything more substantial—are perhaps proverbial by this time. We English are so snobbish and apathetic we deserve what we get.

The Shah of Persia's journal, published in 1874 after his visit to England, contains some very amusing reading, and gives a fresh aspect of English life, which should be a godsend to some of us who find London life rather dry in its old day-to-day aspect. For example, the following tribute to the police, how vigorous and picturesque in its language, and yet how touchingly true in every particular:—"The police of this town is eight thousand strong, all handsome young men, in a particular dress. The citizens set great estimation on the police; whoever behaves disrespectfully to the police is adjudged worthy of death."

M. M.

The increase of professional vagabonds in France causes uneasiness to the professional politicians, and the mayors of communes are asked to be more rigorous towards them. The increase has been greater of late years, owing to the vast number of unemployed. America also clamours for fresh legislation against tramps. *Reynolds* may include these notes in its next gush *re* glorious Republican institutions. F. K.

## LOOKING BACKWARD.

said that the signs of the spread of Socialism among thinking people are both abundant and striking. This is true; ten years ago the word Socialism was known in this country, even among the "educated" classes knew more about its than Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Gladstone, or Admiral Maxse know *i.e.*, nothing. Whereas at present it is fashionable for even and dinner-parties to affect an interest in and knowledge of it, it indicates a wide and deep public interest. This interest is obvious in literature perhaps than in anything else, quite outside of propagandist tracts issued by definitely Socialist societies. A certain tincture of Socialism, for instance (generally very watery), is almost a necessary ingredient nowadays in a novel which aims at being at once serious and life-like, while more serious treatment of the subject at the hands of non-Socialists is common enough. In short the golden haze of self-satisfaction and content with the best of all possible societies is rolling away before the sun-heat bred of misery and aspiration, and all people above the lowest level of intelligence (which I take to be low gambling and statesmanship) are looking towards the new development, some timorously, some anxiously, some hopefully.

It seems clear to me that the reception which Mr. Bellamy's 'Looking Backward' has received that there are a great many people who are hopeful in regard to Socialism. I am sure that ten years ago it would have been very little noticed, if at all; whereas now several editions have been sold in America, and it is attracting general attention in England, and to anyone not deeply interested in the social question it could not be at all an attractive book. It is true that it is cast into the form of a romance, but the author states very frankly in his preface that he has only given it this form as a sugar-coating to the pill, and the device of making a man wake up in a new world has now grown so common, and has been done with so much more care and art than Mr. Bellamy has used, that by itself this would have done little for it: it is the serious essay and not the slight envelope of romance which people have found interesting to them.

Since, therefore, both Socialists and non-Socialists have been so much impressed with the book, it seems to me necessary that the *Commonweal* should notice it. For it is a 'Utopia.' It purports to be written in the year 2000, and to describe the state of society at that period after a gradual and peaceable revolution has realised the Socialism which to us is but in the beginning of its militant period. It requires notice all the more because there is a certain danger in such books as this: a twofold danger; for there will be some temperaments to whom the answer given to the question "How shall we live then?" will be pleasing and satisfactory, others to whom it will be displeasing and unsatisfactory. The danger to the first is that they will accept it with all its necessary errors and fallacies (which such a book *must* abound in) as conclusive statements of facts and rules of action, which will warp their efforts into futile directions. The danger to the second, if they are but enquirers or very young Socialists, is that they also accepting its speculations as facts, will be inclined to say, "If *that* is Socialism, we won't help its advent, as it holds out no hope to us."

The only safe way of reading a utopia is to consider it as the expression of the temperament of its author. So looked at, Mr. Bellamy's utopia must be still called very interesting, as it is constructed with due economical knowledge, and with much adroitness; and of course his temperament is that of many thousands of people. This temperament may be called the unmixed modern one, unhistoric and unartistic; it makes its owner (if a Socialist) perfectly satisfied with modern civilisation, if only the injustice, misery, and waste of class society could be got rid of; which half-change seems possible to him. The only ideal of life which such a man can see is that of the industrious *professional* middle-class men of to-day purified from their crime of complicity with the monopolist class, and become independent instead of being, as they now are, parasitical. It is not to be denied that if such an ideal could be realised, it would be a great improvement on the present society. But can it be realised? It means in fact the alteration of the machinery of life in such a way that all men shall be allowed to share in the fulness of that life, for the production and upholding of which the machinery was instituted. There are clear signs to show us that that very group whose life is thus put forward as an ideal for the future are condemning it in the present, and that they also demand a revolution. The pessimistic revolt of the latter end of this century led by John Ruskin against the philistinism of the triumphant bourgeois, halting and stumbling as it necessarily was, shows that the change in the life of civilisation had begun, before any one seriously believed in the possibility of altering its machinery.

It follows naturally from the author's satisfaction with the best part of modern life that he conceives of the change to Socialism as taking place without any breakdown of that life, or indeed disturbance of it, by means of the final development of the great private monopolies which are such a noteworthy feature of the present day. He supposes that these must necessarily be absorbed into one great monopoly which will include the whole people and be worked for its benefit by the whole people. It may be noted in passing that by this use of the word monopoly he shows unconsciously that he has his mind fixed firmly on the mere *machinery* of life: for clearly the only part of their system which the people would or could take over from the monopolists would be the machinery of organisation, which monopoly is forced to use, but which is not an essential part of it. The essential of monopoly is, "I warm myself by the fire which you have made, and you (very much the plural) stay outside in the cold."

To go on. This hope of the development of the trusts and rings to which the competition for privilege has driven commerce, especially in America, is the distinctive part of Mr. Bellamy's book; and it seems to me to be a somewhat dangerous hope to rest upon, too uncertain to be made a sheet-anchor of. It may be indeed the logical outcome of the most modern side of commercialism—*i.e.*, the outcome that *ought* to be; but then there is its historical outcome to be dealt with—*i.e.*, what *will* be; which I cannot help thinking may be after all, as far as this commercial development is concerned, the recurrence of breaks-up and re-formations of this kind of monopoly, under the influence of competition for privilege, or war for the division of plunder, till the flood comes and destroys them all. A far better hope to trust to is that men having once got it into their heads that true life implies free and equal life, and that is now possible of attainment, they will consciously strive for its attainment at any cost. The economical semi-fatalism of some Socialists is a deadening and discouraging view, and may easily become more so, if events at present unforeseen bring back the full tide of "commercial prosperity"; which is by no means unlikely to happen.

The great change having thus peaceably and fatalistically taken place, the author has to put forward his scheme of the organisation of life; which is organised with a vengeance. His scheme may be described as State Communism, worked by the very extreme of national centralisation. The underlying vice in it is that the author cannot conceive, as aforesaid, of anything else than the *machinery* of society, and that, doubtless naturally, he reads in to the future of a society, which he tells us is unwastefully conducted, that terror of starvation which is the necessary accompaniment of a society in which two-thirds or more of its labour-power is wasted: the result is that though he *tells* us that every man is free to choose his occupation and that work is no burden to anyone, the *impression* which he produces is that of a huge standing army, tightly drilled, compelled by some mysterious fate to unceasing anxiety for the production of wares to satisfy every caprice, however wasteful and absurd, that may cast up amongst them.

As an illustration it may be mentioned that everybody is to begin the serious work of production at the age of twenty-one, work three years as a labourer, and then choose his skilled occupation and work till he is forty-five, when he is to knock off his work and amuse himself (improve his mind, if he has one left him). Heavens! think of a man of forty-five changing all his habits suddenly and by compulsion! It is a small matter after this that the said persons past work should form a kind of aristocracy (how curiously old ideas cling) for the performance of certain judicial and political functions.

Mr. Bellamy's ideas of life are curiously limited; he has no idea beyond existence in a great city; his dwelling of man in the future is Boston (U.S.A.) beautified. In one passage, indeed, he mentions villages, but with unconscious simplicity shows that they do not come into his scheme of economical equality, but are mere servants of the great centres of civilisation. This seems strange to some of us, who cannot help thinking that our experience ought to have taught us that such aggregations of population afford the worst possible form of dwelling-place, whatever the second-worst might be.

In short, a machine-life is the best which Mr. Bellamy can imagine for us on all sides; it is not to be wondered at then that his only idea of making labour tolerable is to decrease the amount of it by means of fresh and ever fresh developments of machinery. This view I know he will share with many Socialists with whom I might otherwise agree more than I can with him; but I think a word or two is due to this important side of the subject. Now surely this ideal of the great reduction of the hours of labour by the mere means of machinery is a futility. The human race has always put forth about as much energy as it could in given conditions of climate and the like, though that energy has had to struggle against the natural laziness of mankind: and the development of man's resources, which has given him greater power over nature, has driven him also into fresh desires and fresh demands on nature, and thus made his expenditure of energy much what it was before. I believe that this will be always so, and the multiplication of machinery will just—multiply machinery; I believe that the ideal of the future does not point to the lessening of men's energy by the reduction of *labour* to a minimum, but rather to the reduction of *pain in labour* to a minimum, so small that it will cease to be a pain; a gain to humanity which can only be dreamed of till men are even more completely equal than Mr. Bellamy's utopia would allow them to be, but which will most assuredly come about when men are really equal in condition; although it is probable that much of our so-called "refinement," our luxury—in short, our civilisation—will have to be sacrificed to it. In this part of his scheme, therefore, Mr. Bellamy worries himself unnecessarily in seeking (with obvious failure) some incentive to labour to replace the fear of starvation, which is at present our only one, whereas it cannot be too often repeated that the true incentive to useful and happy labour is and must be pleasure in the work itself.

I think it necessary to state these objections to Mr. Bellamy's utopia, not because there is any need to quarrel with a man's vision of the future of society, which, as above said, must always be more or less personal to himself; but because this book, having produced a great impression on people who are really enquiring into Socialism, will be sure to be quoted as an authority for what Socialists believe, and that, therefore, it is necessary to point out that there are some Socialists who do not think that the problem of the organisation of life and necessary labour can be dealt with by a huge national centralisation, working by a kind of magic for which no one feels himself responsible; that on the contrary it will be necessary for the unit of administra-



tion to be small enough for every citizen to feel himself responsible for its details, and be interested in them; that individual men cannot shuffle off the business of life on to the shoulders of an abstraction called the State, but must deal with it in conscious association with each other. That variety of life is as much an aim of true Communism as equality of condition, and that nothing but an union of these two will bring about real freedom. That modern nationalities are mere artificial devices for the commercial war that we seek to put an end to, and will disappear with it. And, finally, that art, using that word in its widest and due signification, is not a mere adjunct of life which free and happy men can do without, but the necessary expression and indispensable instrument of human happiness.

On the other hand, it must be said that Mr. Bellamy has faced the difficulty of economical reconstruction with courage, though he does not see any other sides to the problem, such, e.g., as the future of the family; that at any rate he sees the necessity for the equality of the reward of labour, which is such a stumbling-block for incomplete Socialists; and his criticism of the present monopolist system is forcible and fervid. Also up and down his pages there will be found satisfactory answers to many ordinary objections. The book is one to be read and considered seriously, but it should not be taken as the Socialist bible of reconstruction; a danger which perhaps it will not altogether escape, as incomplete systems impossible to be carried out but plausible on the surface are always attractive to people ripe for change, but not knowing clearly what their aim is.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING-MEN'S CONGRESS.

TO THE EDITOR OF *Justice*.

DEAR COMRADE,—In your issue of June 15—namely, in H. M. Hyndman's article entitled "The International Workers' Congress and the Marxist Clique"—I find it asserted that "both Stepniak and W. Parnell declare in writing that their names were appended to the Marxist circular without their consent." Allow me to say that no such declaration has been made by me and that my name has been appended to the said circular with my full consent.

I was in doubt at one time—and I made no secret of it—whether I have the right of signing such a document, having for obvious reasons no regular mandate from my country. But my scruples have been removed by the secretary of the Organising Commission, who informed me that the Commission will make allowance for the peculiar conditions of countries like Russia—a proceeding which has its precedents in former international congresses, and of which I was very happy to have the benefit. I think that we, the so-called Russian Nihilists, must take every opportunity of showing our solidarity with the great international Socialist movement; and I may be excused, I suppose, for refusing to admit that William Morris, Engels, Lafargue, and Bebel, with the body of German Social-Democratic deputies, have no claim to represent a huge part of this movement.—Yours very truly,  
16 June, 1889.

S. STEPNIAK.

The following further adhesions have been received:—

RUSSIA—For the *Russian Social-Democratic Union*: Axelrod, Plechenoff, Véra Sazoulitch.

SWEDEN—For the *Social-Democratic Party*: Brandtling, Danielson, Palm.

EAST-END CAPMAKERS.—These sweated workers have formed a union on advanced lines, comrade Rochman being elected honorary president. Meets at "Black Swan," Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, every Saturday night. Sixty-three joined at the first meeting, and it is fast growing.

POISONED AT WORK.—In a Nottingham paper is an account of how a workman, Arthur Meakin, died poisoned at his work with nitric acid gas. Arthur Meakin had the job of cleaning out condensing chambers at Old Barford Chemical Works, where the fumes of the gas were strong. He started for his work on Wednesday, June 12th, in his usual health and spirits. He went into the deadly chamber, and on returning home complained to his wife of a pain in his stomach. By 11 o'clock on Thursday morning he was dead. The doctor said he died of congestion of the lungs, which he believed was brought about by his breathing noxious fumes while at work. The coroner, in his charge, of course made it as light as possible for the owners of the chemical works. The man had not taken proper precautions, and so on; but he was forced to admit that the employment was not a "harmless" one, and the jury returned a verdict in accordance with the medical testimony. But what of the system that forces men to risk their lives in poisonous work for a scanty pittance? Murdered by competition should have been the verdict.

MURDEROUS SLAVE-DRIVING IN SHOPS.—At a recent meeting of the Protective Association of Warehouse, Stores, and Shop Assistants, the following tale was told by a speaker, for the accuracy of which he vouched:—"I was in the employ, some years ago, of a man who was a regular slave-driver. There was a young lady who was worn out with work. I have seen her drop down behind the counter, and have carried her out myself twice in one day. Well, one day I saw her looking very white, and I said to her: 'Sit down, you'll drop,' and I brought her a stool, and she sat down. And just then the employer came up and saw her sitting down; and he said, 'We can't have these lazy ways here,' and he kicked away the stool from under her, and she fell on the floor. I saw it myself, and she managed to keep about till the end of the week. She had a widowed mother depending on her; they had nothing but what she earned. And on the Monday morning she was ill, and he mother went up and told her it was time to go to the shop, and she said, 'Shop! Oh, mother, I can't go; I can't do it.' And her mother said: Well, you know what it means if you don't; you'll be turned off, and we shall have nothing.' But then she saw how ill she looked, and she said: 'There lie down a bit again, and I'll come up by and by; never mind if you are late.' And she went up half an hour after and found her lying dead. And that man goes on, and has a large business, and he goes to church on Sundays and hears read out: 'Thou shalt do no murder.' But if ever there was a murderer in the sight of heaven, that man is a murderer."

## THE STRENGTH OF TYRAN.

(FROM THE *Chartist Circular*, 1841.)

THE tyrant's chains are only strong  
While slaves submit to wear them;  
And who could bind them on the throng  
Determined not to bear them?  
Then clank your chain; e'en though the links  
Were light as fashion's feather,  
The heart which rightly thinks and feels  
Would cast them altogether.

The lords of earth are only great  
While others clothe and feed them!  
But what were all their pride and state  
Should labour cease to heed them?  
The swain is higher than a king:  
Before the laws of nature  
The monarch were a useless thing,  
The swain a useful creature.

We toil, we spin, we delve the mine,  
Sustaining each his neighbour;  
And who can show a right divine  
To rob us of our labour?  
We rush to battle, bear our lot  
In every ill and danger:  
And who shall make the peaceful cot  
To homely joy a stranger?

erish all tyrants far and near,  
Beneath the chains that bind us;  
And perish, too, that servile fear  
Which makes the slaves they find us.  
One grand, one universal claim,  
One peal of moral thunder,  
One glorious burst in Freedom's name,  
And rend our bonds asunder!

CHARLES COLE, *A London Mechanic*.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 29, 1889.

23	Sun.	1789. King declares proceedings of the National Assembly void, and orders them to dissolve. 1848. Workmen's revolt begins at Paris. 1880. Obnorski and other workers tried in St. Petersburg for Socialist propaganda. Sentences: mines, 1; prison, 2. 1883. Louise Michel sentenced to six years' imprisonment.
24	Mon.	1535. Münster re-taken by the Prince-Bishop. 1725. Malt-tax riot at Glasgow. 1797. Thomas Williams tried for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason.' 1799. William Byrne tried for "rebellion and murder" as leader of the Irish rebels in '98. 1848. Cavaignac dictator of Paris. 1848. First number of the <i>Irish Felon</i> , Dublin, edited by John Martin, 5d. weekly; suppressed July 22. 1877. N. P. Ogareff, Russian revolutionary poet, died an exile in London in great poverty; a very old man, he had lived by mending umbrellas, his extensive property having been confiscated by the Russian Government.
25	Tues.	1830. First number of <i>Cobbett's Twopenny Trash</i> . 1836. Louis Alibaud fired at Louis Philippe. 1848. Archbishop of Paris killed. 1864. Hugo's 'Les Misérables' added to the <i>Index Expurgatorius</i> . 1884. Trial ends of 36 Socialists at Grätz. 1887. Seven more of the conspirators of March 13 privately murdered in prison at St. Petersburg.
26	Wed.	1794. Trial of William Drennan for sedition. 1794. Balloons first used in warfare by French Republican army of the Netherlands at Fleurus. 1800. James Hadfield tried for shooting at George III. in Drury Lane Theatre. 1821. Motion in the House of Commons for "a Commission to visit New Lanark, to examine the condition and treatment of the working-classes in that Establishment, to enquire into any future arrangements which Mr. Owen may propose for the benefit of labourers, and to report the same to the House," negatived without a division. 1839. Robert Owen, introduced by Lord Melbourne, presents to the Queen, at her levee, the address adopted at the Birmingham Congress. 1848. Workmen's revolt suppressed in Paris. 1870. Armand Barbès died. 1881. Edmond Beales died.
27	Thur.	1798. Bagenal Harvey hanged. 1832. First number of the <i>Morning Star</i> , first London penny daily, friendly to the Owenites. 1876. Harriet Martineau died. 1881. Most sentenced in Court of Crown Cases Reserved to 16 months' hard labour.
28	Fri.	1712. Rousseau born. 1792. Lafayette attempts to reinstate authority in Paris and fails. 1795. Middlesex magistrates pronounce certain biscuits "treasonable and seditious," as they bear the cap of liberty. 1816. John Dennis, George Crow, William Beamis, Thomas South, and Isaac Hailey hung for their part in the Fen Riots. 1862. Slivnitski, Arnold, and Rostovski shot in Modlin for organising a military revolutionary society (Velikoross); three others flogged with spitz-rattens.
29	Sat.	1688. Seven Bishops acquitted. 1795. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at St. George's Fields. 1798. Leopardi born. 1849. Baden rising suppressed. 1875. Trial of Diakoff, Seriakoff, and others at St. Petersburg. Sentences: mines, 4; prison, 2. 1879. Conference at Lipetz of delegates from all Russian revolutionary organisations, where terrorist tactics were resolved on.

The wages of furnace hands in the Chenango Valley, Pa., have been reduced 10 per cent.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HAD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.*

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 17.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY
Justice	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Leader	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Ancona—Il Libero Patto
London—Freie Presse	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	
Norwich—Daylight		SPAIN
North British Daily Mail	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Seville—La Solidaridad
Nottingham Daily Express	Le Proletariat	Barcelona—El Productor
Railway Review	La Revolte	Madrid—El Socialista
Revolutionary Review	Le Coup de Feu	PORTUGAL
Social Democrat	L'Attache	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	Le Soir	Porto—A Revolta
INDIA	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	GERMANY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Commentary—Le Socialiste	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Madras—People's Friend		AUSTRIA
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	HUNGARY
Freiheit		Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	DENMARK
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker	SWEDEN
Investigator	Liege—L'Avenir	Malmö—Arbetet
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Brussels—Le Drapeau Noir	WEST INDIES
Backer Zeitung	SWITZERLAND	Cuba—El Productor
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Arbeiterstimme	
	Geneva—Przedswit	

## A SWAGSMAN'S FAREWELL.

[FROM THE BRISBANE (QUEENSLAND) 'BOOMERANG.']

GENERALLY speaking, when a man leaves a place, perhaps for ever, there is someone in particular to whom he would like to say "Good-bye." Such is not my case; but, not wishing to lack in courtesy, I make my bow, and to all whom it may concern I now say "Farewell."

Yes, after a weary sojourn of six years in this perspiring land of parti-coloured humanity and fervid politics, I feel tired and my soul yearns with a great yearning for that which has been denied me in my pilgrimage here—the boon of steady and fairly remunerative employment. Being only a swagsman, my departure might have passed unnoticed had I not called attention to it; even now that I have done so, nobody perhaps cares. "Only a swagsman," they say, "some idle worthless rascal; good riddance to him!"

I am a meek and lowly-minded man, accustomed to having the finger of scorn pointed at me by justly-incensed squatters and others when, after a day's hard tramp, I have hawked my labour up to their doors and dared to ask for a job. What was I to them but a thing whose grotesque shadow marred the beauty of the landscape and whose fossilised remains future generations might mistake for an extinct species of quadruped with a peculiar hump on its back? Being slow-witted and dull of perception, it took me a long while to tumble to the fact that the Government had imported me when they had no use for me. When the truth did first dawn upon me I gave way to impious anger; wicked words escaped me, and I longed—oh! how I did long—for a private interview with one Professor Bonwick, who had lied unto me. He had told me strange tales of a land of boundless wealth, o'erflowing with milk of human kindness, of trees perpetually laden with luscious fruits, and of honey abounding everywhere—a land where poverty existed not and all mankind were blessed with content and happiness. He spoke not of the Heathen Chinese, the guileless Kanaka, and the

wily Cingalese. Neither spoke he of Maltese, Javanese, the amok-running Malay, and the perambulating vendor of miscellaneous articles in silks who hails from Afghanistan. Nay, he said unto me that all men in Queensland were as brothers. He was a facetious man, and dearly loved to have his little joke.

"Young man," he said, "when you arrive in that beautiful land to which you are going, so many people will be awaiting to employ you that you will be somewhat perplexed in deciding for whom you will work." Just so. They are still awaiting, and I was much perplexed. Perhaps they were not advised of my arrival; and though I advertised that I had come, still they came not. Ah, me! After weary waiting they may have given me up. It may be that with thoughtful hearts and careful hands they had cleared out a corner of the old barn for my reception and nailed kerosene tin over the holes where the shingles were shot away in the encounter with the carpet snake, or perhaps they had erected a new fowl-house that I might take possession of the old one and be comfortable therein. It is the terrible uncertainty of who they were that has made me what I am; but I try to console myself with the thought that one day I may find them in that land to which all sooner or later must emigrate, where the unemployed cease from troubling and the swagsman is at rest.

As I before remarked, I am meek and lowly-minded, but once I had a vain desire to possess the privilege of voting at a general election in the country which adopted me and in which I have been as an orphan. Such vanity has passed from me now, and I gaze with fearfulness at a Paternal Government when it says, "Behold, is not the land a big and a fruitful? Come, let us people the land; we will send to Europe where men are overworked and bring them here where there is nothing to do, and to them that desire it we will give an ant-hill and a dried-up waterhole for a homestead that they abide in the land. When the men whom they have brought out have dwelt awhile in the land and waxed lean on idleness, then they lift up the voice of ingratitude against their benefactors, and speak scornfully of them which sit in high places."

Why do they rage? Have they not, like other distinguished visitors, received free railway passes to the furthest extremity of a line which was not built with a sordid view to paying expenses, that their eyes might behold that Western Paradise whose joys are as a sealed book to them who have not been there? A wise and far-seeing Government heeds them not, but, regardless of personal expense and self-sacrifice, still carries on the noble work of populating this colony and her next neighbour; the penny daily advertisers jubilantly declare each new batch of immigrants finer than the last; the planter hums the glad refrain, "sugar's up and labour's down"; the squatter has sweet visions of a trip to Europe and cheap rouseabouts; the pawnbroker heaves the sigh of satisfaction as he trades a billy-can for the new chum's last garment of respectability and takes care of his watch for a consideration. The moon-faced heathen alone casts the oblique eye of alarm at the latest importation of mean whites, fearing lest they infringe on his prerogative of cabbage-growing; but his celestial countenance quickly assumes its wonted expression of blind serenity as he notes them slowly drifting away—he knows not where, nor cares either, so long as they do not jump his claim.

Amidst this universal joy I am sad, and meditatively I wend my way to the depot, and, drawing near to a little group of chummies, I hear a suppressed growl of "I ain't agoing to work for ten bob a-week and cook my own grub." Another chips in, "You're lucky to get a chance at all; nobody's been to hire me yet!" While another exclaims, "I'll go to Sydney if I can, or else join the Salvation Army—they might get a fellow a job!" Like "reminiscences of the ruins of Pompeii" comes gently stealing o'er me the memory of a day when I was Bonwicked too, and choking back the sob of exceeding great sympathy, I turn to my mate and exclaim, with sorrowful emphasis, "Why, oh why, was I brought out here?"

"Ask me something hard an' I'll tell you," says he. "You was brought here, like these chaps is, so as where there is work for only one man there shall be twenty to apply for it, and the cheapest gets the job! You was brought here so as rich shareholders in big shipping companies should make a profit out of you! You was brought here to make rich men richer and poor men poorer, and so as big-bugs could get their friends fat billets in the immigration apartments! You was brought here to wear your soul-case out while the Pharisees [he meant parasites] of society gets fat on your hide! If you want to know, you was brought here to do another man out of his job or make him work cheaper! You fat-headed old duffer! you was brought out here like being put in pawn—so as they could borrow money on you and make their bloomin' piles the quicker; and the sooner you and me gets out of this the better, or we'll soon be working for nothing a-week and find our own tucker!"

I catch on. Legislation is a game limited to a few players, but pans out well to the holders of a hand. Honesty is a bad card to play, but the immigration trick is the "joker" of the pack—it scoops the pool every time. The players have a high old time, but God help their victims—the hundreds of poor wretches who this day are wandering throughout the length and breadth of the colony in aimless fashion like lost sheep. To them it means starvation, the desolation of despair. And so Queensland, thou happy exploiting ground of the syndicate and capitalist, to thee and all the halo of romance with which humbug and the fertile imagination of the well-paid lecturer have enriched thee, I bid farewell! I go to a land bigger in population though smaller in area than thou art, and whose wise Government never borrowed a single penny to misspend on Free or Assisted Immigration.

W. JENKINS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "SEAFARING."

SIR,—I notice a rather injudicious letter in your last from Mr. Reid, the local secretary of the National Seamen's Union at Hull. I term it injudicious because it is opposed to all good government of an organisation, that matters under the control of the central body should be taken up by local officials. I have every respect for Mr. Reid as an earnest and indefatigable worker in the cause, but he needs to temper his zeal with judgment. Had he done so on this occasion, I am persuaded that it would have appeared to him more orderly to have sent his complaint against *Seafaring* to the Executive Committee of the Union than to have rushed into print with it.

However, as Mr. Reid has delivered himself, he needs a reply. He asks "Has Mr. Cowie been deceiving us?" For my own part I cannot see how he has, for at the Conference of Seamen, held at Sunderland in March last, over which I had the honour of presiding, when the agreement was come to about *Seafaring* I asked Mr. Cowie whether the paper was printed at a union establishment, as I felt, and still feel, strongly on that point. His reply was in the negative, and he stated that his arrangements with the present firm were such that he could not make a change for awhile. I then impressed upon him the necessity for making the change as quickly as possible, which I understood he would do. What the arrangements were I felt to be no part of my business. It may, however, be the duty of the Executive of the Union to inquire, and for my part I hope they will; but as for Mr. Cowie deceiving the Union it is a grave charge, and knowing that he has done no such thing I feel it my duty to pen these few lines in his defence, though I hope he will not delay in having the desired change effected.—Yours truly,

W. FOREMAN.

55, Colebrook Row, London, N., June 12th, 1889.

## ANARCHY AND COMMUNISM.

## AN ANSWER TO W. MORRIS.

SIR,—I was very much interested in the perusal of comrade Morris's letter in *Commonweal* for May 18th, on the subject of Anarchism and Communism, and like him I am only desirous of noting down a few thoughts suggested by reading his letter. "I will begin by calling myself a Communist," says our comrade, "and have no wish to qualify that word by joining any other to it." I, on the other hand, call myself an Anarchist-Communist, and have no wish to separate the two words, as I think they fully convey the meaning I wish to give them; nor do I see how either word is modified by the other as Morris contends.

First, I am an Anarchist because I will admit of no compulsion of man over man—because I would be free; and freedom cannot obtain where there is compulsion arising from authority.

Secondly, I am a Communist because the communal system seems to me to be capable of affording the best opportunities of association and facilities for co-operation.

Large towns are necessarily unhealthy, and their replacement by small communes sufficiently far apart to admit of tracts of country between each commune, would not only bring us back to health, but would afford every opportunity to till the land lying, as it were, at our very doors. The coupling of the two words, then, do not modify each other, since the word anarchy has reference to the political status of the people, while the word commune has reference to their grouping and geographical arrangement.

It is possible, for instance, to introduce the communal system under capitalism, and if so it clearly has no modifying effect on the anarchistic state of society. Again, it is possible to introduce Anarchy without the intervention of the communal system.

"The aim of Communism," says our comrade, "seems to me to be the complete equality of condition for all people." And then he goes on to show that anything which falls short of this "complete equality" is a sham to be guarded against. There can be no mistaking his claim for real equality; even "its ethics have to be based on the recognition of natural cause and effect, and not on rules derived from *a priori* ideas of the relation of man to the universe or some imagined ruler of it; and from these two things, the equality of condition and the recognition of the cause and effect of material nature, will grow all Communistic life."

Now this explanation of the "new order" as he sees it, is as wide and as generous as the most ardent Anarchist could desire, and I entirely fail to see how it differs in any essential particulars from the declaration of principles agreed to by our Spanish comrades at Valencia. The only difference that I am able to discover between Morris and our Spanish comrades is that while the five clauses in their declaration bear out and explain each other, Morris's definition of Communism is contradicted in his attempts to explain it.

I now come to the kernel of the whole question. Anarchist-Communists assert that while there is authority there can be no freedom. Morris contends that "if freedom from authority means the assertion of the advisability or possibility of an individual man doing what he pleases always and under all circumstances, this is an absolute negation of Society, and makes Communism as the highest expression of Society impossible." As I have already said, I regard the communal system as the best means at present understood of dividing the people into groups, but the communal system is not itself necessarily Socialistic. The communal system is in existence in France, Switzerland, and Russia, and in these three countries capitalism reigns supreme.

The Anarchist seek freedom through individual liberty by affirming the sovereignty of the individual, whose liberty can only be restricted by the like claim for liberty on the part of others. But "when you begin to qualify this assertion of the right to do as you please by adding 'as long as you don't interfere with other people's rights to do the same,' the exercise of some kind of authority becomes necessary," says Morris. I became quite anxious to know what that authority was to be, and to my disappointment I read the following explanation: "If individuals are not to coerce others, there must somewhere be an authority which is prepared to coerce them not to coerce; and that authority must clearly be collective." I regret that our comrade did not more clearly define this "collective action." The only solution I can imagine to this "collective authority" is the rule of the majority, which is "the tyranny of the strongest," of which there is no more bitter opponent than comrade Morris himself.

It seems to me, however, assuming I have interpreted his meaning correctly, that this argument finds justification in the alleged imperfection of

man—a proposition with which Socialists of every grade are quite familiar, and I cannot refrain here from noticing the identity of the line of argument along which this argument runs, whether it is advanced by Morris or our most implacable opponent. Surely our comrade must concede that man is imperfect by nature, this imperfectly equally to those who are called on to govern as to those governed. To say that the majority are to direct the government, no way out of the difficulty; and to give imperfect men the power to govern others for no other reason than that all men are imperfect, see say the least, to be the height of illogic and unwisdom on the part of who reason from this point of view.

That we must submit to coercion in order to be free, as comrade Morris, reminds me of the proverbial square circle, of which there has appeared a solution. I am also at a loss to discover how the "due opportunity free to everyone for the satisfaction of his needs" can obtain in a society where there is the exercise of coercion by the gentle and wise majority.

We are asked, too, not to forget "the necessary, and beneficent variety of temperament" which exists in men; and indeed we do not forget it; on the contrary, it is ever present in the mind of the Anarchist, simply because he is an Anarchist. He sees the variety of disposition in men, and knows that this variety cannot be destroyed or governed; hence his claim for the liberty of the individual, which can only exist in society wherein there is no rule of individuals over others—in short, where there is "due opportunity free to everyone for the satisfaction of his needs."

On the question of how differences of opinion are to be settled, comrade Morris assures us that we should have to submit to authority, because "in such matters there must be give and take." With this last sentence I am in entire agreement with him. But I am not in agreement with him when he calls a mutual agreement the exercise of authority. Indeed the illustration of twelve men who are not in agreement with each other, but in the interest of the project in hand agree to sink certain differences—"give and take"—without the pressure of any outside authority, seems to me to be fatal to the position taken up by our comrade in this connection. What he has succeeded in giving a clear illustration to, is not the intervention of the exercise of authority in the settlement of different opinions, but a clear case of voluntary organisation—i.e., the Anarchist ideal, wherein authority does not enter; "that is," to use the words of our comrade, "the conscience of association voluntary accepted in the first instance." (The italics are mine.)

I do not forget the complexity of men's natures, nor do I deny the variety of their moods, but I do deny the right of "Philip sober" to rule the actions of "Philip drunk," however obnoxious that individual may be.

Now I am in entire agreement with our comrade when he points out the existence of the moral conscience lying somewhere beneath the skin of every man (Philip drunk) not excepted, and without which there can be no true society. It seems to me that in order to secure the widest operation of this inherent moral quality, society should be so constituted as to draw out and develop this aspiration, by affording each individual the means of satisfying his physical and mental needs, without the repression springing from any foreign agent restricting, by rule of force, the due development of men's desires and inclinations.

But it is vain for our comrade to tell us that he does not plead "for any form of arbitrary or unreasonable authority," while he justifies the rule of the majority. Besides, anything to which I cannot agree, to me at least is unreasonable; and if I am compelled to submit to the dictates of others, I become the victim of "arbitrary and unreasonable authority."

I notice that our comrade asks for the least possible exercise of authority, which betrays his dislike to it, and when he wrote this last demand his "moral conscience" beneath his skin was evidently pricking him; and it is quite evident, also, that when authority has for ever departed we shall not find comrade Morris among the mourners.

H. DAVIS.

William Morris, in continuing the discussion initiated by comrade Blackwell, says, "When you begin to qualify this assertion of the right to do as you please by adding 'as long as you don't interfere with other people's rights to do the same,' the exercise of some kind of authority becomes necessary." If by "authority" comrade Morris merely means, what also he thinks the Communist-Anarchists mean, a public conscience, I, individually, should have no objection to his statement. But in these discussions the word should, I think, be given a more restricted meaning. It should mean, in my opinion, the authority of compulsory representative institutions, such as parliaments, county and municipal councils, school boards, etc. With this meaning I should deny the necessity for the exercise of authority.

Very clearly there are two kinds of association, the voluntary and the compulsory; exemplified, the one by trade unions and the other by government, whether representative or otherwise; the one supported by voluntary contributions, the other by rates and taxes, neither more nor less than a compulsory service rendered to those who have the power to compel it. Of these two forms of association it is necessary, I think, to make a choice. The society of the future must be either of one or the other. If completely free, then it seems absurd to advocate parliamentary methods for its realisation. Our business should be to begin the destruction of the compulsory kind of association at once in all its forms; to withdraw from elections and to rely solely upon voluntary association for the realisation of a completely voluntary society. This free association is the only guarantee of the due observance of our equal liberty, now as in the future, and much might be done to hasten the advent of Anarchy, which is the final hope of even the State Socialists themselves, by a greater insistence on the rigid observance of this principle under existing conditions, and none the less because they are economically bad. Taking this course, we may reasonably hope that by the time all forms of compulsion, economic and political, which are at present the all-important ones, are ended, the William Morris of the future will not be called upon to endure the uglinesses of an excess of utilitarianism.

ANARCHIST.

NEWCASTLE RAILWAY MEN.—A large and enthusiastic demonstration was held at Newcastle Town Moor, on Sunday, by the railway men of the North Eastern Railway Company. The North-Eastern is a prosperous line; it pays six and a-quarter dividend, and its shares now stand at 173. The demonstration was held to advocate the following demands:—(1) That a ten hours per day system shall be the maximum for men in all departments. (2) That each day shall stand by itself. (3) That all overtime shall be paid at the rate of time and a-quarter, and Sunday duty at time and a-half. (4) That six days shall constitute a week's work. (5) That as far as practicable, promotion should be by seniority in all grades of the service. These are moderate enough in all conscience, and the men really ought to obtain them.



## LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## The Seamen's Strike.

is distinguished from most strikes among English workers by its peaceful incidents. The telegrams speak of determined action on the part of the men, who show no signs of faltering. At Liverpool last Wednesday men paraded the streets and hooted vigorously the offices of the shipping companies, which has always been one of the bitterest opponents of the seamen. The Seamen's Union has issued a notice threatening to expel any man from the society who may sign without permission of the union, even if the union wages are given, until all the masters concede the demand. This order has been made to compel all steamship owners to give the advance. The companies are forced to lay up their steamers, and one of them, the Cork Steamship Co., has invoked the power of the law in revenge for this action on the part of the union, by applying for summonses against eleven sailors and firemen, who had refused to proceed in their steamship *Sheldrak*. Of course the summonses were granted.

Good news comes the same day from Glasgow. Our readers know that the dockmen have joined the sailors and firemen in their strike. The Anchor Line engaged a hundred men in London to take the place of these labourers by the means of lying misrepresentation, so common with that ignoble beast of prey the capitalist. These poor men were told that the strike was practically over, and that during its continuance so many dockmen had left the harbour that there was not a sufficient number left to carry out the work. Directly they heard from the pickets the truth of the matter, all but two of them threw up their work, declining to aid the company in enslaving their fellows. A hundred men from Dundee also refused to work when they knew the circumstances of the case, and after eating a hearty meal at the union offices, returned home. Let none of us despair; this noble, this magnificent action on the part of those who have been the most ground down into the mire of poverty by the brutal system of to-day, shall inspire the most hopeless of us with renewed hope and courage. Remember these men, who prefer suffering the torture of hunger to aiding in trampling down their fellows, have given a proof of quiet heroism which should inspire all of us with renewed ardour in the great battle we are fighting.

At Dundee intense excitement prevails among the seamen, and the dock-labourers are also on strike. The men have assumed a most determined attitude. Several steamers are lying there without crews, but in some cases advanced wages have been given and the vessels have cleared the port.

On Thursday the men again paraded the streets at Liverpool, drawing with them a lorry, in the centre of which were two men dressed in white with red caps. Both were manacled, and represented white slaves. A little girl stood for Liberty, and sitting round the lorry were a number of men dressed in sailors' clothes and pretending to be in the throes of sea-sickness. These symbolised "dry-land sailors," the rats who had taken the place of the men on strike. The door of the Sailors' Home, which has been used as a crimping den by the capitalists, was placarded by an unknown hand with the words "The White-Slave Market."

Glasgow harbour was paraded on Thursday by 6,000 dock-labourers, to overawe men who wished to work on the ships. Whilst a van laden with beds and mattresses was going to the Anchor Line sheds, it was stopped, and its contents taken out and burned. The men threatened to throw the van into the water. The Seamen's Union has given £500 to the Labourers' Union. It is good to see that not only do the sailors and dockmen recognise the common brotherhood of labour, but they are also learning how "to put fear into the hearts of their enemies."

At Liverpool the next day the sailors and firemen stormed the Sailors' Home, where the masters were enlisting rats, and drove them from their holes. These animals made a hasty exit before the furious crowd of men. Despite the superintendent of the Mercantile Marine, who warned them against such "lawless proceedings," they refused to budge an inch, and declared their intention of not allowing a single rat to sign. They held the place till driven out by force by a strong body of police. They had to let the rats sneak by the back door. The shipowners of the ports between Hull and Berwick are forming a masters' association to fight the union. The Clyde shipowners have also formed another for the "legal" intimidation of their rebellious men. Five labourers have been arrested, charged with frightening rats. They have been liberated on bail.

The strike was continued at Liverpool on Saturday, and after the rebellious proceedings of the day before, the Mercantile Marine offices were guarded by extra police. Several of the leaders made speeches exhorting the strikers to hold out. From one end of the Mariners' Parade—a private passage alongside the Sailors' Home buildings—to the other a chalk line had been drawn, the words "Sailors this side" written on one side, and the word "Scabs" on the other. Of course in the presence of the strikers none dared to go on the scab side. A sailor has been fined 40s. for assaulting a scab, and the representative of law-'n'-order intimated that if a similar case came before him he should inflict a term of imprisonment without the option of a fine. The Clyde seamen, engineers, and firemen hold out bravely, despite the suffering caused by the length of the strike. The masters are importing large numbers of rats, though some of the men they have lured there under false pretences have thrown up their work. Several men have been arrested for "intimidation." So the battle goes on.

On Monday the news arrived that the strikers at Liverpool are daily becoming bolder. Despite the extra force of police, they have charged and routed a large number of rats. Matters are getting warm for these vermin, so warm that the shipowners are talking of placing a floating boarding-house for them in the river, to keep them safe and cool. In reply to some officials of the Board of Trade, the masters have stated that they were willing to grant the terms demanded by the men, but would submit to no "dictation" on the part of the union. How kind, how obliging! I wonder if they would have been so kind if the men had not got a union?

There was very little variation in the seamen's strike at Liverpool on Tuesday. The great steamship companies keep up their ring against the men, and have now been joined by the Inman Line, which has hitherto been favourable to the strikers. About 300 boiler-scalers have come out, in the hope of assisting the sailors. Three men have been sent to prison—two for a month and one for fourteen days—for assaulting scabs. Law-'n'-order has carried out its threat, and once more shown itself as the steady friend of capital.

Here is a little joke from Scotland: "The Clyde shipowners have addressed a memorial to the Home Secretary, drawing his attention to speeches made by Messrs. Cunninghame Graham and Keir Hardie, which they describe as inflammatory. The memorial states that matters are becoming serious.

Excited crowds patrol the streets, and violent and exciting speeches are made by the agitators. The Government are urged to take steps to protect the lives and property of those threatened." It appears that Keir Hardie and Cunninghame Graham have urged the strikers to take strong measures if necessary; and while the capitalists do not mind a wholesale massacre if by it they could drive the men back to their work, yet they have a strong objection to a brickbat if it comes too near their own precious persons. The battle is a desperate one, but the men may still conquer if they continue with the firm courage they have hitherto displayed.

The following is by an eye-witness of the seamen's strike: "If you want to find out the proper place for certain misplaced individuals, there is nothing like an emergency foreign to their experience for 'sizing' them. Last week, at the Broomielaw, Glasgow, a shipowner may have been seen working side by side with a returned convict. The puzzle there would be to find out the criminal. The struggle of the seamen and dock labourers against Moneybags still continues, the latter occasionally inducing men to come from a distance on false pretences, and the former waylaying and inducing their fellow-workmen to leave off work. Last week a dozen seamen who refused to work unless at the union rates were landed from Liverpool by a Clyde tug at Barremman Pier, on the Gareloch, and the men had not pennies enough on them to pay pier dues. The tug also went away without paying its dues. At a meeting of the labourers, on Saturday, Mr. McGhee criticised the remedy for low wages as laid down by Mrs. Elder (late of the firm which made the late Sir William Pearce a millionaire) in her Book of Cookery, and cited an instance where a penny bone with two gallons of water is given as a recipe for working men's wives to adopt in making a dinner where there is a large family. 'Why,' he asked 'should the shipbuilders of Fairfield and the shipowners of Glasgow be allowed to scrape off the beef and throw the bone to the workers?' And echo answers why? yet still the same old game goes on with all classes of masters and men.

## The Tram Slaves.

We are pleased to see that the Glasgow tram men have gained a victory which has been won like most victories by the courage and determination of the rank and file. Last Monday a large public meeting was held, which was addressed among others by Cunninghame Graham, who pointed out that "the tramway horses only worked four hours, and they were regarded as of a great more value than intelligent British workmen. The Glasgow Tramway Company paid 10 per cent., but that 10 per cent. was to shareholders like eating human flesh and drinking human blood." Throughout the meeting there were loud shouts of "Strike!" That little word, that very little but significant word, has had a good effect upon the directors, for a few days afterwards we hear that the masters have granted the reduction of hours demanded.

We wish the London men showed the same spirit. They must have learnt by this time that though they have shown, what milk-and-water politicians would call "a commendable moderation," yet it has profited them little. Even the gracious patronage of Conservative and Moderate Liberal M.P.'s, intent on vote-catching, doesn't prevent the men being sacked wholesale for the crime of "intimidating the directors" by presenting petitions and collecting union money. This fearful criminality is doubtless not sufficiently punished, in the opinion of these gentry, by the bitter starvation of these men and their families. These modern tyrants of capitalistic feudality would doubtless like to hang, draw, and quarter their wretched victims; but let me ask one question, "What becomes of your boasted freedom, Englishmen, when you can be turned into the streets to starve if you dare lift your voices complaining of the hardness of your lot?"

One tale is quite sufficient to illustrate the damnable tyranny of these modern slave-drivers. I clip this extract from the *Star*, which has done excellent service in fighting the cause of these men. Let Conductor Eke tell his own story:—"I was, he said, 'a member of the deputation to the manager. This morning there was a number of men—eight—called to the office. A foreman was asked if he intended to stick to the Union, and he said he did. Then he was told that he must not intimidate the other men. When I went in, they said, 'Well, Eke, you have given us a lot of trouble lately!'—'I don't know in what way I have caused trouble.' Then Eke told how he had, for five days out of eight, worked 17 hours from the Deptford yard. Of that 14 hours was on the car, two relief, and one the time taken in going from and returning home. Col. Davidson told him, 'You had better get your papers and go and work for some one else.' There's another criminal offence for you, 'going on a deputation to the manager,' and yet there is no slavery in England! You are all free labourers, workmen!"

The tram slaves should take courage. They have many to back them up, besides a host of M.P.'s at their back. They have now gained the valuable assistance of Mr. George Shipton, secretary of the London Trades' Council, with all his "blushing honours" gathered in the sugar bounty agitation "thick upon him." George holds forth in the following manner: "You may assure drivers and conductors employed on the London tramway systems of our earnest sympathy in their efforts to emancipate themselves from the hardships of their daily life. You have only to show a spirit of determination to organise in a solid trade union for the defence of your labour interests to ensure the practical as well as the material assistance of the 25,949 workmen who constitute our trades' council. It is imperative that the first step is to form and consolidate your union. The remedies for your just grievances will speedily follow, but unless you are well organised all your advantages, gained in a temporary enthusiasm, will soon be filched back by a remorseless system of capitalistic greed. Your cause is a just one, and if your men are faithful to themselves and their future they are ultimately sure to achieve an effectual and brilliant success."

That's good. "Capitalistic greed" is good. I suppose, however, that sugar capitalists were exceptions to the general rule, and that is why George lent them his ungrudging and unqualified support.

Meanwhile we earnestly recommend the advice of Mr. George Shipton to the tramway men. Organisation and determination will alone enable them to gain the victory, and not the gracious patronage of M.P.'s and noble lords who want to revive their waning popularity. Let them take courage. If they have that very Conservative body, the London Trades' Council, upon their side, they can surely depend upon the practical and material assistance of the other London workers. Let any more tyranny on the part of their slave-drivers be met by a strike—a general strike. The people will take good care that no cars manned by "scabs" shall pass through the popular districts, and their tyrants will quickly show, instead of their present bullying brutality, the most ignoble cowardice.

D. J. NICOLL

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, July 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, St. Georges East, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, and Leicester, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, June 25th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the *Weal*.

*Received*:—A Medical Student, 5s.

**Banner Fund** (East London Branch).—By collection, 9½d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 1s.; R. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 1s.; Kitz, 1s.; M. Rose, 1s.; B. W., 1s.; Webb, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; Nicoll, 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; J. Presburg, 6d.; C. Saunders, 2s.; and Oxford Branch, 2s. 6d.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Kilburn, Canterbury Road*—Brookes and Charles spoke here to a small but attentive and sympathetic audience; 8 *Weal* sold. *Wood Green, Jolly Butcher's Hill*—Rather a long and interesting meeting; some little discussion and opposition; Brookes and Blundell spoke. *Victoria Park*—An exceptionally good meeting on Sunday, which was kept going until 7.30, and addressed by Davis, McCormack, Cores, and Hicks; some opposition offered by a converted Jew on behalf of Christianity; good sale of papers. *Regents Park*—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Hill and Nicoll; collected 4s. 2d., and sale of *Weal* and pamphlets good.

**MITCHAM.**—A large meeting held on the Fair Green; a Christian foreman was very much upset at disparaging remarks upon the sacred memories of Shaftesbury and S. Morley, peer and capitalist; good sale of *Commonweal*.—F. K.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road at 11 a.m.; speakers were McCorde, Humphries (S.D.F.), Lynes, sen., and Dean; choir sang "Street Music" by Burrows. A good meeting held at William Street at 11.30; speakers were Tochatti, Mrs. Schack, Lynes, jun., Lynes, sen., and Crouch. At 7.30 p.m., we held a good meeting at Archer Street, Westbourne Grove; Lynes, sen., Maughan, Dean, Crouch, and Saint spoke; 86 *Commonweal* sold, and collected 5s. 3d.

**STREATHAM.**—An audience of 300 gathered at the Fountain, High Street, and listened attentively to an address by Kitz; *Commonweal* sold well. Next Sunday evening, at 7.30 prompt, we shall occupy our new station on the Common. The Streatham comrades will please turn up and help to start the meeting.—J. C.

**ST. GEORGES' EAST.**—The members turn up well at branch meetings, and it has been decided to open discussions after business is finished to bring out new speakers, as it is known we have latent talent among the members. A splendid meeting at Leman Street on Sunday morning, Davis and McCormack giving each an excellent address; 20 *Commonweal* sold, besides other literature.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 10th, a lecture by Patrick Geddes on "The Conditions of Progress" was read and discussed. At Woodside on Friday night, Cooper, Duncan, and Leatham addressed a meeting chiefly composed of outdoor workers.

**LEEDS.**—Our meetings last Sunday were a great success. Our ideas are permeating the workers to a large extent, as is proved by our large and interested audiences. Paylor, Maguire, and Hill spoke with great effect, urging upon the people the necessity of organisation, and deploring the fact that 200 "scab" workers have gone to Glasgow to take the places of the seamen on strike. We are making arrangements for a large demonstration in July.—A. M.

**LEICESTER.**—Proctor, of Nottingham, lectured here in the open air twice on Sunday last. Our Russell Square lecture was on "The Eight Hours' Movement." The attendance was moderate. In the evening, in Humberstone Gate, the lecture was on "Poverty: its Cause and Cure." The audience was much larger, and testified their satisfaction with the lecturer by their applause. No opposition was offered. 3s. 3d. worth of literature sold.—T. P. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—At Middleton, on Saturday night, Marshall and Baillie addressed the usual meeting. On Sunday afternoon a good meeting in Stevenson Square was addressed by Ritson, Barton, Marshall, and Parkinson. On Chester Road, at night, Barton, Marshall, and Baillie spoke to a fair audience. At Holt Town we held a meeting on Monday night.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday last comrade Samuels (London) paid us a visit, and addressed a successful meeting in the afternoon; audience very attentive; Samuels delivered a capital address. In the evening another good meeting was held in the open air; Darley opened the meeting; Samuels spoke at some considerable length, followed by Poynts; a number of questions were put to Samuels by a respectable in the crowd, and they were satisfactorily answered. Good sale of *Commonweal*.

**YARMOUTH.**—We held three meetings here on Sunday. In the morning comrade Samuels gave a very interesting address on "The Evolution of Society." Comrade Moore, of Norwich, followed. In the afternoon and evening, Ruffeld, Moore, and Reynolds spoke. 3s. 10½d. was collected, and sixteen *Commonweals* sold.—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday June 15th, J. A. Cree lectured on "Methods of Propaganda." A good discussion ensued, considerable discussion ensued, considerable difference with the opinions of the lecturer being expressed. King, Toomey, Smith, Frizelle, and Hamilton spoke.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—The club is progressing satisfactorily, both financially and numerically, and the work has necessitated an increase in the number of *Commonweals* taken. Open-air meeting in Market Square on Sunday, when Rooke, Peacock, and Hickling spoke to a large audience. *Commonweals* sold well.—R. F.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viad. June 23, at 8.30 p.m., J. F. McCormack will lecture on "A through the Provinces."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hack. Sunday June 23, at 9 p.m., A. Brooks, "Order without Law."

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 23, at 8.30 p.m., J. F. McCormack will lecture on "A through the Provinces."

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 8 o'clock. Thursday June 27th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday, French Class; at 8.30 sharp, Business Meeting and discussion.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—The Branch will meet temporarily in the Ram's Horn Assembly Hall, Ingram Street, every Thursday and Saturday evening at 8 o'clock, and on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class at comrade Hadley's every Friday at 8 p.m. *Commonweal* sold by Mr. Houes, newsagent, George Street.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 22.

7.30..... Hyde Park.....Charles, Samuels, and Presburg  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church.....Kitz and Nicoll  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste.....Brookes, Davis, and McCormack

SUNDAY 23.

11..... Latimer Road Station.....Maughan, Dean, and Lyne jun.  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk.....Brookes, McCormack, and Davis  
11.30..... Ellbrook Common.....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Hammersmith—Beardon Road.....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Hammersmith—William Street.....Lyne sen., Crouch, and Saint  
11.30..... Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms".....Mainwaring and Charles  
11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell.....Blundell and Turner  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green.....Mrs. Schack  
11.30..... Regent's Park.....Tochatti and Hill  
3.30..... Hyde Park.....Nicoll and Bullock  
5..... Victoria Park.....Davis and Brookes  
6.30..... Wood Green—Jolly Butchers Hill.....Larner and Turner  
7..... Clerkenwell Green.....Blundell  
7..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park.....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green.....The Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street.....Cores  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church.....The Branch  
8..... Hammersmith—Archer Street.....North Kensington Branch

TUESDAY 25.

8..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church.....The Branch

THURSDAY 27.

8..... Ossulton Street.....Kitz, Blundell, and Nicoll  
8.15..... Hoxton Church.....Charles and Blundell

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Bradwell** (near Yarmouth).—Monday evening.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m. Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Middleton Market Ground, Saturday at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30. Meetings will be addressed by C. W. Mowbray.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. A Meeting at Belton every Monday evening.

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. *Gallatoun and Dysart* (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. A.

**Paterson.** 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. *Kilmarnock*—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. *West Calder*—

Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**NEW LABOUR CLUB**, 5 Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green.—Thursday June 27th, William Morris, "Monopoly."

**NORTH LAMBETH LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, 108 Westminster Bridge Rd., S.E.—Sunday June 23, at 8.30, Geo. Bernard Shaw, "The True Radical Policy."

**LONDON ANARCHISTS'** open-air propaganda.—Sunday 23rd, Regent's Park, 11.30, Attersoll, Bonham, and Harragan on "No Rent." Hyde Park (near Marble Arch), at 6 p.m., Seymour and Paine, "Why are we Taxed?"

**LANCASHIRE.**—Meetings will be held on Friday 21st June in Rochdale, and on Saturday in Middleton; and a Demonstration will be held at Stevenson Square, Manchester, on Sunday 23rd. Speakers—Kitz, W. K. Hall (Salford), Leonard Hall (London), J. Marshall, J. Ritson, and others. Subject—"Why the Workers Live in Slums." Chairman—Parkinson. Time—3 p.m.

## ST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Socialists.** By William Morris. 1d
- Our Duty to the Trades' Relation to Socialism.** By William Morris (London Society of Composi- 1d
- Immune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Dave, and William Morris. 2d.
- Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.
- The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. 1d
- The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
- The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
- True and False Society.** By Wm. Morris. 1d.
- Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. 1d.
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 181.

SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE right of asylum is threatened in Switzerland; nay it seems pretty much as if it had come to an end, since Switzerland is so completely between the pincers of the great absolutist tyrannies. "Grief in your neighbours' garth is grief at your own door," says an old proverb of the North; so we may well look at home to see what is likely to happen here in case any spy-supported absolutist government finds it convenient to pick a quarrel with Great Britain. Truth to say, it seems improbable that there will be a recurrence of the indignation which the Bonapartist colonels stirred up here which cost the popular Palmerston his place. There is no doubt as to what the Tories and Liberals would say and do, judging by the reactionary *Standard* and shabby-respectable *Daily News*. Let us hope the *Star* really represents the opinions of the Radicals in this matter, and that they will remember their old traditions.

To make the world not only a prison, but an utterly hopeless prison, is the great ambition of these tyrants. After all, they are not likely to advance their ends by attacking what even political Radicals must think the very elements of liberty. They will find that the sweep of their net is too wide, and that their miraculous draught of fishes will make a hole in it.

A citizen complained of a nuisance, in the form of a stink, in a police-court the other day, and the whole subject was thought to be very funny, the magistrate (Mr. Plowden) leading off the laughter. We cannot tell from the report what the merits of this particular case might be; but we do know that a neighbourhood may be stunk out without a legal nuisance being established, which is indeed ridiculous enough, though not more ridiculous than most of our law. Perhaps the magistrate and his audience were laughing at English law in general. Or perhaps they thought it a preposterous joke that a well-to-do citizen should make a fuss about commerce annoying him with a mere stink when it murders so many poor people day by day. No doubt this is a joke, but I can't laugh at it. There is another explanation, which is that these laughers were such dullards that they had no conception that people might possibly restrain commerce so as to allow people to live decent lives. That also is no laughing matter.

W. M.

We don't care for commercial advertisements as a rule, but here is one that really merits some attention from us. We give it in full:

"THE UNEMPLOYED IN EAST LONDON.—At a time when much thought is being given to this matter, a practical suggestion may be of service. Last year more than £300,000 worth of foreign matches were purchased by inconsiderate consumers in this country, to the great injury of our own working people, so true is it that 'evil is wrought by want of thought, as well as want of heart.' If all consumers would purchase Bryant and May's matches, that firm would be enabled to pay £1,000 a-week more in wages."

One would have thought it would be no great hardship to our working people *not* to be employed by Bryant and May; and for our part we prefer the "evil wrought by the want of thought" than by the want of heart displayed by certain pious dividend-grabbing firms and their shareholders. Let us look at the great benefit bestowed upon the workers. If you spend £300,000 a-year upon Bryant and May, they will give their workers £52,000, and reckoning £48,000 for manufacturing expenses, the rest, £200,000 will go into the pockets of the dividend grabbers. All working people anxious to benefit Bryant and May's shareholders please buy their matches of that excellent firm. We will charge them nothing for this advertisement.

Last week appeared a short note in the *Commonweal* concerning the death of Arthur Meakin, poisoned while at work for his master at Nottingham with nitric acid gas.

Now it appears, according to an article and some correspondence that appeared in the *Daily News*, that an invention has been patented by a well-known inventor, M. Fleuss, by which all risk of such deaths could be guarded against. This invention, though admirable in every way, and not too expensive, has not found the slightest patronage

among the capitalist classes. There is no money to be made out of it. It would only save the insignificant lives of working-men, and that is not necessary. Should a workman be "carried off" by poisonous fumes, it is easy enough under the present beneficent system of commercial competition to find another to take his place. His death would only reduce the surplus population, and by lessening the number of the unemployed, who are likely in the near future to become dangerous, be a positive benefit to the "respectable classes."

These are your masters, workmen. These people with religion and humanity upon their lips, and the bitterest cruelty and hatred of their victims, the slaves of their splendour, in their hearts. They will not spend a single penny in an invention for saving human life, but let it be a machine for turning men in crowds upon the street, and desolating hundreds of homes by driving the wives of the workmen to prostitution and their children to beggary, while at the same time it fills the pockets of the employers with stolen wealth, then out come their guineas, and the capitalist rubs his hands gleefully at the prospect of riches which this invention will shower upon him.

Mr. John Morley surpassed himself in the House on Tuesday night. This "modern Radical," this philosophical prater of the worn-out cant of the Manchester school, did not alone trot out the dead doctrines of which he is truly a disciple, but took occasion to insult Cunningham Graham in a phrase full of the sneering snobbery so common among the "educated" middle classes. Why, a plain rough workman from the forge or the mill could not be guilty of such a piece of sneaking insult as that conveyed in the phrase "professional philanthropist." Luckily the insult falls back upon the mean politician who used it. Who are "professional philanthropists" but Mr. Morley and the party of which he is a representative. The worst of it is, they never get beyond the "professional" part of the business, and the people are pretty sick of that, as Mr. Morley will soon find out.

They talk of the encouragement which the present society gives to the inventor. Here is an example, a notice issued by a railway company which has found its way into the pages of the *Railway Review*, from which I take it. I give it in full:

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway,  
Engineer's Office, Manchester, June 4th, 1889.

Circular.

INVENTIONS BY OFFICERS AND SERVANTS OF THE COMPANY.

The directors have ordered that, in the event of patents being taken out by officers or servants of the company, the company is at liberty to use the inventions free of charge, unless the directors should, in any special case, decide otherwise.

Please sign and return to me the attached form, stating that you agree to these terms. WILLIAM HUNT, Chief Engineer.

Isn't this charming. Those who read 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' will remember that one of the most flagrant abuses of the old slave system arose from the fact, that any invention created by the ingenuity and intelligence of the slave was not his own property but that of his master. The directors of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway seem to be of an opinion that the slave system is still in full force. Perhaps they are not far wrong, especially in respect to their own line.

Slave-driving has always been common with railway companies, but it strikes the present writer as a perfect marvel of avaricious greed that a Lancashire mill-owner, who in the good old days worked little children to death to fill his pockets, might envy; to be not content by sweating a man for 14 or 16 hours a-day, but even to claim any invention that he might make during his "leisure."

Those people who believe in the moralisation of capitalists, might find a field for their exertions among the directors of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. They will have their work cut out for them.

D. N.

## THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE AND THE WORKING CLASSES.

WE hear a great deal just now of the energy, the progress, and the great services of the Primrose League. No one doubts the energy of the different Habitations, whether in urban or rural districts, and none can deny the wisdom they display in utilizing so largely the services of the female element in their work of propaganda. Like the Church of Rome, they know the value of female energy—of female devotion. When ladies of rank, as they are termed, are prepared to go from house to house and chat and shake hands with the wives and daughters of the working classes, such propaganda is not to be despised—it must be recognised. It is a danger not to be lost sight of. It is a force, a power, that must be combatted, and by similar means. We may laugh at it, but an organization that numbers its tens of thousands—over one hundred and thirty thousand enrolled members—cannot be ignored.

Let us, then, look at the kind of propaganda carried on by the dames of the Primrose League. In one of their magazines (June, 1888) we have a kind of programme, officially put forth, on page 1. There we are told that: "The principles and objects of the Primrose League are practically identical with those of the Tory Party." No thinking person ever doubted it; but there are many among the working classes who believe the principles and objects of the Primrose League to be something very different from those of the Tory Party—something far in advance of the old Tory rule.

But the very next sentence is a most remarkable one. It is, "The Tory party is the party of the people." What an astounding statement! What! The party of plunder; the party of blood, of rapine and murder, the wide world over? The party of oppression, of cold blooded massacres, through all the regions of the earth? The party of despotism in all its nakedness, of tyranny in every shape and form, the party of the people? What a monstrous perversion of historical fact; what a wilful misrepresentation of principle. Nevertheless, there are many men and women of the working classes who believe the statement, and who are amazed at the shortsightedness of those who do not accept it. We may laugh at the cool impudence of those who put forth the statement, but the statement is there, and the danger and our difficulty are in the fact of the mental darkness of so many of the workers who embrace it as true.

We are next told that the Primrose League is the largest political society in the world, and that it is "a society of men and women, each of whom undertakes to do all they can to defend and maintain: 1st, our religion; 2nd, the constitution of our country; 3rd, the safety and honour of Englishmen all over the world." To defend and maintain our holy religion. What a remarkable degree of simplicity or of mental blindness must characterise our Primrose dames, for them to go their rounds of house-to-house visitation, in defence of our holy religion! Of course it is only a cant phrase, by which is meant the archbishops and bishops, with the clerical army of twenty thousand white-throated black bats, who have a legal right to prey on the vitals of the people to the tune of ten millions a year. And then, the constitution of the country. Oh, happy thought. I will not say it came from "dreamland," oh, dear, no; but who can wonder at the audacity and occasional arrogance of our Primrose dames, when they look down from their lofty position as the defenders of our religion and the constitution of the country upon any poor mortal who even appears to doubt the veracity of their statements? As for the third part, it only means the safety and protection of our aristocrats while on their roving commissions or their plundering expeditions in foreign regions.

We are then told that "The objects of the Tory Party have been authoritatively declared to be: 1st, to maintain the institutions of the country; 2nd, the maintenance of the Empire; and 3rd, the elevation of the condition of the people." The first and third are a contradiction in terms, and the second an absurdity and impossibility. What are the institutions to be maintained? Royalty, with its million a-year out of the pockets of the workers, and its baneful influence on our relations with other countries; 2nd, the State Church, with its crowbar brigade, supported by batons, bullets, and bayonets, whenever its propensity to plunder meets with resistance; 3rd, the landed aristocracy, with its right to take at least two hundred millions a-year from the pockets of the people, supported if need be by all the forces of the Crown, the pulpit, and the press, with the help of bribery and corruption, and all the other resources of modern civilisation. Another is the sacredness of usury, which takes from the people at least three hundred millions per annum in the name and in virtue of the supremacy of brute force. Then we have another institution growing out of the present conditions of society, and the position of the mass of the population as mere wage-receivers, viz., the trading classes, who, according to Mulhall, have a stake in the country of the annual value of two hundred and forty-four millions. There are others to which I might refer.

In dealing with the programme of the Primrose League you can grasp the principle involved in all its fullness—despotism in all its nakedness; you cannot be misled, you cannot be deceived. It is not like the wishy-washy Socialism of some of our friends, who, like Sir W. Harcourt and many of the Moderates, are all Socialists now, although their so-called Socialism is nothing more than a species of contemptible Opportunism. Unlike our easy-chair-summer-pleasure-hunting-and-winter-campaigning Socialists, the Primrose dames know the need of organisation, and that to be consistent they must be de-

voted. Hence they go at once for the maintenance of present institutions, no mere steps in the "right" direction. With them there is no compromise; their task is to uphold the supremacy of our glorious constitution in Church and State, and they organise and prepare for the combat. Yes; to preserve existing institutions is their task of to-day.

Now all these are sacred, and form the glorious foundation of social order, without which society would fall to pieces and the poor workers doomed to perish. Whoever the writer of the statement of the principles and objects of the Primrose League may have been, nothing is more certain than that if existing institutions are maintained the condition of the people must remain what it is to day. Tory peers may promise, and Primrose dames may flatter and beguile, but so long as the reign of plunder lasts, the lot—the only possible lot—of the workers will be misery and poverty. It is logically impossible for it to be otherwise. If you take from the workers seventy or seventy-five per cent. of the wealth they produce by their labour, it is morally impossible for them to be otherwise than poor and degraded.

In all periods of agitation, especially in times of revolution, the political peddler is always with you. He is always present as a kind of marplot, as an apple of discord. By a little political tinkering he will get rid of political tyranny, and free us from departmental corruption and incapacity. By a grand display of social and economical patchwork, beautifully variegated, he will improve the condition of the workers and banish human misery. And those who cannot comprehend the sublime art of political tinkering, or the simple grandeur of social and economical patchwork, well, they are impracticable and therefore obstructionists. But all the Primrose dames in the world, assisted by all the *pro-Tory* penmen and orators of the age, will never make it possible to improve the condition of the mass of the people while the present institutions continue.

And then, what is royalty but an institution of barbarous origin, and whose great attraction lies in the barbaric splendour of its saturnalia. Why should it be retained? What is the church but an institution of the dark ages, a relic of the pride, the arrogance, the wild dreams and the still wilder notions of the priests of past ages. Why should it not be swept away, and the human soul freed from the idle hopes and childish fears engendered by a false, because a priest-directed system of education? And the aristocracy, why should it be retained? Emblem of all that is base and vicious, all that is villainous and revolting in human nature, a relic of the brutal tyranny of the middle ages; breathing, like royalty, an atmosphere of corruption, living on plunder, and representing only confiscation based on usurpation. Who dare defend it, who can wish for its continuance? As for usury, with its three hundred millions of yearly plunder, it is too monstrous to be defended and too villainous to be retained. All these and others arising from the ignorance and credulity of the past, the feudal tyranny of the middle ages, or resulting from our modern system of production and exchange, will be swept away by the coming Social Revolution.

Instead of political tinkering let us take our stand on principle, and let us never descend to compromise. Let us seek the abolition of tyranny in all its forms, and not its mere modification. And instead of wasting time in the impossible task of patching up our present rotten and degrading institutions, let us work consistently and devotedly for the triumph of Revolutionary Socialism, the only sure remedy for existing evils and the only hope of the down-trodden millions.

J. SKETCHLEY.

## PROVINCIAL PROPAGANDA.

COMRADES,—It has long been a complaint among many Socialists that we have given but little attention to the Provinces. This has mainly been the result not of a want of inclination on our part, but want of money. Feeling this, our comrade Mowbray some weeks ago drew up a plan for the propagation of our principles throughout the manufacturing and rural districts of England. This plan, after undergoing some important modifications, has been approved of by the Conference, the Council, and the Propaganda Committee. Speakers are to be sent to centres like Manchester, Leicester, Leeds, Newcastle, Birmingham, and Oxford, from which the surrounding districts can be worked with the aid of our friends in these large towns. It now remains for us all to do our utmost to further this good work by sending in subscriptions, for if only part of the programme is carried out it must result in a great benefit to our common cause.

Subscriptions will be acknowledged under the head of Provincial Propaganda Fund, and should be sent to D. J. NICOLL, Secretary of the Propaganda Committee, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

CAP MAKER'S SOCIETY.—It was by no means too soon that a Society was formed in this trade. The workmen as a rule work from seven in the morning to nine in the evening for a paltry wage of from 18s. to 20s. a-week, besides other inconveniences. There is a firm in Commercial Street kept by one Konigsberg; he employs about 200 hands. Last week a workman, T. Sugerman, handed in some work, and his master being dissatisfied with it boxed his ears. The man, fearing starvation, had to submit to it (the said Konigsberg is a very religious man); I could say more. The Society is progressing very satisfactory, the number of members being doubled in one week; this has had a good effect on the employers. Our meeting-place being too small, a change of address was found necessary. The members will now meet at the "Lord Vincent," Philpot Street, E., on Saturdays, at 4 p.m.—R.

## SCOTCH NOTES.

THE seamen's strike has been the chief matter of importance in the labour struggle here. The newspapers have daily given a full record of the progress of the strike throughout the country, but except at the docks and in the offices of the shipowners and shippers little or no interest is manifested in this great battle between capital and labour. Working-men as usual appear as ignorant and indifferent about the matter as though seamen and dock labourers were some obscure barbarous tribes, and the Clyde was a river in mid Africa. Indeed, I am certain that more working-men have read the recent account of Mr. Stanley's journey in the southern Soudan than have read the accounts of the strike of their fellow-workers in Britain. Scarcely a single newspaper expresses sympathy with the men—they mostly affect a neutral attitude. So powerful is the influence of the shipowners over the press, that even those newspapers which usually profess to be on the side of labour dare not avow sympathy with the demands of the strikers.

Shipowners advertise a great deal—and sometimes newspaper owners happen to be shipowners also.

Mr. Cunninghame Graham is the only member of Parliament who has ventured to champion the cause of the strikers. His speeches at Leith and Alva were very vigorous and very Socialistic. The newspapers are very angry with him, but they have to report him. Mr. Graham, since he has ventured to call himself a Socialist, has lost none of his popularity and none of his wit; and if he continues to speak as he has recently been doing, he will accomplish more for the salvation of the workers of Scotland than all the parliaments or members of parliaments have succeeded in doing during the last centuries!

The dock-labourers who have come out with the seamen and firemen here are not nearly so well provided for a strike as the seamen and firemen are. They are fighting, however, with extraordinary enthusiasm. Many of the poor fellows have been on picket duty for three days and nights at a stretch. A number of "scabs" imported from other towns have been obtained by the masters; but in many instances these have been induced to "come out," and have been sent home. This sending home of scabs has been a very serious drain upon the slender funds of the union.

The scabs have to be guarded as carefully as if every one of them was an Irish Chief Secretary. Few more wholesome sights could be seen than the terror of death that has been put upon these traitors.

A number of shipowners have conceded the advance demanded by the seamen and the labourers—notably the Messrs. McBrayne and Co. of the Highland steamers; but the great Channel and ocean companies have formed a shipowners' union, and have resolved not to yield.

Members of the Glasgow branches of the Socialist League and Social Democratic Federation have been very busy amongst the strikers, distributing literature and conversing with groups of men. Comrades Gilbert and Carr have been especially active in this way.

On Friday, June 14th, an incident occurred which illustrates the cowardice and stupidity, which seems to be characteristic of not a few of the paid organisers of trades' societies—men who appear to think that the chief object of trade organisations is the organisation of places of power and pay for themselves. A number of members of the League and myself were conversing with groups of men outside the Dock Labourer's Union office. A desire having been expressed by some of the dock labourers to hold a meeting with the view of hearing us speak, one of the officials—a Tory of old—seized a chair, and mounting it advised the crowd to have nothing whatever to do with the Socialists; the Socialists were not, he said, wanted there. At the same time he directed some ill-natured sneers at us. I insisted upon the right of being heard in reply, and in the course of a fifteen minutes address, maintained the principles of Socialism and the right of Socialists to speak to the workers on strike. During my speech there were frequent demonstrations of approval, and when I concluded it was manifest that the entire audience of some 2,000 men was in our favour, numbers of the men loudly complaining against the interference of the official. Afterwards the labourers fraternised with us more heartily than ever. It is highly improbable any one of the officials will again be so indiscreet as to assail Socialists before an audience of dock labourers.

In going amongst the Glasgow dock labourers one is impressed with the fact that the men are remarkably in earnest, and that if their funds would sustain them in existence at all they would compel their masters to surrender. They have come out on strike to a man. The "scabs" do not altogether number more than 200 or 300. Only a few ships have as yet been loaded or discharged since the strike began. But the funds of the men won't last.

The seamen's strike at Leith has already collapsed. There was dissension between the seamen and dock labourers there.

The tramway servants here have been advised not to strike in the meantime. Some concessions of advanced pay and reduced hours have been granted by the directors, and the leaders of the newly-formed Union think that it would be folly to strike until the society has funds to fall back upon.

A large number of riveters are still on strike in the Clyde shipyards for an advance of pay.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

**LEGAL MURDER.**—At the Brandon Petty Sessions on Thursday last week, George Gross, a gamekeeper to Colonel Mackenzie, was charged under section 2 of Poison to Flesh Prohibition Act, 1864, with unlawfully laying on a piece of land certain flesh or meat—namely, eggs—which had been impregnated with poison. The defendant placed a number of poisoned eggs in a plantation, and in the path of a gang of poachers, one of whom picked up an egg and sucked it, dying afterwards in great agony. The Bench dismissed the case, holding that the Act of Parliament "did not include eggs." Quite natural with a bench of game-preservers; but if a poacher had killed a gamekeeper even by accident, I wonder if he would have escaped without punishment?

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 6, 1889.

30	Sun.	1637. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton pilloried, cropped, and branded. 1794. Rev. W. Jackson tried for high treason. 1797. Parker (Nore mutineer) hanged. 1837. Pillories abolished. 1855. J. Silk Buckingham died. 1874. Pillgrimage of locked-out agricultural labourers began. 1882. A secret printing press of the <i>Wall of the People</i> seized in Moscow.
1	Mon.	1841. Darnes beheaded at Paris. 1867. T. F. Meagher drowned.
2	Tues.	1644. Battle of Marston Moor. 1774. Jean Jacques Rousseau died. 1784. Diderot died. 1846. Anti-Corn Law League dissolved. 1855. Agitation and rioting in London against the Sunday-trading Bill.
3	Wed.	1450. Jack Cade enters London. 1849. Oudinot enters Rome.
4	Thur.	1591. Henry Smith died. 1776. Declaration of Independence. 1777. Trial of John Horne for libel. 1798. Trial of J. and H. Sheares for high treason as United Irishmen. 1807. Garibaldi born. 1826. Oration containing a "Declaration of Mental Independence" delivered by Robert Owen in the Public Hall of New Harmony. 1839. Great meeting of Chartists in the Bull Ring, Birmingham, attacked by police, causing serious riot and conflict with the military. 1840. Third series (enlarged) of the <i>New Moral World</i> began at Leeds.
5	Fri.	1535. Sir Thomas More beheaded. 1798. Trial of John McCann, W. M. Byrne, and Oliver Bond for high treason as United Irishmen. 1816. Bilston colliers stopped at Maidenhead on their march to London. 1819. Large meeting of "Radical Reformers" at Stockport. 1882. Inauguration meeting of L.P.D.L. 1885. First General Conference of the Socialist League.
6	Sat.	1373. Huss born. 1415. Huss burnt. 1787. <i>Edit du Timbre</i> of Brienne promulgated. 1792. Reconciliatory scene in the French Assembly, derisively called <i>Baiser Lamourette</i> . 1813. Granville Sharp died. 1872. Baudouin and Rouilhac shot as Communards.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## SWITZERLAND.

The Iron Chancellor is again busily engaged in his devilish work of despotism, preparing a general invasion of the rights of those countries where a few liberties are still left to the peoples. At this very moment he is attempting to destroy the right of asylum for political refugees in the republic of Switzerland, and he is aided in this contemptible business by Austria, by Russia, and even by Italy. If Bismarck succeeds in Switzerland—and there cannot be any doubt about that—the independent existence of Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, etc., will also very soon be seriously imperilled, and despotism, under Bismarck's hegemony, will reign absolute and supreme. The crushing tyranny that has been set up at Berlin and, since 1878, prevails throughout Germany, is to spread all over the Continent and to rule every nation. The minor countries, if they are bullied by Bismarck, cannot possibly help themselves, as the actual case of Switzerland shows us well enough. France and England are the only European Powers that could interfere, but what have they done? The French press, of course, is sympathetic to Switzerland, but the bourgeois Government don't care very much whether Socialists should be expelled or not from Swiss territory. The English press, almost entirely got up for the interests of the capitalistic class, either openly approves of Bismarck's action or hypocritically weaves a few yards of disgusting prose in favour of those who are "rightly struggling to be free," which means in favour of shopkeepers, not of Socialists or of Anarchists, who are not *rightly* battling for freedom and equality. As for the Government, they know very well that a blow to Swiss liberty is at the same time a serious blow struck at the very heart of democracy all over Europe, and that is enough to fill Salisbury's soul with joy and delight. Switzerland, being isolated, and practically left alone to answer the threats of autocratic Germany, has not as yet gone so far as to refuse access to Swiss soil to any Socialist unprovided with credentials from his own Government, but at least she has already resolved to make a compromise of an extremely unfortunate character, namely, to appoint an "attorney-general of the confederated cantons, whose duty it will be to prosecute any Socialists or revolutionists, if by their acts they endanger international peace, or imperil the internal security of foreign countries." This first step in the way of concessions to the demands of the German Chancellor will unavoidably lead Switzerland to further acts of weakness and subservience, for it is obviously certain that this Swiss attorney-general will receive his briefs from Berlin. But why should Switzerland be left alone? If the Governments that could successfully interfere and defy Bismarck's murderous plans are loth to do so, why should not all the revolutionary democracies of Europe unite in an immense and determined protest against the nefarious man who tries to trample under foot and crush out of the world all those who happen to think and act better than he ever did? A good opportunity will soon arise. In the middle of next month representatives of several millions of revolutionary Socialists of various nationalities will meet together at Paris in order to discuss the real and vital interests of society at large, interests which they alone truly represent if indeed society is one day or other to become a vast community of free and equal and happy men, and why should not those representatives of the world's toil and wealth enter a most emphatic protest against the crimes daily perpetrated by Bismarck and his tools? By far the largest part of those who will attend the next International Revolutionary Socialist Congress have suffered imprisonment and exile for liberty's sake; is it not indeed in their hands that the cause of liberty shall be best placed? In a memorable sitting of the National Convention, the deputy Isnard once exclaimed, "If despotic kings continue engaging their peoples in levying war against free nations, we will persuade all peoples to wage war, and war to death, against all kings!" Times are drawing near when the same warning might possibly be uttered once more, to be followed by far more disastrous consequences both for the tyrants of society and those who help them in their abominable work of oppression.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN NEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 24.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Knights of Labor	SPAIN
Brotherhood	Vorbote	Barcelona—El Productor
Die Autonomie	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee—National Reformer	PORTUGAL
London—Freie Presse	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	Porto—A Revolta
Railway Review	San Jose—Pacific Union	GERMANY
Sozial Demokrat	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
NEW SOUTH WALES	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
Hamilton—Radical	Le Proletariat	HUNGARY
INDIA	La Revolte	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revue Socialiste	ROUMANIA
Madras—People's Friend	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Jassy—Muncitorul
UNITED STATES	Commentary—Le Socialiste	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	HOLLAND	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	Malmö—Arbetet
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Jewish Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Goteborg—Folkets Röst
Workmen's Advocate	Liege—L'Avenir	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Boston—Woman's Journal	ITALY	Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
Herald	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	

## THE VITAL QUESTION.

IN the present phase of the labour movement, the philosophic or argumentative aspect is most prominent. At least it is so in America. I am reluctant to say that the old spirit of devotion—the determination, desperate courage, and whole-souled anxiety to *work* in the cause—that fearlessness of conventionalism, and utter disregard of the opinions of the “respectable” element, which characterised the agitators of twelve, seven, and four years ago—have utterly died out. But these qualities are not conspicuous. The worker “with a job” is apathetic and obedient, for he doesn’t want to lose it; the man without one is discouraged, hopeless, enfeebled, his highest ambition to get a “steady position.” The one-time agitator who gave his time, strength, and pennies, almost day and night, looks on this strange dead quiet, and thinks for the time being he may as well be looking out for himself a little until the people are ready for him.

In the meantime the polite discussion of economic questions is becoming quite a “fad.” No first-class magazine is without its article on an industrial subject, by some high-sounding Prof., who knows nothing whatever of genuine work. No pulpit but devotes a Sunday now and then to the “labour question” and the “labouring classes.” No rostrum but is open to a dainty handling of the working-man’s cause, with kid gloves, and where now and then a bare-handed lover of truth walks in and shakes up their æsthetic nerves with a few wholesome criticisms. Debating societies, clubs, associations, where the air is redolent with “culture” and opulence, exist, whose members dive as deeply into the economic sea as though after a new idea in art or an old one in *bric-a-brac*. There are clubs which give weekly banquets, and where, over plates that are spread at a cost of five dollars a-head, they discuss “eight hours,” “single tax,” “free land,” and “wages” as glibly as though these things did not mean the destruction of their privileges.

Not long since, one of our oldest and ablest agitators had the floor on a question of labour in a society where Julius S. Grinnell presided as chairman! Such a fact either shows up mighty well for Grinnell or very bad for the agitator. I think many of our truest men and women *could not* speak and address that atrocious perjurer and murderer with calmness or patience on any subject.

The old time Radicals are in the meantime too much inclined to discussing different “schools of Socialism,” philosophic points of difference, definition of terms, and “hair-splitting.” A few have established a society with a creed almost as close as a close-communion Baptist’s, and all not subscribing to those principles have no right to call themselves Socialists, and “do so at their peril.”

Of course this general discussion of economic questions must result in good; a greater number of people will arrive at some inkling of the truth; but there is danger, under this veil of respectability and mild arrangement of societary wrongs, that the great *urgency* of the question, the *keen, living importance* of its settlement to all humanity, will be forgotten—glossed over with cultured conventionalism—lost in a labyrinth of ‘isms and abstractions. We may not all agree on the finely drawn differences as to what constitutes “personal liberty.” We may differ as to the efficacy of “eight hours,” “single tax,” “mutual bank,” or individual co-operative schemes. We may cherish lingering affections for the State, and hope it will yet steer us out of poverty and slavery; or we may be certain there is no hope as long as legalised Authority holds sway. But there are some things we can all agree on, and some we ought never for a moment to forget.

We all agree that the earth is for man; without it he must die. His birthright is as much of the natural elements as he needs; and when he is robbed of these and made to toil for his necessary share, he is robbed of so much of his life. We know that human labour applied to nature’s resources *alone* creates wealth. We know that the labourer is wronged when in every land he is poor, helpless, dependent, duped and enslaved, instead of being in the enjoyment of his productions, walking upright and free before his fellow-creatures. We know that his deplorable condition is due to established and lawful systems in society, continuous methods, ever increasing in disproportionate results, recognised and accepted ways and means of production and distribution. We know that the present standard of right, which does not recognise every man’s need and right to the land, nor to the full results of his labour, is working most terrible suffering among the human race, when there is literally no excuse for poverty on the face of the bountiful earth. We all know, but we do not realise it, that all the boasted advantages of civilisation are obtained at a fearful cost of human suffering.

And *this* is what we ought never to forget.

If we are comfortable—shut up in cosy rooms away from wan and hungry faces, we can easily discuss tweedledee and tweedledum. The bricks of houses do not show the drops of blood from little children’s rasped arms that carried them. The coal that burns so cheerily in the grates bears no mark of the drudgery and agony of men and women’s lives, the wasted youth of hopeless children; nor do the ghosts of the dead, sacrificed in its procuring, peer out from the blue dancing flames. The comfortable clothing we wear carries no stain of the tears dropped from weary eyes at midnight, the stitches tell no tales of the worn lives and faded youth sewn into the seams.

Our cosy tea-table bears no mark of the gambler’s art; the crisp leaves tell no story of the farmer’s unrequited toil, his mortgaged farm, nor of the bursting elevators and full bank vaults of “brokers,” manipulators of the world’s food. Sitting quietly at home, we realise nothing of the many men wandering homeless, hopeless, friendless; of the uncared youth, to whom no pathway is open but the road to crime and prison life; of the hungry children, whose wan pleading faces seem asking why they were born to suffer so.

But, bringing these dismal facts home to ourselves, I do not mean that we should be charitable—go out and feed a few hungry people, or save one or two boys from jail; if we did this we but make room for more. The causes beneath the surface of society continuously produce such results; the seething pool of injustice and corruption is constantly making wrecks of human beings, and casting them up as mere driftwood. The whole of societary arrangements must be changed, and soon, or civilisation will go backward. While we are philosophising, the most terrible suffering is going on; the degraded are becoming more degraded, the poor poorer, and the ruling classes wealthier and more greedy.

It is well enough to cry “Patience!” when you are not in the fire. One can wait for the slow growth of better conditions if one is never hungry; but how can we look out upon the gaunt, woeful, hardening faces that peer at us from the highways and byways, from dark cellars, from factory doors, and from frightful mining shafts, and still cry “Patience!”? How can we *feel* “patient,” when knowing that this repressed, smothered, smoothed-over crater of wrong, suffering, and discontent, must burst forth into more terrible ebullitions than anything the world has ever seen if the present course is pursued?

The only hope there is, is that a general sense of “danger” may be infused among intelligent people; there is little time for waiting, for patience, or for philosophising. Not that I would stop the discussion of economic subjects, be they discussed ever so mildly and politely; but I would urge upon the already converted the necessity of more determination, more zeal for work, more of the spirit of self-sacrifice, less regard for respectable and conventional observances, and more for the truth, and a keener sense of the importance of *the vital question*.

LIZZIE M. S. HOLMES.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

THOMAS K. SNYDER, the policeman who, during the late strike of the tram-car employes in New York City, shot at and killed a striker, has been presented by some law-abiding people with a medal as a token of their admiration for his "heroic" deed. The medal was fastened to the lapel of his coat by Col. Elliott F. Shepard, the pious editor of the *Mail and Express* newspaper, son-in-law of the late W. H. Vanderbilt, and a lay preacher, who acted as chairman of the presentation committee. The medal is nearly a quarter of an inch thick and two inches in diameter, and is made of solid gold. On the bar from which it is suspended is inscribed, "Thomas K. Snyder," and on the medal itself, "N. Y. Municipal Police, February 5th, 1889. Fearless—Decisive—Successful." In the centre is set a two and a half carat diamond. It is said that Col. Shepard took for the subject of his next sermon the text, "Blessed be the poor, for they do get enabled to enjoy the blessings of heaven; and blessed be the police, for unto them the Almighty Dollar gives their due reward."

The police monument in Chicago in commemoration of the 4th of May, 1886, has at last been unveiled. It consists of a pedestal, to the right and left of which are attached gas candelabres. On the top stands a policeman over life-size, with drawn club and in an attitude clearly conveying to every onlooker every policeman's ideal: "It's a fine day, and I'm going to kill something." To the pedestal is fastened a marble slab, with the inscription, "In the name of the people of Illinois, I command peace." Rather a queer way to command peace, it must be confessed, if all the circumstances of the historic incident are recollected—200 law-and-order lambs advancing with swinging clubs and cocked revolvers on a peaceable meeting of working-men and ordering them to disperse. It looks more like premeditated murder, and that is what it was in truth. Young Degan, a son of policeman Degan who was killed by the bomb, performed the unveiling ceremony on the 29th of May. The monument is situated on the famous Haymarket. The whole affair fell exceedingly flat; no more than about five hundred persons could be got together for the occasion, most of whom were of a juvenile age. The "law-and-order" bullies have got their monument of stone; it took them a long time and much begging to get it. "Our Five" need no monument of stone nor of bronze nor of marble; their memory will be ever green as long as liberty-loving people are in existence. Would the police like to swap position?

Poor Captain Michael J. Schaack! He was not permitted to enjoy the sweets of office very long. On the 4th of June he was dismissed from the Chicago police force for neglect of duty and wilful disobedience of orders. He got himself mixed up in the Cronin mystery and tried to shield, of course against a heavy compensation in cash, his old friend and protector Alexander Sullivan, one of the dictators of the Parnellite movement over here. Sullivan is strongly suspected of having had a hand in the "removal" of the unfortunate Cronin. Schaack coolly admitted in his evidence before the coroner's jury that "he had suppressed testimony; that he had never entered into the case with any enthusiasm; that he had made many mistakes; and that he had been guilty of disobedience." It's somewhat strange that poor Mike was disciplined for such paltry reasons. He might well ask, Are the people losing faith in "law-and-order," that the authorities do not mind sacking so quickly a high police officer for what after all is committed every day by every official protector of "law-and-order"? But then perhaps Schaack wanted to go. He has found a new occupation since he joined the literary gents. This well-bred and highly refined ex-policeman, who is reported to be able, with plenty of time, plenty of ink, and plenty of paper at his disposal, to paint his signature, has written a book numbering seven hundred pages, entitled 'Anarchy and the Anarchists; a History of the Red Spectre and of the Social Revolution in America and in Europe.' The book is compiled in the style of the average penny horrible, and intended to make every bourgeois shiver in his shoes. As the Anarchists scare is about played out, Mike's literary botch may prove a drug in the market, and he had better return again to Wisconsin and re-start cultivating cabbages.

The miners on strike in Indiana are in a bad condition. Over 9,000 people are on the verge of starvation. The women are selling their wedding-rings and other little treasures, whilst the fathers are disposing of the trinkets of their children to get bread to keep them from starving. All of their furniture and more substantial belongings have been sold weeks ago. The miners have been out since May 1, and have been refused all offers to arbitrate and to settle their differences with the operators. For the past five years the maximum wages received by the men have been five dollars a-week. However, as Laurence Gronlund, writing in the capitalist press, puts it, "For after all the American nation remains a brotherhood of men." Reading this, who is not reminded of G. B. Shaw's description of brotherly love: "I believe that if Moses, instead of being a founding, brought up as the pet of a princess, had had practical experience of brothers, he would have said, 'Sirs, ye are brethren, therefore ye do wrong one to another.'"

It is a pitiful sight to see one who claims to be a Socialist lower himself so much, and to become the lickspittle of that coarse, repulsive imposture, the American Republic.

Incredible and exaggerated as it may appear at first impulse to some sentimental people, yet at the bottom of that horrible disaster at Johnstown can be discerned the social question. A gang of vulgar thieves, people who have grown wealthy on stealing the fruits of some other people's toil, founded in Pittsburgh the South Fork Hunting and Fishing Club. They leased from the Pennsylvania Railroad for sporting purposes the huge reservoir the breaking of whose dams caused all the loss of life. Never for one moment did these marauders consider that their means of pleasure formed a standing danger to thousands of human beings. Why should they? Were they not independent, respectable gentlemen? They showed the utmost criminal negligence in the construction of the dams, in their maintenance, their management, their repairs, and the keeping of the gates. The dams were built of clay, instead of stone. They contained a body of water far beyond the strength of the construction. The leaks were "stopped" with straw. The gates were completely clogged with stone. Time upon time the club members were memorialised upon the condition of the dams. They were asked to do something. But why should they? Happily they live in a Christian country, where everybody is for himself and the devil takes the hindmost. They had their pleasure, and what concern was the safety of other people to them? A dam broke. The artificial flood killed 8,000 people, destroyed 30 millions of property, and rendered about 20,000 more people homeless. Wasn't there an outcry of righteous and just wrath throughout all America against the conduct of these sportsmen? Oh, dear, no. Trust your Yankee! Every American found the behaviour of these rich people in all respects correct. Why should he not? No member of that club ever

disturbed "law-and-order." They never questioned the correctness and the justice of the system which rules our actions and our fate. If they had, there would have been plenty of reasons for hanging them. But in their case—well, after all, if we come to think of it, they do deserve some consideration for their heavy loss. Let us get up a public subscription for their sole benefit, and let us buy for them some medals, golden medals, with a diamond in the centre, and with the inscription "Fearless," for they never feared for their reservoir, "Decisive," for they sternly rejected all memorials for the safety of the people, "Successful," for they killed something.

It is reported that some poor Hungarians, bearing the truly Hungarian names of Brown, Jones, and Smith, were caught robbing some of the dead. All America trembled with indignation at these vandalistic outrages. The black criminals were lynched on the spot. Serve them right. What right has a poor person to steal? It's vulgar to steal so that you can fill your belly; it's cultured and refined to "accumulate" millions. And robbing the dead, horrible—the dead who have so much use for silver dollars and golden rings and diamond bracelets! And right surely is the Rev. T. de Witt Talmage, the Spurgeon of America, in advising all honest folk that "those who have been guilty of robbing the dead should be hanged or shot without judge, jury, or trial." Truly a kind Christian spirit!

Some readers may think I am joking. I have never been more earnest in my life. Just read these newspaper cuttings:—

"There is no possibility of exacting an adequate penalty in the way of damages or retribution, even if it were practicable to clearly fix the responsibility for this calamity. Nothing would be gained by the sacrifice of a few more human lives, while few, if any, individuals would have the means necessary to make indemnification for the financial losses that have been sustained, to say nothing of those lives which no money payment can make good. But the disaster will be without its proper lesson if it does not lead to the examination of other dams."—*Boston Morning Journal*.

"If, therefore, it shall be shown that the Johnstown disaster was due to negligence and might have been averted by due care, both a civil and a criminal liability will fall upon those guilty of the negligence. That is the legal, the theoretical view of the case. But what will it amount to practically in view of the fact that ten thousand lives and seventy millions of property have been destroyed? What penalty can atone for this great loss? What civil remedy can repair the vast damage."—*New York Herald*.

"It is rather severe to lay the blame for the sad disaster at Johnstown on the members of the South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club, who owned the defective dam. They may have been culpable for allowing such a structure to exist, and the State authorities may be blamed for the same reason; but that they ever dreamed they were jeopardising the lives of the people in the valley of the Conemaugh isn't to be thought of for a moment."—*Boston Herald*.

"JOHNSTOWN, Pa., June 6, 1889. There will be no inquest held on the bodies of the thousands of residents of the Conemaugh valley who lost their lives. The law of the State does not require such an investigation, and the responsibility of the disaster, which can be directly charged to the insecure wall which held the water of the Conemaugh lake, will never be legally determined, unless the survivors should take independent action. All reports that arrangements for an inquest had been commenced are untrue."—*A Telegram*.

And how comforting is this philosophy of the *New York World*:

"There is no danger of an unsafe dam, or probably any dam at all, being again built at Conemaugh Lake. . . . However true it may be that a spiritual advancement of the race has been secured through the blood of martyrs, there is no question that much material wisdom has been gained only through the sacrifice of countless lives. Hundreds of victims were burned to death in railroad accidents before the abolition of the car stove was inaugurated. And more yet will, no doubt, be required to stop its use generally throughout the country. . . ."

These are only a few examples. Through the whole capitalistic press runs but one desire: To shield the murderers.

My respect for the human character has been lowered considerably in consequence of this event. If some of the surviving relatives of the drowned had rushed on to Pittsburgh and shot or hanged or kicked some of these millionaire murderers, I should have considered such action reasonable and just, aye, even praiseworthy. Yes, if the criminals had been some poor people or rebels against "law-and-order," they would now be suspended from some cross-beam, indicate how the wind blows in this glorious Republic, you bet, dear reader; and yet, "For after all the American nation remains a brotherhood of men!"

The charitable spirit now stalks through the land. The power behind the throne of this charity may be ascertained when we ponder over the words this nation's chief executive magistrate spoke during a meeting over which he presided in Washington: "I think I am in duty bound to myself and to you to state right here that I myself have already subscribed five hundred dollars for the relief of the sufferers in Johnstown." If one gets a good advertisement for one's moral character, one may as well subscribe some money to a charity. And as a result plenty of money is coming in. To relieve the sufferers? Will they get the mamon? I guess not. All the solid business men in good standing from Pittsburgh, from Philadelphia, from New York, and so on, have departed for Johnstown to superintend the proper distribution of the money; and properly distributed it will be, any one can take his oath on that, and some people's banking accounts will swell considerably. It's perfectly sickening to live in America, the hell of creation.

There were 75 strikes, involving 26,186 employees, reported to *Bradstreets* during May, 1889.

Boston, Mass., June 12, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

The miners of Lancashire have obtained from their owners on Wednesday, June 19th, the same terms as those already obtained by the Yorkshire men, namely, an advance of 5 per cent. on July 1st, and another 5 per cent. on October 1st. This is a compromise on the original demand of 10 per cent.

WAGES IN THE LACE TRADE.—Two of the three branches—are on the verge of a desperate struggle with the masters. The latter, on the bogus plea that 70 per cent. less is paid in the outlying districts, seek to reduce wages in the curtain branch by 40 per cent. and in the levers branch by from 15 to 25 per cent. A mass meeting of lace hands was held in the Mechanics Large Hall on Saturday afternoon, and it was unanimously resolved to approve of the action of the Trade Council in refusing to entertain the question of a reduction. The spirit of the meeting was excellent, and only deepened a regret that so few of them were alive to the necessity of constant warfare on the capitalist or to the knowledge that there is "no other name under heaven than Socialism whereby they may be saved."—R. P.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Seamen's Strike.

The battle still continues, though it has entered a phase which lacks the vivid interest of the incidents of last week. This is mainly owing to the precautions taken by the authorities to preserve "the freedom of labour"—that is, the freedom of the scabs to cut the throats of the strikers. It has now, however, become impossible for the men, thanks to strong force of police concentrated in the neighbourhood of the docks, to prevent the scabs from playing the game of the masters. The strikers, however, are still very hopeful of victory, although the Government declare that the Board of trade has no power to interfere in regard to the manning of vessels with incompetent crews. People who travel by such vessels must take their lives in their hands and be content to run the risk of drowning. A paternal government can do nothing in their behalf.

Some exciting incidents occurred at Glasgow on June 17, which have not yet been chronicled in our columns. On Monday evening, it appears that half a dozen scabs were got into a couple of cabs to be taken from Allan Line offices to the company's docks. While the cabs were standing at the door of the offices a labourer rushed from the crowd and tried to drag the scabs from the vehicles. He was immediately seized by the police, and handled in the usual brutal fashion. Mr. Smith Park, freight manager to Messrs. Allan, came out to encourage the police, and called out to keep hold of their victim. A number of the strikers immediately "went for" Mr. Smith Park, and in common parlance he "got it hot." The poor gentleman's head was cut open, and it is probable that he will not encourage the police to arrest strikers for some time to come. A man was arrested by the police who, according to them, had committed this assault. On their way to the station an attempt was made to rescue him, and in the struggle a constable had his face cut open and Mr. Park was again assaulted. However, the police being reinforced, were enabled to keep their prisoner and succeeded in making another arrest, afterwards reaching the station with both their prisoners. These incidents I have given to show how bitter is the feeling of the men against both the scabs and their tyrannical masters.

A number of men have been heavily fined for intimidation during the past week. How slight the intimidation is in most cases may be seen by the following case, taken from the *Glasgow Evening Citizen*:—James Muir was remitted to the Sheriff, from the Southern Police-court to-day, on a charge of intimidating a man named James Whally, who was being driven down King Street in a cab on the 15th. Whally was on his way to the harbour, and Muir, it is alleged, caught the horse by the head, looked into the cab, and asked Whally where he was going. If this is remitted to the sheriff as "a serious case," how slight must be the offences which the magistrates have dealt with.

Some of our readers must have been astonished at hearing from our Glasgow correspondent that the capitalists were engaged in useful work in company with convicts. This was made necessary by the strike of the dock labourers, which forced them to unload vessels laden with perishable goods. Here is an account from the *North British Daily Mail* of the honest work done under these circumstances by members of the idle classes: "One gang consisted of young men, most of whom wore trousers *a la mode* and suitable to the season of the year, while in some cases coats and vests were cast, displaying to the gaze of wondering crowds newly laundered white shirts. Managers, checkers, and foremen were, as on Monday, assisting in the discharging and loading work. A captain of a boat was observed battling with a cargo of pig-iron along with a few cattle-men. A section of the fair passengers on board of the 'Prussian' had also greatly amused the labourers when they ungloved and began to shovel coal." This solves the problem of providing work for the capitalists after the revolution; we can give them a job as dock labourers. I confess I should have liked to see the middle-class damsels shovelling coal! It is marvellous what good qualities emergencies will produce among idle people.

Things were a little lively a few days back. A scab crew were working on the steamer *Fintera*, when a number of strikers swooped down upon it, scattered the scabs, and took possession of the steamer. The strikers held the steamer for some time, till the police arriving in strong force, the strikers abandoned the vessel. Both at Glasgow and Liverpool the strikers hold out firmly and have strong hopes of victory, despite the lying reports circulated by the capitalist press.

### The Tram Slaves.

The slave-drivers have slightly changed their policy; they now treat their men like children, a sugar-plum in one hand and a cane in the other. While they have sacked men for joining the union that policy has not succeeded in breaking it up, so they are now trying the effect of some trifling concessions. On the Greenwich road the six journeys a day system has been abandoned for the five journeys asked by the men. This may indicate a coming surrender, and the men should take courage and not be content with this sop to Cerberus, but insist on their full demands. Among those dismissed have been five of those who were most prominent in forming the union. We are glad to hear that all those discharged have been engaged by Mr. Hansford, the secretary of the union, in the heavy work of organisation, and will be fairly paid for their work. We hope, however, that none of the men who have been discharged will be forgotten by their comrades. The tram men should remember the action of Bryant and May's girls, who all struck work sooner than let any of their comrades suffer starvation for the common cause, and their courage received its reward in a complete victory. The men should remember that a strike is their trump card, and it is only fear of it that has wrung from the directors even the present mild concessions.

Meanwhile, the union is spreading. The West Metropolitan Tramway men held a meeting at the Mission Hall, Chiswick, early on Thursday morning. There were a small number of officials present under the leadership of Mr. Gayner, the manager, who did their best to create a disturbance in the interests of law 'n' order. They were also useful in finding out for the Company what men were present and who were the most active. Despite all this an amendment moved by the manager, to the effect that men were satisfied with their kind treatment by the Company, only got the support of the gang of officials, who came for the express purpose of voting for it, and a resolution declaring for the formation of a branch of the union was carried amid loud applause. The officials of the Company present at the meeting were Mr. Gayner, the manager, Inspectors Ling, McDonald, Shortland, and Berge; Fairman, clerk; and Ross and Mackay, foremen. What

were these people there for, if it was not to intimidate the men who are struggling for some slight instalment of justice? But we don't hear of any of these clerks, managers, and foremen getting 40s. or a month. Who can doubt after this that our laws are passed in the interest of the class that made them, the aristocracy of capital?

The newspaper reports which led comrade Nicoll in his article last week to state that the Glasgow Tramway directors had conceded the demands of the men were, as usual, incorrect. As a matter of fact, while the secretary of the company, Mr. Duncan, has several times publicly stated that the hours have been reduced to an average of twelve hours a-day, the men themselves report that in many cases the men have still to work fifteen and sixteen hours, while the authorised advance of wages is simply a piece of barefaced public deception. The men were very anxious to strike; but Mr. Chisholm-Robertson, their chairman, strongly opposed that course, as he knew the company were prepared to replace the strikers at a moment's notice, while the funds of the union, which is just being formed, would be totally inadequate to maintain the men during a conflict. The Glasgow Trades Council have appointed a sub-committee to arrange a great demonstration on the Green, for the purpose of demanding that the Town Council should take over the tramways on the impending expiry of the company's lease. As this sub-committee is under the convenership of George Carson, a member of the Socialist League and late president of the Trades Council, we may expect that something "practical" will be done. Last Sunday a meeting of the tramway men was held in the Albion Halls, which was addressed by Mr. Conybeare, M.P. Mr. Conybeare's speech was a most disappointing one, his advice not rising above the average trades union level, in this respect contrasting very unfavourably with the vigorous Socialistic utterances of Mr. Cunningham Graham. It was resolved that a petition should be sent by the men to the half-yearly meeting of the shareholders which will be held early next month, and that meanwhile the men endeavour to strengthen their union as much as possible. A number of the members of the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League were present, and distributed the leaflet "Tram-car Slavery" amongst the men, which we hope will give them a higher purpose and hope that the mere reduction of their hours from sixteen to twelve and an increase of 2s. on their weekly pay.

### The Northumberland and Durham Miners.

The ballot by Northumberland miners has resulted in the acceptance of the 5 per cent. advance recently offered as a compromise of the general demand for 10 per cent. The Durham miners are holding out for an advance of 25 per cent. The feeling is that the masters may offer 10 per cent., but the men continue to agitate for the full amount, and, the sliding scale terminating, the position is serious, 20,000 men being involved. Here is an instance of what we must call the lamentable disunion among trades' unionists. Here are two bodies of workers living practically in the same district, working under similar conditions, and yet they cannot make a uniform demand for an increase in wages. The Northumberland miners ask for 10 per cent. and take 5, and the Durham miners ask for 25 per cent. and hope to take 10. The result probably will be that the Durham miners will have to put up with the very moderate concession accepted by the Northumberland men. Why cannot all the miner's unions federate, and act in a solid body? They would then carry all before them. The position would be "serious" then, not for the men but for the masters.

**GLASGOW CARTERS WILL STRIKE.**—The labour troubles in Scotland are threatened with another serious augmentation. The carters of Glasgow have resolved to be allowed time to eat their meals—a carter must eat—and to be paid overtime after six o'clock. The masters refuse this, but instead offer an advance of 2s. per week. The men won't accept that offer, and will insist upon their meal hours and overtime; and if that be not granted the carters' strike is set down for July 2nd.

**STRIKE AT KILSYTH.**—The handloom weavers at Kilsyth are out on strike for an advance of wages. It is alleged they are at present paid at the rate of 20 per cent. less than those employed at Kirkintilloch in the same class of work. The operatives are mostly girls and women, with a few men. They are very industrious, but after working from early morn till late eve, the highest wage the strongest can make, after loom rent, coals, gas, tallow, etc., are deducted, is about 8s. per week. They are noted for being a well-behaved and intelligent people, and their employer is a "good Liberal," who takes an active part in politics, and yet they are not content. But even a worm will turn, and the Kilsyth weavers' strike is but a symptom of how deep the revolt is in canny Scotland against what Cunningham Graham calls "political humbug." Why does the factory inspector not visit Kilsyth?

### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING-MEN'S CONGRESS.

We have received a notice from our comrade Paul Lafargue, 60, Avenue de Champs Elysees, Le Perreux, Seine, France, inviting all delegates to send in their names to him at once, so that due arrangements may be made as to their lodging. The cost of living will be from 5s. to 6s. per diem not counting extras. It is hoped that delegates will be at Paris on the 13th. The first sitting of the Congress will be on the afternoon of the 14th, so as to enable the delegates to take part in the national fête.

Members wishing to go with a party of the Socialist League, leaving Saturday, July 13th, for Paris Congress, should communicate with secretary at once, so that sufficient accommodation may be provided. We hear that Auguste Coulon will represent the Dublin Socialist Club.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Banner Fund** (East London Branch).—Comrades and friends desirous of assisting this branch to purchase banner will please send on subscriptions to M. Matthews, 95, Boston Street, Hackney Road. Received:—Mrs. Schack, 1s. 3d.; by collection, 9d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.



**"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.**

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Webb, 1s.; Perrier, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; C. Saunders, 1s.; and Wess, 1s. Norwich, 1s.

**REPORTS.**

**CLERKENWELL.**—Good meeting on Green, addressed by Hill and Blundell. In hall, J. McCormack gave an interesting account of "A Socialist's Tramp through the Provinces." Several persons present, who admitted that they were not Socialists, testified to the accuracy of lecturer's statement with regard to the condition of the poor and their bad dwellings.—B.

**EAST LONDON.**—At Gibraltar Walk on Sunday, a good meeting was addressed by Parker, McCormack, and Brookes; 10 *Commonweal* sold. At 5 o'clock in Victoria Park, a splendid meeting was started under exceptionally difficult circumstances, owing to a meeting of teetotallers taking place in our immediate vicinity; Brookes opened the meeting, but when McCormack began to speak some spirited opposition was offered by our temperance friends. An unknown friend and comrade also spoke on our behalf, and was loudly applauded; Davis then replied, and the meeting was brought to a close at 8 o'clock; 30 *Commonweal* sold. At our branch room at 9.30, Brookes lectured on "Order without Law" to a small but attentive audience; good discussion on marriage question, which arose out of the lecture; Davis promised to deal with this question in a few week's time.

**HYDE PARK.**—A good meeting was held here last Saturday evening at eight o'clock, when Samuels, Davis, Cores, Humphries, Hill, and Furlough (S.D.F.) addressed a very fair audience; we had some opposition from a Gladstonian, and a lively discussion followed which lasted over three hours; 2s. collected.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday, Mrs. Schack spoke to a fair and attentive audience. One good Conservative hardly believed his eyes, for he put his spectacles on when he saw Mrs. Schack speaking, and he was only kept quiet by our comrades. The speakers will please notice the importance of advertising the paper, as it improves the sale considerably.—G.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Tochatti, Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., Saint, Dean, and Maughan; 9 new members made and 2s. 3d. collected; three ministers at the meeting. At 7.30, an excellent meeting was held at Archer Street, when Lyne, sen., Tochatti, Maughan, Dean, and Saint spoke; choir sang and 1s. 10d. collected; 73 *Commonweal* sold during day.

**NORTH LONDON.**—A good meeting was held in Regent's Park on Sunday, addressed by Hill, Cantwell, Crouch, and Nicoll; good sale of *Weal*. A fine meeting also held in Hyde Park by Cantwell, Bullock, Lynes, Tochatti, and Nicoll; some friendly opposition by Sinclair, M.P., who appeared to think that Socialism meant a dividing up of the land; he was well replied to by Bullock and Lynes; 3s. 6d. collected.

**ST. GEORGE'S.**—A fine meeting held on Mile End Waste on Tuesday, opened by Leech, Turner speaking about an hour to a very sympathetic audience. Good member's meeting on Wednesday; discussion opened by Turner on "Socialist Opposition," Hemmings, Leech, Wess, Smith, and Harris taking part. On Sunday morning, one of the largest meetings ever held at Leman Street was opened by Leech, Turner speaking especially of the seamen's strike, suggesting control of all shipping by the sailors; all *Commonweal* sold out, and good sale of our pamphlets.—T.

**ABERDEEN.**—The Liberal party having held a demonstration in favour of "free education," it was decided by our branch to hold one of our own to explain our views on the question. It took place last Saturday, and was attended by a large and enthusiastic audience. The Rev. Alexander Webster, Cooper, Leatham, and Duncan were the speakers. Two resolutions were carried amid loud cheering, one calling for "free, national, and secular" education, and the other demanding the ownership and control of the land and means of production by the whole community.

**GLASGOW.**—During the past fortnight our members have been busy speaking to and distributing literature amongst the seamen and dock labourers on strike, who everywhere welcomed our comrades amongst them. We collected for the dock labourers—At Govan, 2s. 4d.; Jail Square, 6s. 5d.; and Paisley Road Toll, 4s. 4d. Last week, comrades Gilbert, Carr, and Pollock continued their efforts. On Sunday at 2 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne, Tim Burgoyne, and Glasier addressed a large meeting on the Green, where 4s. was collected for the dock labourers. Many of our members turned up at Mr. Conybeare's lecture, held under the auspices of the Irish National League, and Glasier spoke from the platform. They afterwards attended a meeting of the tramway men, and distributed a large number of the leaflet on "Tram-car Slavery." At a business meeting of the branch held on the preceding Sunday, the council of the branch was re-organised, and Daniel McCulloch was appointed secretary in place of Bruce Glasier, who has resigned.

**LEICESTER.**—On Sunday last Raymond Unwin, of Chesterfield, lectured in the morning at Russell Square on "The Waste of Competition"; good audience. In evening, Unwin again lectured, on "What we Want" in Humberstone Gate. There was this time a much larger audience. An earnest and able address, which was listened to with the greatest attention, followed by an animated discussion, the crowd breaking up afterwards into discussion groups. On the previous Sunday we were prayed for at the principal Baptist Chapel, containing the largest dissenting congregation in Leicester; special reference was also made to us in the sermon! If this has had any result, it must have been favourable, for we have increased our audience, have much more discussion, and have about doubled our sale of literature.—T. P. B.

**LEEDS.**—Last Sunday afternoon Paylor spoke in support of the bricklayers' labourers of this town, who are forming a union. In the evening another meeting was held, when Corkwell, Maguire, and Paylor spoke. Reference was made to the strikes of the seamen and tramcar men. It has been stated in a local paper that tramcar slavery in Leeds is as bad, if not worse, than it is in London, but that body of nonentities the Leeds Trades Council has not a word to say on the subject.

**NORWICH.**—On Tuesday last comrade Netlow was elected delegate by the branch for the Paris Congress. On Sunday usual open-air meeting was held in the Market Place; a large audience present, addressed by comrade Mowbray. In the evening another good meeting was held; Darley opened, followed by Mowbray, who delivered a capital address. Good collections, and *Commonweal* sold out.

**YARMOUTH.**—Last Sunday morning we had a capital audience; comrade Mowbray gave a long and earnest address, which was listened to with great interest; collection 7s. In the evening we held a meeting near Colman's granary, on the South Quay, and considering this was new ground the meeting was most encouraging; Ruffold and Reynolds spoke. We sold all our *Commonweal*. Total collection for the day, 8s. 6d.—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, June 22, H. Sutton Frizelle lectured on "Workers, Beggars, and Thieves," an excellent discussion resulting—King, Toomey, Wilson, Graham, and Cree taking part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Usual meeting on Sunday in the Market Place, Rooke in the chair; Peacock, Proctor and Whalley (S.D.F.), who will run together as Socialist candidates at the School Board elections in November, explained their programme. Collection for election fund, 4s. 3d. Several new members joined.—R. P.

**LECTURE DIARY.****LONDON.**

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday June 30, at 8.30 p.m., A. Brookes will lecture on "Order without Law."  
**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. On Sunday June 30, at 9 p.m., J. Hicks, "Poverty: its Cause and Cure."  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 30, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. Thursday July 4, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 5, at 8, French Class; at 8.30 sharp, Business Meeting and discussion.  
**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.  
**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8.30. Members please turn up.  
**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.  
**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.  
**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.  
**Glasgow.**—The Branch will meet temporarily in the Ram's Horn Assembly Hall, Ingram Street, on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock, and on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. Communications to be addressed to Daniel McCulloch, Secy.  
**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.  
**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion in Gordon Hall, opened by comrade Adams, subject "Anarchism." Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.****SATURDAY 29.**

7.30..... Hyde Park..... Davis, Davies, and Nicoll  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Samuels and Charles  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Hill

**SUNDAY 30.**

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Mrs. Lahr, Maughan, and Dean  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Charles and Brookes  
11.30..... Eelbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... North Kensington—William Street ..... Crouch, Lyne jun., and Saint  
11.30..... Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms" ..... Samuels and Mainwaring  
11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Nicoll and Mrs. Schack  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Parker  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Turner  
3.30..... Hyde Park ..... Cantwell and Brookes  
5 ..... Victoria Park ..... Davis and Hill  
6.30..... Wood Green—Jolly Butchers Hill ..... Nicoll  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Brookes  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Kitz  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... The Branch  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch  
8 ..... North Kensington—Archer Street ..... The Branch

**TUESDAY 2.**

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... St. George's-in-the-East Branch

**THURSDAY 4.**

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Mowbray

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.  
**Bradwell** (near Yarmouth).—Monday evening.  
**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m. Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Middleton Market Ground, Saturday at 7.30.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. North Walsham at 11.  
**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. A Meeting at Belton every Monday evening.

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**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.  
**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.  
**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatown and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**NORTH LAMBETH LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB,** 108 Westminster Bridge Rd., S.E.—Sunday June 30, at 8.30, J. R. Macdonald, "Practicable Socialism."

**LONDON ANARCHISTS'** open-air propaganda.—Sunday 30th, Hyde Park (near Marble Arch), at 6 p.m., Harragan, Humphreys, and Drugen on "No Rent."

**ST. JAMES'S HALL.**—Henry George and H. M. Hyndman's Debate comes off on Tuesday July 2nd. Chair taken by Prof. Beesley at 8 o'clock. The subject is "Single-Tax v. Social Democracy." Tickets, 1s. and 2s. 6d.

**PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION,** 81 Pentonville Road.—Sunday June 30, at 7.45, E. O. Greening, "A Festival of Labour."

**SOCIALISTS** in Hull willing to form a branch are requested to put themselves in communication with J. T. Smith, "Freiheit" Club, 1 Beets Court, Blanket-Row, Hull.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 182.

SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE police have been playing the usual game, and in all probability with the usual impunity to them and the usual punishment to the "rioters," so called. We shall not be suspected of agreement with the doctrines of the Salvation Army; but on this occasion the processionists must be looked on as citizens going about on their lawful errands and suddenly attacked by a band of organised and armed ruffians without any cause whatever.

Here is again an opportunity for testing the genuineness of the protestations of both parties in the State. Even the Tories might be expected to take up the matter on behalf of persons with no taint of revolutionism in them; and as for the Liberals!—Well, I must say that they are fast qualifying themselves for the name which they used to bestow on their Tory opponents—the Stupid Party. In fact their stupidity is a deep well—to fathom. They haven't even the wits to pick up a safe opportunity like this, but are determined to play into the hands of the "advanced" party, which is advancing in no doubtful way towards Socialism.

Our friend Mr. Cunninghame Graham was probably not particularly disappointed at the adverse vote against him about the instructions to the British delegate to the Berne Conference. To be invited to a Conference and to understand perfectly well what would be the only important subject discussed there, and then to say Yes, we will send delegates, but those delegates shall not take part in the discussion of the real subject which the Conference has been called together to discuss—this would undoubtedly seem to the dispassionate observer from another planet a piece of absurdity impossible to men claiming to hold a dignified and responsible position; but to us living on the Earth under a bureaucratic government, it is a quite familiar incident.

In short, it is the position of the Whig-Tory or Tory-Whig governments that we are such fools as to put up with. How could it be otherwise? What would happen if they were to allow the discussion of subjects affecting the welfare of the mass of the population? Clearly the preliminary to the useful discussion of these subjects would be that such governments should take themselves off; and, as it is the business of their lives *not* to go off, from his point of view Mr. Morley was right in declaring the question impractical, although, as he knows well enough, all thinking workmen throughout civilisation are (rightly or wrongly) crying out for *practical* discussion of this subject of the limitation of the hours of labour.

Yet the position of Lord Salisbury's Government is more logical than Mr. Morley's, who blames them for refusing to discuss the question and then points out that it cannot be discussed; and his arguments against the limitation of labour are of the stale kind which would be quite as effective against the limitation of the working day of women and children as of adult males. In fact in this matter Mr. Morley is not really considering the position of the workers in their factories and workshops, but his own position as a politician in the House of Commons: that is why he is so anxious to ticket himself as a Whig. If the Whigs should be driven at any time to legislate about the working day, we shall find him naively assuming that all liberal-minded men were always in favour of the eight-hour day: just as he assumes that they were always in favour of Home Rule.

Mr. Cunninghame Graham must be thanked for giving the House of Commons and the Liberal party, including their organ the *Daily News*, another opportunity for showing the people how little they have to hope from them; and moreover the question is one that must be discussed, and I repeat will be, in spite of the attempt of the so-called leaders of the trades unions to burk the discussion. For my part I think that "unpractical" as the question is, legislation limiting the working hours of adult males will be forced on the Government, and that before very long.

If that legislation were effective, it would certainly give more leisure to the workers, which of itself would be a great gain whatever came with it, and lower wages for the mass of the workers, the unskilled, could not accompany it, because they are already working for mere subsistence wages. Also the struggle between the masters and the men would be embittered by it, because the masters would try to force down the wages of the skilled or half-skilled workmen, and to give less wages for the eight hours than they now give for the nine, ten, or twelve hours. Competition for profits would force them to do this, and the men of course would be obliged to resist this, so that there would be fresh strikes and fresh discontent throughout the world of labour, which would further our Cause.

On the other hand, the masters would be driven to meet the comparative scarcity of labour by carrying still further and faster the development of machinery and the organisation of labour, which is such a great feature of these days, of the last ten years especially; so that if less labour hours were available, less would be needed. And the improvement in machinery would increase the intensity of labour, so that the amount done in each hour and the consequent wear and tear to the workman would be greater than under the longer working-day. All these would disappoint the hope of those who think that the eight hours day would give more employment to the mass of workers. The system of wage-slavery and the profit-market necessitates "a reserve army of labour," *i.e.*, of a starvation army waiting for the short crisis when it suits the capitalist slave-holders to take on all the hands whom they can sweep up from the workhouse and the street corners; and no shortening of the hours of labour will do away with this wretched state of things that does not bring with it obvious revolution, that is to say a change in the basis of society.

The workers must settle for themselves whether the gain of leisure, which it may be assumed would be the result of a limitation of the day's labour, would so far outweigh these drawbacks as to make it worth their while to carry on the agitation for it vigorously. But they must certainly *settle it for themselves*; if they allow the gentlemen of the House of Commons to settle it for them, they will find as usual that they will have something given them with the right hand to be taken back with the left.

In any case I beg them not to expect too much from the success of such an agitation, and above all not to think that it would relieve them of one scruple's-weight of their duty to struggle for the destruction of our present class-society. Mr. Graham, unconsciously perhaps, gave us a warning on this matter in his speech the other night. He reminded the House that for 24 years the eight hours' day had obtained in Victoria, and said that no harm had come of it. We know from the definite information of our comrades in the antipodes that a revolution is just as necessary there as here; and so it is, and will be all over the world as long as there are privileged classes living on the disinherited classes.

Tennyson's northern farmer heard his cantering horses' hoofs play the tune of "Proputty, Proputty, Proputty!" No wonder; it is the one thought in the mind of all respectable people. Some luckless persons the other day at St. Bees ate a poisoned joint of beef, and one (a lady) died of it, and the others were made very ill. Says the daily press anent this luckless business: "The occurrence is a most unfortunate one, as St. Bees is so popular and Mr. Scott is a new tenant of the hotel." The poor lady's epitaph then must be a moan over the lost "Proputty, proputty, proputty!"

W. M.

We are surprised that the editor of *Daylight*, who has often done such good service to the cause of the people, should put on his front page that sentimental lie of some inventive and not too scrupulous journalist, concerning a Russian lady who shot herself in preference to shooting his most gracious Majesty the Czar of Russia. At any rate, if he had put it in, he might have edited it a little. It is funny surely to find the removal of a cruel, bloody, and merciless despot



termed by a democratic paper "a foul deed," while in the next sentence the same paper affirms that she committed suicide to escape "her odious destiny." The notice then winds up by stating that she has been "interred at the cost of the Russian Government." Let the dead bury their dead, Mr. Editor, but let us preach the gospel of the Social Revolution, and not waste time and tears over the persons who never existed, save in the brains of an inventive journalist subsidised by the agents of Russian despotism.

D. N.

## A CHAT WITH A BURGLAR.

BY PERPETUAL MOTION.

If I were a man like every other, it would be altogether useless to write these lines. I am a crank, a crotchety-monger, an iconoclast—anything you like; but in my own estimation I am an inventor and a philosopher. I am so much of a philosopher that it needs great restraint to prevent my developing, in point blank discharge of accumulated philosophical deductions, a whole system of, not one, but several universes. To tell a story in a concise, business-like manner, stringing one little fact to another little fact, is with me one of the hardest of tasks. I see philosophy in every thing—as undoubtedly there is, and everything whatever existing has its causes, its relations to something else. If, for instance— But there I am again!

That I am an inventor is the natural sequel to my being a philosopher. A man who, like me, sees to the bottom of things, must of necessity be an inventor. As I know how Nature works, I can imitate her—that is, invent machines. I am in this respect tolerably well known to most firms who have anything to do with new inventions, and I have already spent a little fortune on models, patterns for the moulders, etc., while my library is well stocked with all those costly works of the natural philosophers which everybody reads nowadays and very few fully understand. It is a sign of the degeneracy of our days that philosophers of my stamp are getting rich, while it has been an axiom from the oldest days of ancient Greece to within a decade of our own time that a philosopher must have the appearance of a tramp and be as poor as Job in his days of adversity. Yes, things have mended in this respect, and as I am going to invent perpetual motion, I am as good as a millionaire already. The only thing that troubles me is, what shall I do with all that money? I am getting rich in spite of myself. I am a philosopher first and a rich man afterwards; and as I have found in the ancient philosophies of Hindostan the true truth—namely, the deception of matter—I am not going to be ruled by matter, but quite the reverse. But here I am again!

So far my inventions are not of great import, but they pay handsomely. That automatic jam-distributor of mine has taken hugely with those large working-men restaurateurs who sell their slices of buttered or "jam'd" bread by the thousands every day. Mr. Pearce sends me word that my automatic jam-distributor is doing wonders. By merely turning a crank 4,000 slices of bread are evenly "jam'd" in ten minutes, which almost equals in speed the capacity of our great printing presses. But somehow or other I am not proud of this invention. It is commonplace, and, I am sorry to say, not original enough.

The fact is, the main idea was suggested to me by the large inking rollers I have seen used in printing-presses. Even my second invention, the philosophical fly-catcher, smacks a little of the inking-roller and the automatic jam-distributor; and I might excuse these mere vagaries of a great mind by a reference to Mill's "association of ideas," but as I am cut out by nature for greater things, I can at least use the money gained for those profound investigations which will lead to perpetual motion. That the life of an inventor is not altogether an easy one, can be shown by a letter I have received this morning about my philosophical fly-catcher. Writes this ruffian:

"Sir,—Your philosophical fly-catcher is a sham and a — nuisance. I have made a calculation and have found out that it costs just three-ha'pence to kill one fly. At this rate it would be much cheaper to hire a boy to catch flies. Yesterday the hair of my mother-in-law got entangled in your — machine, and I could only release her by cutting off the few remaining locks which the vicissitudes of married life had left her. Take my advice, and turn your talents to shoeblacking or tract-distribution."

I may mention here that my philosophical fly-catcher is based upon the pernicious habit of the common house-fly to crawl over the sweet innocent faces of sleeping babies. Taking advantage of this habit, I constructed a machine representing on its upper side a sleeping baby. From this reason I called it a philosophical fly-catcher. The feet of the fly are caught in the filaments of the sham face, and are brushed off by a revolving apparatus inside the well-expanded cheek of this terrible infant. The fly then drops off, legless and helpless, and while it reflects over the question What the deuce shall I do without legs? is swept into a watery grave by an automatically-produced flow of water. I think that the mother-in-law of that ghoulish letter-writer must have kissed the sleeping baby—which is not so silly as might be supposed, as I have employed the best artistic talent in London for the production of a truly angelic baby face. Her hair must have encountered the same action of the revolving brushes which I designed to carry off the legs of the flies; but I intend to give warning to all purchasers of the sleeping baby and fly-catcher that it must not be kissed. But fancy this philistine utterly disregarding the beauty of killing off flies in such a scientific, truly philosophico-mechanical way, and preferring the humdrum style of a daub of jam and a wet dish-rag instead!

I am living alone with a lazy tom-cat, in a detached villa in the neighbourhood of Regent's Park. I keep no company, going to no

places of amusement, and doing nothing but thinking and now and then a little amateur tinkering on experiments. In a spacious shed specially built against a high garden wall I arranged a workshop for the multifarious necessities of "first experiments." I employ a worn-out engineer to assist me in the construction of new apparatuses, and an old teacher of mathematics also belongs to my staff, whose duty it is to attend to the geometrical and arithmetical business of my inventions, having found out that without curves and parallelograms and square and cube roots, no inventor can hope to be listened to. It is true I know very little of these things, and old Jones knows it all, while at the same time he could not invent a nut-cracker. Being an old toper, he and the worn-out engineer—as thirsty a soul as ever pulled a throttle-valve—spend most of their time in the "Yellow Lion" not far off; and I allow this sort of thing only on the strength of the axiom that genius must be judged separately. I have noticed that old Jones is never more keenly alive to the mathematical relations of curves as when he can't walk straight; while the shaky engineer—Potts is his name—has more than once been visited by flashes of genius which would never have been attracted to these quarters if the fumes of alcohol had not penetrated to the inmost recesses of his being.

As I am total abstainer, disdaining to accept anything from the mysterious forces surrounding men by the attraction of deceptive spirit-matter (I may say here that I hold matter to be non-existent, spirit being the only true reality), it is really a sacrifice I am offering to the interests of science to have these two old toppers about me. They are as unimaginative as mathematics and applied geometry can well be, but they are faithful, and as their very existence depends on my liberality, they would be willing to risk their necks for me. Especially the old mathematician possesses a courage altogether out of the common, for which he has given me ample proofs during experiments in which unknown factors might have cut us both off without a moment's warning.

At nights and on Sundays I am quite alone. I cook my own meals, like a true philosopher, trying vegetarianism for a certain period, to observe the effects upon my brain and my capacity for hard study. Then I try flesh diet to see the alterations in mental and moral arrangement of the psychical forces. When I am labouring under a great idea I starve myself involuntarily. The invention of the philosophical fly-catcher was only possible by four weeks rigid fasting. In order to invent perpetual motion I know I shall have to reduce myself to a skeleton. But what are the sufferings of my flesh—at best only deceptions of fancy—compared to the gain for humanity! No more horse-torturing, no more man-torturing, no more snorting and puffing and exploding of the steam-engine, no more soot and black smoke, hellish noise, and colliery disaster. And the beauty of it is that it is so easy! Only the finishing off of those primeval inventions of the hammer, the axe, the lever, the screw! The reason that perpetual motion was left for me to invent is that men assumed its complexity, and laboured with self-created difficulties, instead of going to the cause of all mechanical action, which is simply—

There I am again! Hang philosophy, and come to business! I have already said that I am getting rich. But I do not hoard my money. What I do not need for myself I give away. Money, as matter, shall not get the best of me. I send my spare money to hospitals, special schools, or any other public institution working for the advancement of mankind. I do not like popularity. All I wish to do is to put before the world the example of a self-sufficient philosopher and to realise in my own conduct those great truths which I shall represent some of these days.

It was on a fine evening last autumn, when I was, as usual, sitting in my library and deeply meditating on the problem of producing circular motion by mere pressure, a pressure with hardly any velocity, when I was startled by the sound of stealthily approaching feet through the broad hall dividing the south and north set of rooms in the first story. I always left the front door of my villa unlocked while I was up, and anyone wishing to enter unawares could do so by a little precaution. Generally there was nothing left in the house which any thief or burglar would greatly care to take off, and I never troubled myself about such fears, but just that day I had received a heavy payment from a manufacturing firm for the use of one of my patents, and the money—about a thousand pounds in brand-new bank-notes—lay snugly between the books in my bookcase. It had been too late to dispose of it in the usual way. I intended to send £900 to the Home for Incurables in —, £50 to Professor L—, whose masterly exposition of physical laws had assisted me more than anything else, £25 to a poor working-man about whom I had read in a morning paper, reserving only £25 for my private uses. The presence of that money flashed at once through my mind on hearing those ominous footsteps. I am a very nervous man, but not a coward. I feared nothing for myself, not even for the money, but there is always in the unexpected an element of terror which the severest mental discipline cannot eliminate.

(To be concluded.)

THE 'INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.'—The Socialist monthly magazine *To-Day* changed its title with the July number, and will henceforth be known as the *International Review*. It will be edited by Mr. H. M. Hyndman, and be issued at sixpence. Among those who have already promised to contribute to the *International Review* are E. Belfort Bax, Annie Besant, Hubert Bland, Herbert Burrows, Edward Carpenter, William Clarke, Walter Crane, Stewart Headlam, J. L. Joynes, Pierre Kropotkin, "John Law," H. S. Salt, H. Halliday Sparling, Adolphe Smith, Sidney Webb. The July number contains articles by Annie Besant, Dr. Paul Brousse, Adolphe Smith, and the Editor.

AGAINST VAIN PLEASURE.

THE world takes from us more than she can give ;  
In vain we trim our deeds to her command ;  
In vain, seduced by many a promise bland,  
We bow before her idols negative.  
Let the world go ; each his own life must live ;  
But the poor coward that has laid his hand  
On Custom's altar, spins a rope of sand,  
And bales the boundless ocean with a sieve.

A wayfarer's "Good night" when day is done,  
A mother with her babe, the merry noise  
Of rosy children playing in the sun,  
A walk across the fields with prattling boys,—  
These sights and sounds such wealth for me have won,  
I know that we are born for simple joys.

C. W. BECKETT.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 13, 1889.

7	Sun.	1797. Trial of David Maclean at Quebec for high treason in conspiring "with persons unknown" to overthrow English rule in Canada and annex it to the United States. 1831. W. Cobbett tried for sedition. 1856. Tipperary military mutiny at Nenagh.
8	Mon.	1790. Adam Smith died. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at the "Crown and Anchor," Strand. 1796. D. I. Eaton found "guilty of libels on Kingly Government." 1848. Arrest of Martin, Duffy, Williams, and O'Doherty.
9	Tues.	1386. Battle of Sempach. 1797. Edmund Burke died. 1809. W. Cobbett convicted of libelling the German Legion. 1831. First number of Hetherington's <i>Poor Man's Guardian</i> .
10	Wed.	1793. Trial of D. I. Eaton for publishing a seditious libel. 1795. Henry Yorke tried for high treason. 1848. Ernest Jones imprisoned. 1887. Father McGlynn excommunicated.
11	Thur.	1789. Mirabeau died. 1836. Alibaud hung for attempt on Louis Philippe. 1822. Weavers' riot at Norwich against reduction of wages. 1848. Speech of Kossuth to Hungarian Diet. 1871. General Council of International Working-men's Association denounce Mr. Washburne for his conduct to the Commune.
12	Fri.	1450. Jack Cade killed. 1536. Erasmus died. 1691. Battle of Aughrim. 1789. Neckar dismissed ; panic in Paris—ends in besieging the Bastille. 1819. Reform demonstration on Newhall Hill, near Birmingham ; 50,000 present ; Sir Charles Wolseley appointed "Legislatorial Attorney." 1839. Sentence on the rebels of May 12: Armand Barbes, death (commuted to imprisonment for life ; Martin Bernard, transportation ; Mialon, hard labour for life ; Del-sade, Austen, and Philippet, 15 years ; Nongues and Martin, 6 years ; Guilbert, Randel, and Lemeire, 5 years ; Longuet and Marescal, 3 years ; Walsch and Pierne, 2 years. 1841. W. J. McNevin died. 1849. Battle of Dolly's Brae. 1858. Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill passed. 1881. Riots at Rome when Pio Nono's body was being removed from St. Peter's to San Lorenzo.
13	Sat.	1683. Earl of Essex murdered in the Tower. 1683. William, Lord Russell, tried for high treason. 1788. Destructive hailstorm in Paris ; remembered as an omen next year. 1789. Taking of the Invalides and seizure of arms. 1790. General "Federation," or Mutual Oath of all Frenchmen, otherwise called "Feast of Pikes." 1794. Marat murdered. 1799. Brothers Sheares hung. 1820. Andrew Hardie tried at Stirling for his part in the rising near Glasgow on April 4. 1839. <i>New Moral World</i> removed from Birmingham to Leeds. 1857. Number 1 of the <i>Kolokol</i> , published by Herzen, appeared in London. 1871. Trial of Rechaeff and others in St. Petersburg for organising a Jacobin secret society. Sentences : mines, 4 ; Siberia, 2 ; prison, 27 ; rest banished all over Russia. 1876. Peter Kropotkin escaped from prison-hospital in St. Petersburg.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING-MEN'S CONGRESS.

14TH TO 21ST JULY, 1889.

I beg to remind delegates that they must send me notice of their nominations at the earliest possible date, in order that the Executive Committee may make the final arrangements for their board and lodging.

The approximate expenses for board (two meals) and lodging will be from 5s. to 6s. per day, but a sum of from 8s. to 10s. must be counted on inclusive of extras.

Delegates should do their best to arrive on the 13th. The Congress will hold its first meeting in the afternoon of the 14th, so as to enable the delegates to witness the national festival.

The Congress meets at the Salle Petrelle, Rue Petrelle.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

60 Avenue de Champs Elysees, Le Perreux, Paris (banlieue).

ANARCHY AND COMMUNISM.

COMRADES,—Whilst I am glad to see that my letter of April 13 has led to an interesting discussion, I regret that William Morris has been the only Socialist who has criticised the Anarchist position. It is so important to my mind that we should get a perfectly clear conception of the state of society we desire to bring about, and how we ought to act now and during the revolutionary period, that I very much desire to see more interest taken in the politics of Socialism. When the critical time comes, those who know

what they want and how to act to get it will take the masses of the people with them. If State Socialism has the most numerous and most active adherents, State Socialism will be established ; if Anarchism is most popular, an Anarchist condition of society will result from the social revolution. But the Communists who are neither decidedly against nor decidedly in favour of government will have no real influence in the reorganisation of society. They will go with the crowd, and are just as likely to support the despotism of a revolutionary government as they are to oppose it.

We Socialists ought to make up our minds on two things. 1. What sort of society we are trying to realise. 2. How we should act in order to bring it about.

As regards the first point I think the members of the Socialist League and many of the Social Democrats are agreed with the Anarchist-Communists. In the words of William Morris, the society of the future is to be "a society which does not know the meaning of the words rich and poor or the rights of property, or law or legality or nationality : a society which has no consciousness of being governed ; in which equality of condition is a matter of course." Another definition is that of the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, of America, a State Socialist, who looks upon Anarchy, as many English Social Democrats do, as a future development. He describes the ideal as "co-operation without force or authority except that which inheres in natural law." This he says is "the highest possible conception of human society."

Now our position is that anything like compromise tends to prevent the realisation of this ideal society and does not even result in temporary good. Let us go for the whole thing, and let us rule our actions now, immediately, as far as we can in accordance with our ideals. We may not triumph in the universal revolution which is close upon us, but our chances of success will be increased exactly in proportion to the number of Socialists who declare themselves against all compromise with property and authority. Besides there is a vast amount of unconscious Anarchism here in England as elsewhere. People are rebels in spirit if not in act ; they grumble against and resist whenever possible the tyranny of the existing government ; and surely it is our business to encourage this spirit of revolt against dictation and coercion, to help develop individual initiative, and to persuade people to rely upon themselves and not to expect that the government which keeps them down will help to raise them up. To destroy the faith and respect which still exists in and for government and laws is in our view as important as to point out the evils of private property in land and capital.

Comrade Morris says Anarchist-Communists are "vague." In all good fellowship may I say that I think, not only that the vagueness rests with the Communists who are neither Anarchists nor Authoritarians, but that this vagueness has in the past caused many Socialists who wanted a political as well as an economic faith, to become Social Democrats instead of members of the Socialist League.

Comrade Morris brings forward the old question of majorities and minorities, and asks what is to be done in the case of a piece of business which must be either done or left undone, would the small minority have to give way or the large majority ? Now, no logical reason has ever been brought forward to show why the minority should give way to the majority, or the majority to the minority, for as has been proved over and over again counting noses doesn't prove the truth or falsehood of a thing. If on a committee, for instance, there are two opinions as to a certain matter, it is just as reasonable and rational to decide by a toss up as by a vote. A minority of one may be right, and so may a majority of ever so many. When a minority gives in to a majority on a committee, it is because the difference of opinion is not very great, and practically they are converted to the views of the majority. If the difference was sufficiently important neither party would give in. They would throw the business over. But let us take a concrete example as is suggested. A number of men and women agree to form a Socialist community or village, and they agree that there shall be equality, liberty, and fraternity in all their dealings with one another. A section of the community wishes to build a large common dwelling for the whole village, another section wishes that each family shall inhabit a separate cottage ; how do they settle it ? Either by the section who want the common dwelling having a common dwelling for themselves and letting the others have the separate cottages, or by one party voluntarily giving way to the other. It would be absurd to try coercion. And then in tilling the land of the village, there are perhaps two or more methods which could be employed ; why should not both be tried ? or, if that is not possible, why should not the advantages of each method be properly discussed until one party gave in ? If they were reasonable people living in good fellowship with each other, the weakest in argument would naturally give way. The pig-headedness which the opponents of Anarchism want to ascribe to so large a proportion of the human race does not, in reality, exist. In every-day life, even now when there is so much to irritate us and set our backs up, people are always giving way to one another in order to maintain friendly relations and their advantages. Comrade Morris may not think my concrete example a good one, and if so, I hope he will state a few cases in which he thinks coercion by majority-rule would have to be used to settle a difference.

In conclusion, let me quote the platform of the International Working People's Association, the organisation of the American Anarchists, as agreed to at the Pittsburg Congress in October, 1883 :—

1. Destruction of the existing class rule by all means, i.e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action.
2. Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organisation of production.
3. Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organisations without commerce and profit-mongery.
4. Organisation of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.
5. Equal rights for all without distinction of sex or race.
6. Regulation of public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Now I think most members of the Socialist League agree to every one of these planks ; and I hold with Adolph Fischer that "a Socialist who is not a State Socialist must necessarily be an Anarchist," and if the members of the Socialist League cannot falsify this opinion, it is for them to say which camp they belong to.—Yours fraternally,

JAMES BLACKWELL.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.—The increase in the number of schools in the Bengal Presidency last year was 6,140, and in the number of pupils attending the schools 90,843. If the paternal British Government of India continues its beneficent administration on these lines, they may soon expect a grateful return.—A. B.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 3.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND
Brotherhood	Investigator	Arbeiterstimme
Church Reformer	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	ITALY
Justice	Baecker Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Barcelona—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Seville—La Solidaridad
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Railway Review	San Jose—Pacific Union	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Sozial Demokrat	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Porto—A Revolta
Telegraph Service Gazette	FRANCE	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	Le Proletariat	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	L'Attaque	Brunn—Volksfreund
Madras—People's Friend	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	Commentary—Le Socialiste	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Der Sozialist	HOLLAND	DENMARK
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Herald	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Jewish Volkszeitung	Brussels—Le Drapeau Noir	Malmo—Arbetet
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
United Irishman	Antwerp—De Werker	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Znamia	Liege—L'Avenir	

UNDER AN ELM-TREE;

OR,

THOUGHTS IN THE COUNTRY-SIDE.

MIDSUMMER in the country—here you may walk between the fields and hedges that are as it were one huge nosegay for you, redolent of bean-flowers and clover and sweet hay and elder-blossom. The cottage gardens are bright with flowers, the cottages themselves mostly models of architecture in their way. Above them towers here and there the architecture proper of days bygone, when every craftsman was an artist and brought definite intelligence to bear upon his work. Man in the past, nature in the present, seem to be bent on pleasing you and making all things delightful to your senses; even the burning dusty road has a look of luxury as you lie on the strip of roadside green, and listen to the blackbirds singing, surely for your benefit, and, I was going to say as if they were paid to do it, but I was wrong, for as it is they seem to be doing their best.

And all, or let us say most things, are brilliantly alive. The shadowy bleak in the river down yonder, which is—ignorant of the fate that Barking Reach is preparing for its waters—sapphire blue under this ruffling wind and cloudless sky, and barred across here and there with the pearly white-flowered water-weeds, every yard of its banks a treasure of delicate design, meadowsweet and dewberry and comfrey and bed-straw—from the bleak in the river, amongst the labyrinth of grasses, to the starlings busy in the new shorn fields, or about the grey ridges of the hay, all is eager, and I think all is happy that is not anxious.

What is that thought that has come into one's head as one turns round in the shadow of the roadside elm? A country-side worth fighting for if that were necessary, worth taking trouble to defend its peace. I raise my head, and betwixt the elm-boughs I see far off a grey buttressed down rising over the sea of green and blue-green

meadows and fields, and dim on the flank of it over its buttresses can see a quaint figure made by cutting the short turf away from the chalk of the hill-side; a figure which represents a White Horse according to the heraldry of the period, eleven hundred years ago. Hard by that hill-side the country people of the day did verily fight for the peace and loveliness of this very country where I lie, and coming back from their victory scored the image of the White Horse as a token of their valour, and, who knows? perhaps as an example for their descendants to follow.

For a little time it makes the blood stir in me as I think of that, but as I watch the swallows flitting past me betwixt hedge and hedge, or mounting over the hedge in an easy sweep and hawking over the bean-field beyond, another thought comes over me. These live things I have been speaking of, bleak and swallows and starlings and black-birds, are all after their kind beautiful and graceful, not one of them is lacking in its due grace and beauty; but yesterday as I was passing by a hay-field there was an old red-roan cart-horse looking seriously but good-humouredly at me from a gap in the hedge, and I stopped to make his acquaintance; and I am sorry to say that in spite of his obvious merits he was ugly, Roman-nosed, shambling, ungainly: yet how useful had he been—for others. Also the same day (but not in the same field) I saw some other animals, male and female, with whom also I made acquaintance, for the male ones at least were thirsty. And these animals, both male and female, were ungraceful, unbeautiful, as ungainly as the roan cart-horse; yet they were obviously useful, for they were making hay before my eyes. Then I bethought me that as I had seen starlings in Hertfordshire that were of the same race as the Thames side starlings, so I had seen or heard of featherless two-legged animals of the same race as the thirsty creatures in the hay-field; they had been sculptured in the frieze of the Parthenon, painted on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, imagined in literature as the heroes and heroines of romance; nay, when people had created in their minds a god of the universe, creator of all that was, is, or shall be, they were driven to represent him as one of that same race to which the thirsty haymakers belonged; as though supreme intelligence and the greatest measure of gracefulness and beauty and majesty were at their highest in the race of those ungainly animals.

Under the elm-tree these things puzzle me, and again my thoughts return to the bold men of that very country-side, who, coming back from Ashdown field, scored that White Horse to look down for ever on the valley of the Thames; and I thought it likely that they had this much in common with the starlings and the bleak, that there was more equality amongst them than we are used to now, and that there would have been more models available amongst them for Woden than one would be like to find in the Thames-side meadows.

Under the elm-tree I don't ask myself whether that is owing to the greater average intelligence of men at the present day, and to the progress of humanity made since the time of the only decent official that England ever had, Alfred the Great, to wit; for indeed the place and time are not favourable to such questions, which seem sheer nonsense amidst of all that waste of superabundant beauty and pleasure held out to men who cannot take it or use it, unless some chance rich idler may happen to stray that way. My thoughts turn back to the haymakers and their hopes, and I remember that yesterday morning I said to a bystander, "Mr. So-and-so (the farmer) is late in sending his men into the hay-field."

Quoth he, "You see, sir, Mr. So-and-so is short-handed."

"How's that?" said I, pricking up my Socialist ears.

"Well, sir," said he, "these men are the old men and women bred in the village, and pretty much past work; and the young men with more work in them, they do think that they ought to have more wages than them, and Mr. So-and-so, he won't pay it. So you see, he be short-handed."

As I turned away, thinking over all the untold, untellable details of misery that lay within this shabby, sordid story, another one met my ears. A labourer of the village comes to a farmer and says to him that he really can't work for 9s. a week any more, but must have 10s. Says the farmer, "Get your 10s. somewhere else then." The man turns away to two month's lack of employment, and then comes back begging for his 9s. slavery.

Commonplace stories of unsupported strikes, you will say. Indeed they are, if not they would be easily remedied; the casual tragedy cut short; the casual wrongdoer branded as a person out of humanity. But since they are so commonplace—

What will happen, say my gloomy thoughts to me under the elm tree, with all this country beauty so tragically incongruous in its richness with the country misery which cannot feel its existence? Well, if we must still be slaves and slaveholders, it will not last long; the Battle of Ashdown will be forgotten for the last commercial crisis; Alfred's heraldry will yield to the lions on the half-crown. The architecture of the crafts-gildsmen will tumble down, or be "restored" for the benefit of the hunters of picturesque, who, hopeless themselves, are incapable of understanding the hopes of past days, or the expression of them. The beauty of the landscape will be exploited and artificialised for the sake of the villa-dweller's purses where it is striking enough to touch their jaded appetites; but in quiet places like this it will vanish year by year (as indeed it is now doing) under the attacks of the most grovelling commercialism.

Yet think I to myself under the elm-tree, whatever England, once so beautiful, may become, it will be good enough for us if we set no hope before us but the continuance of a population of slaves and slave-holders for the country which we pretend to love, while we use it and our sham love for it as a stalking-horse for robbery of the poor at



home and abroad. The worst outward ugliness and vulgarity will be good enough for such sneaks and cowards.

Let me turn the leaf and find a new picture, or my holiday is spoilt; and don't let some of my Socialist friends with whom I have wrangled about the horrors of London, say, "This is all that can come of your country life." For as the round of the seasons under our system of landlord farmer and labourer produces in the country pinching parsimony and dullness, so does the "excitement of intellectual life" in the cities produce the slum under the capitalist system of turning out and selling market wares not for use but for waste. Turn the page I say. The hayfield is a pretty sight this month seen under the elm, as the work goes forward on the other side of the way opposite to the bean-field, till you look at the haymakers closely. Suppose the haymakers were friends working for friends on land which was theirs, as many as were needed, with leisure and hope ahead of them instead of hopeless toil and anxiety, need their useful labour for themselves and their neighbours cripple and disfigure them and knock them out of the shape of men fit to represent the Gods and Heroes? And if under such conditions a new Ashdown had to be fought (against capitalist robbers this time), the new White Horse would look down on the home of men as wise as the starlings in their equality, and so perhaps as happy.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING-MEN'S CONGRESS.

PARIS, 14TH TO 21ST JULY, 1889.

### REPORT OF THE ORGANISING COMMISSION.

THE Socialists of France could not let the anniversary of the bourgeois revolution pass without affirming the imminence of a working-class revolution, that on the ruins of a capitalistic society shall proclaim, alike for men and women, equal conditions of labour and equal means of existence and enjoyment.

Wherefore the trades' unions and Socialist organisations of France resolved at the Bordeaux and Troyes congresses to convene an international congress during the Exhibition. The solidarity of the workers, which the bourgeois reactionaries had thought to drown in blood, would thus have a glorious opportunity of proving that it had not been affected by the crushing of the Commune and the proscription of the International Working-Men's Association, inasmuch as, born of capitalistic production and exchange, it defied persecution and outlived defeat.

To organise this Congress, the Bordeaux National Council of Trades' Unions and the Troyes Executive Committee of the Socialist Federation appointed a Commission constituted by the different workmen's and Socialist organisations. With a view to emphasizing the work of union with which it was charged, the Commission, at its first meeting, invited the Syndical Chambers and Socialist groups of Paris to nominate delegates to participate in its labours. Thus open to all, our Commission may be considered as truly representative of the Socialist proletariat of France, bound, in spite of difference of opinion, by one common purpose, the international union of the workers.

On the other hand, an international corporative congress, held in London shortly after the Bordeaux Congress, resolved to call an International Congress in 1889, and notwithstanding the presence of Farjat, delegated by upwards of 250 non-Possibilist trades' unions, the Possibilists alone were charged with the organisation of the Congress, in total disregard of the fact that this was wrongfully taking sides in the French differences and defrauding all non-Possibilists of an indisputable right.

Rightly concerned by the calling of two international congresses simultaneously and in the same city, the foreign Socialists were bound to do their utmost to avert such a scandal by an attempt to fuse the two congresses. On the initiative of the German Socialists, a private international conference was called for the Hague on the 28th February of this year. Were present: Bebel and Liebknecht, delegated by the Social-Democrats of Germany; Scherer and Reichel, delegated by the Socialist party of Switzerland; Ansele and Volders, delegated by the Socialist party of Belgium; Croll and Domela Nieuwenhuis, delegated by the Socialist party of Holland; Paul Lafargue, delegated by the National Council of the Syndical Chambers of France and the Executive Committee of the Socialist Federation of France. The delegates of the Socialist party of Denmark and William Morris excused themselves for not attending the conference, but intimated their adhesion to resolutions for the convening of a united International Socialist Congress. The Federation of Socialist Workmen, or the Possibilist party, invited on the same terms, and at the same time, as the workmen and Socialists of France, declined to send a delegate to the Hague conference, declaring that they would not allow the mandate given them by the London Congress, and which they intended appropriating to themselves, to be discussed. This was converting the duty to convene an International Congress into a right that should supersede the will of the Socialist parties of Europe. Now the London Congress was not qualified to pass resolutions binding on Socialist parties, because, though attended by Socialists, the Congress was not a Socialist but a corporative Congress, in the hands of the parliamentarians of the trades' unions, who went to the length of threatening the foreign delegates with eviction from the hall that they had hired: they had, indeed, taken measures to exclude from their congress the Socialist parties of Germany and Austria, as well as all other than manual labourers.

The Socialists would have been justified in disregarding a mandate conferred by such a congress; as to the Socialist organisations of France, they were resolved to abstain from sending representatives to an International Congress convened by the Possibilists. This resolution was motivated by the capital fact that the Possibilists, by openly acting as the bond-servants of the bourgeois parties and the electoral agents of successive ministries, had forfeited all claim to that independence which a Socialist party cannot renounce without abdicating.

Notwithstanding these considerations, the Hague conference, having international concord at heart, forbore to contest the validity of the mandate conferred on the Possibilists, and confined itself to specifying the conditions on which the Socialist parties represented at the Hague should participate in the International Congress. In a first circular, the Possibilists, treating

the Congress as their property, had arrogated to themselves the right of fixing the date and order of the day of the Congress, and of imposing a mode of verification of credentials that made the admission of French delegates a matter of their good pleasure.

These impudent pretensions were unanimously set aside by the delegates to the conference, who passed the following resolution: "The undersigned invite the Federation of the Socialist Workmen of France, in virtue of the mandate conferred by the London Congress in 1888, to call the International Congress for Paris, in accord with the working-men's Socialist organisations of France and other countries."

This convocation, signed by the representatives of the working-men's and Socialist organisations, to be brought to the knowledge, with the least delay possible, of the working-classes and Socialists of Europe and America, read as follows:

The Conference of the Hague resolved:

- (1) That the Paris International Congress be held from the 14th to 21st of July, 1889.
- (2) That the Congress be open to the workmen and Socialists of all countries on conditions compatible with the political laws in force there.
- (3) That the Congress be sovereign with respect to the verification of credentials and the fixing of the order of the day.

The Conference resolved, provisionally, that the following questions be treated:

- (a) International labour legislation; Regulation, by law, of the working-day (day-work, night-work, holidays, work of adult males, women, and children).
- (b) Inspection of factories and workshops, as well as of domestic industries.
- (c) Ways and means to obtain these demands.

The Belgian delegates were charged with officially communicating to the Possibilist party the resolutions of the Hague Conference.

Citizen Volders, having accomplished his mission to the Possibilist Council, came to our committee. He informed us that the Possibilists refused to allow the French workers and Socialists to sign the international circular of convocation, as also to recognise the right of the Congress to directly verify the credentials.

The National Council of the trades' unions, the executive committee of the Socialist Federation, and the Congress organising commission unanimously resolved to conform to the Hague resolutions.

So great was the desire to effect a union that the foreign Socialists endeavoured to persuade the Possibilists to reconsider their refusal. They addressed themselves to the Social Democratic Federation of England, which is in friendly relationship with the Possibilists, and urged the same to use its influence in deciding the Possibilists to acquiesce in the reasonable demands of the Hague Conference.

The Social Democratic Federation was as unsuccessful as had been the delegate to the International Conference. The Possibilists, on the contrary, took advantage of the forced inaction to which these efforts at conciliation had condemned the executive committee; they intrigued right and left, communicated perfidious attacks on our Congress to the bourgeois press, calumniated our organising commission, and despatched delegates to Belgium, Spain, and Portugal with a commission to win over adherents to the Possibilist Congress at any price.

In presence of this insuperable determination of the Possibilists and their party to divide the French proletariat, the Socialist parties of Europe resolved to act; leaving to the Possibilists the responsibility of a counter-Congress, that we had done all in our power to prevent, they, jointly with us, issued the convocation already published in *Commonweal*.

Before the publication of our first circular, a Congress of the Belgian Workmen's Party had been held at Jolimont; the Possibilists lost no time in sending delegates to the same, in the hope of burking the Hague resolutions, but, despite their efforts, the Jolimont Congress resolved by 39 votes against 33 that a delegate be sent to the Possibilist Congress, and by 55 votes against 22 that it be represented at our International Congress.

The Democratic Socialist Party of Denmark, at a meeting held on the 23rd of May, passed the following resolution:—"This meeting profoundly deplores the calling of two Workmen's Congresses for Paris, and resolves that the Danish Democratic Socialist Party adhere to neither of the two so long as two Congresses are maintained, but urges the council of the party to bring its influence to bear on the parties in dispute, so as to amalgamate the two Congresses."

The Social Democratic Federation of England alone, setting itself against all existing Socialist organisations of Europe and America, has espoused the Possibilist cause, without, it may be presumed, pretending, by its solitary presence, to impress an international character on a Possibilist Congress so innocent of all international socialist elements.

The workers of both hemispheres thus find themselves in presence of a unique Congress having a claim to act as their representative and interpreter, for it alone has been convened by the Socialists parties at large, and it alone will count in its body delegates of that fraction of the world's proletariat which is conscious of its aim, and resolved to rear, on the ground of common property, the emancipation of labour and humanity.

It is with a view to obviating all misunderstanding, and frustrating all manoeuvres of the eleventh hour, that the organising commission has decided, for the benefit of International Socialists, to publish an account of the efforts at conciliation and union that have been made prior to the meeting of the Congress.

For the Organising Commission and by order,

DAUMAS, *Chairman of the Sitting.*

BESSET, JACLARD, VAILLANT, and LAFARGUE, *Secretaries.*

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE IN LEEDS.—The labourers in the Leeds building trade are waking out of their Rip van Winkle sleep, and an organisation is in progress which bids fair to make a sensation among their masters. Last Sunday a meeting of about 3,000 men was held in Vicars Croft—Paylor, Hill, Sweeney, and Maguire encouraging the men to form a labourers' union, inclusive of bricklayers, plasterers, slate-layers, and joiners' labourers, with the result that at the end of the meeting 200 names were given in and 25s. collected. In the afternoon a crowded meeting was held at the club rooms, Clarendon Buildings, and a provisional committee was elected with a view to taking immediate steps to organise the labourers of the town. Meantime an aggressive front is being shown. The men are demanding an advance of a halfpenny per hour. They contend that during the past ten years wages have gone down 25 per cent. They will continue to meet at the branch rooms of the Socialist League until further developments.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Tram Slaves.

The agitation has now reached the North of London. The men employed by the North London Tramway Company and the London Street Tramway Company are bad off even for tram slaves, worse than they are even upon some poorer lines. This is especially the case with the men employed upon the steam-cars of the North London Tramway Company. According to the *Star*, the conductors work from 14 to 15 hours a-day, without any relief whatever, Sunday and week-days alike.

The men of the South London Tramway Company met at Sydney Hall, Battersea, in the early hours of the morning of 25th of June. Our comrade John Burns spoke at the meeting, and told the men that if they could not afford to pay 3d. a week, only the price of a pint of ale, to the Union, they deserved to work as many hours as could be crowded into a week. This blunt sentence is quite true. It is certain that if the men won't help themselves no one else can help them.

We are glad to hear that the Union now numbers over 1,000 strong. We are also glad to see that employees of some of the companies that do not treat their men so badly, are joining the Union in order to help their more unfortunate brethren. This is what all workers must do if they would free their class from its present slavery. The principle of the devil take the hindmost must perish before the feeling that the sufferings of the feeblest and most unhappy concern us all, and that in fighting their battle we are fighting our own.

The London Tramway Company have sacked two more men for joining the Union. One of them, Condon, has a wife and six children, and as one of the children was sick, he watched at its bedside till four in the morning. Through this he arrived four minutes late, and received his dismissal at once. Col. Davidson would not listen to his explanation, but said "Here's your license," and discharged him. He had served the Company for eleven years, and yet was sacked for being four minutes late. Can it be doubted that his membership of the Union explains it all? It is a great pity the gallant colonel cannot find courage to tell the man the real reason for his dismissal. The pretended reason for the dismissal of Driver W. H. Smith, who has been in the Company's employment for nine years, was that his horse looked "rather bad." What a pitiful excuse! Driver Smith had been very active in the formation of the Union; that was his real offence. The bullying cowardice of these slave drivers should teach the slaves how easy it would be to make them bite the dust, if the men were only united and determined.

On Saturday, the Cardiff tram slaves revolted, for the third time during the last six months, against their odious slavery of long hours and starvation wages. The slave-drivers endeavoured to start two cars manned by the scabs, but they got a warm reception, being surrounded by dense crowds and assailed with stones, rotten eggs, etc. One of the cars was thrown off the lines. The affair concluded by the chief of the police writing to one of the managing directors, and asking him to take the cars off the lines, as he feared their presence would lead to a riot! It is quite evident that the chief of police isn't suited for his position; he ought to have rejoiced at the opportunity for a wholesale bludgeoning of the strikers. Can't Mr. Matthews lend Munro for a few days to the Cardiff tram directors; we could spare him here.

It is good news to hear that on Monday, July 1st, the Cardiff men gained a victory by their indomitable courage and determination. It was time when grave-stones were laid across the lines, bricks and stones were flying through the air, and the heads of scabs and passengers were broken. The whole available police force of 150 men could do nothing against the popular storm, so the masters gave in. The following terms have been agreed upon: The men's wages will commence at 23s., and rise a shilling a week each year till the maximum of 28s. is reached. The men are allowed half a day off weekly, and no man is to suffer for his share in the recent proceedings. It is estimated that the damage done to the Company's "property" reaches £400. London tram-men, here is an example for you.

### The Seamen's Strike.

At Liverpool, on Thursday, June 27th, another "violent" scene occurred. Some rats were signing on board the steamer 'Teneriffe,' when suddenly they were surrounded by a horde of furious men, who by force of desperate oaths and threats and the shaking of clenched fists, forced the rats to abandon the vessel. They then marched off with them in custody, the police being quite helpless. On the same day two processions of strikers with brass bands played the "Dead March" outside the offices of the Cunard Company, who have been among the bitterest opponents of the strikers. The steamer 'Atlas,' belonging to the same Company, is used as a floating boarding-house for scabs. The crew of the steamer 'Spray,' at Dundee, have refused to go to sea because the steward of the vessel belongs to the noble army of rats.

The seamen and firemen went in at Glasgow on Friday, June 28th. They agreed with the representatives of the masters that all scabs should be dismissed, but the masters now refuse to carry out their part of the agreement. Another example of the treachery of capital.

### The Walsall Bit Makers.

These unfortunate men, who have been out on strike for a 15 per cent. advance for more than a month, have issued an appeal for help to their fellow-workmen, in which they state the reason why they have been forced into the struggle. They point out that some sixteen years ago the employers were so ashamed of the miserable wages they were paying that they granted them a 15 per cent. advance. For eight years they paid it, but suddenly the advanced price was knocked off. But now let the men tell their story in their own way:

"We had no option but to submit, for we were poor even at the advanced rate, and consequently weak; whilst our employers were few and rich, and therefore strong. For eight long years we have patiently submitted to this wrong; during which time we noticed that whilst we have worked harder and got poorer, we have earned more profit for our employers, and they have become richer and richer. Also that in our struggle to get on, we often fall victims to some form of chronic disease, and die a slow and miserable death long before our time. Even our most skilled workmen are unable to provide against our slackness of trade and old age. How then must it be for the ordinary and less fortunate workman? Yet on such miserable wages we are expected to be self-respecting, independent, honest, and to make due provision for old age and sickness: virtues which we

would ask our employers could they accomplish if they were in our places? We do not pause for their reply. We know they could not. For eight long years we have tried and failed; and now we feel bound, as honourable men, to refuse to continue this miserable, pitiless struggle any longer. We refuse, as men, such grinding of our faces, such degradation and tyranny. Life for us and our wives and children must be morally, physically, and spiritually blighted. To submit any longer to such slavish conditions, without making a desperate effort to free ourselves, we feel would be unmanly."

These poor fellows seem to have some idea as to the root of the evil—the oppression which naturally follows when the few are rich and the many are poor. It will not take them long to recognise the fact that Socialism is the only remedy for their wretchedness. Those who desire to help them in their uphill battle against the power which wealth gives to a few merciless men cannot do better than send their subscriptions to C. Taylor, secretary, 159 High Street, Bloxwich.

### The Durham Miners.

A large meeting of delegates, representing some fifteen thousand men, has been held at Houghton-le-Spring. They unanimously passed a resolution urging upon the Executive of the Union that if the owners refuse to accede to their demand for a 10 per cent. advance, to take a ballot at once, and that if this is carried, their notices will be sent in so as to expire on the 31st of July. Great enthusiasm and a dogged determination to strike if necessary was shown at the meeting. The 5 per cent. offer of the owners was looked upon as an insult, and there can be no doubt that if this most reasonable demand of the workers is not acceded to, some twenty thousand men will come out. As nearly all the miners in other districts have gained advances ranging from 5 to 10 per cent. upon threatening to strike, there is a great chance that the Durham men may win without a battle. We wish them good luck.

D. J. N.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ROUMANIA.

The Conservative Government of Roumania having introduced a Bill for fifteen millions, to be devoted to military works, the Socialist deputy Nadedje, the "best friend of the workers," has voted for the Bill! That's one of the blessed things to which parliamentarism leads a Socialist deputy. But we may add to the credit of the Roumanian Socialists that they have refused to endorse the action of their deputy. Would it not be better, indeed, if he took somewhat more notice of the awful sufferings of the Roumanian peasantry? Roumania is chiefly an agricultural country, and those who produce all that she lives upon are in a much more dreadful condition than anywhere else, even than in Ireland or in Italy. Dr. Obédénaru writes about the miserable condition of the peasants in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des sciences médicales*: "The food of the peasant consists almost entirely of vegetables, cabbages and *mamaliga*, a kind of maize worse even than the Italian *polenta*. This subsistence, insufficient by its quality, which fatigues beyond all measure the digestive organs without repairing the daily losses of the body, is absolutely incompatible with the body in a land where malaria never disappears and where the cold weather is as excessive as in the Crimea. The Roumanian peasant produces only one half of the production of a French or an English agriculturist. But these would certainly only produce half the quantity produced by the Roumanian, if they were to be kept on the régime of cabbages and *mamaliga*." And Dr. Félix, professor of medicine at the University of Bucharest, writes: "The Roumanian peasants have not the same dynamic force as the foreign workers. The cause of it resides in their *frugality*, or rather, in their *exaggerated abstention*!" Frugality here stands as an euphemism for starvation: professors are capable of anything and everything! Dr. Dima Georgesca, who is not a patented professor, puts it more plainly: "The food of the peasant is scarcely enough to benumb the colic that precedes death from starvation." That is the general condition of the people in Roumania, and it is not difficult to conceive how they have been visited by *pellagra*, that horrible curse of Italy. It is really to be hoped that the revolutionary party will soon be able to alter that state of things, for the agrarian reform of 1864 has made the peasant poorer and more unfortunate than he has ever been before.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Our contemporary *die Gleichheit* (Equality) of Vienna has been definitively suppressed by the Austrian police authorities, and without any judgment whatever. The police decree by which the paper is suppressed does not give any reason for it at all. But privately the chief commissioner of police has been good enough to tell Dr. Adler, the editor of the paper, that the Socialist organ has been suppressed because it has provoked the troubles that have arisen in Steyr. Now, that is the second time that the police have tried to get rid of that incommensurable paper, the first attempt having been made at the time of the tramway-men's strike. Our Vienna colleague asserts that it has had nothing at all to do with the Steyr troubles, but the capitalist press has been continually denouncing Dr. Adler and the *Gleichheit*, especially so *das Wiener Tageblatt*, the *Oesterreichische Volkszeitung*, the *Deutsche Volksblatt*, and *das Vaterland*. These papers point at Dr. Adler as an Anarchist; though he has never been anything else than a Social Democrat, and whenever he has had the opportunity he has fought against Anarchists. Again, the whole affair in Steyr was not even a Socialist uprising, and the organised Socialists there did not even interfere with it. Notwithstanding all this, not only was *die Gleichheit* suppressed by the police authorities, but the editors, Dr. Victor Adler and Leo Bretschneider, were charged with the instigation of the working classes and with interference in the recent troubles, and tried under the Anarchist laws before an extraordinary tribunal. Although the defendants and their paper, as we stated before, were opposed to the Anarchist party, the tribunal declared themselves competent, and sentenced comrade Adler to four months' imprisonment and fined comrade Bretschneider thirty florins, and the suppression of the paper was held good.

We are very sorry for the disappearance of the Austrian paper, and although we did not always share its views, we must say that it was one of the best papers in Europe. We hope that our Austrian friends will soon get out of their difficulties and start afresh. In the meantime, the subscribers of *Gleichheit* will receive, instead of their suppressed organ, the *Sozialdemokratische Monatschrift*, a monthly review edited by comrade A. Grosse, in Vienna.

V. D.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 5, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Webb, 1s.; J. Presburg, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; C. Saunders, 1s.; E. E. Minton, 6s. 6d.; F. Kitz, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; and R. Unwin, 5s. 6d. Norwich, 1s. 5d.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Deptford Broadway*—Brookes and Charles spoke here to a small meeting last Saturday; 12 *Commonweal* sold. *Clerkenwell Green*—Brookes and Blundell spoke to a large and attentive audience on Sunday. *Hoxton*—Charles and Blundell addressed good meeting; fair sale of literature.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, A. Brookes lectured on "Order without Law"; a long and interesting discussion followed.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday, Kitz spoke to a fair audience on Mitcham Fair Green, giving a brief account of his visit to Manchester; 13 *Commonweal* sold.—S. G.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road Station at 11 a.m.; speakers were Mrs. Lahr, Grierson (S.D.F.), Tochatti, Lyne, jun., and Maughan; choir also sang; 3s. 4d. collected, and 35 *Commonweal* sold. A poor meeting at William Street; speakers were Crouch, Lyne, jun., and Dean; 2 *Commonweal* sold. This is one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the Kensington district, and our comrades mean to make something of the people if it is possible to arouse them. At 7.30 a good meeting was held at Archer Street; speakers were Dean, Crouch, Tochatti, Maughan, and young Saint; a swell in the crowd thought to entrap the youngster by questions, but the lad was equal to the occasion and astonished the people by his answers; collected 6½d. and 24 *Commonweal* sold. During the afternoon our comrades at the demonstration in the Park managed to sell 64 *Commonweal*.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 17th ult., Leatham read a paper in answer to the question "Is a Science of History Possible?" On 24th, McCulloch's paper on "Education" was read and discussed. On 28th, Duncan, Cooper, and Leatham addressed meeting at Woodside, the singing attracting a good audience. On 29th, the usual Castle Street meeting was addressed by Duncan, Gilray (of Edinburgh), and Leatham—the latter being challenged by a vendor of doctor's prescriptions (who put a question and spoke from our platform) to debate Socialism with him in public on a date to be fixed hereafter. Same speakers held meeting on Sunday afternoon at Duthie Park.—L.

**MANCHESTER.**—No reports of our meetings were sent in last week, because we wished a fuller account of Kitz's visit to appear in *Weal*. This week we began with the Saturday night meeting at Middleton, where Bailie and Marshall addressed a good meeting; 18 *Weal* sold. The same speakers addressed a large meeting in Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon, the audience being very enthusiastic; 28 *Weal* sold and 9½d. collected for propaganda. At Chester Road, Ritson and Marshall spoke. We began on Sunday night at a fresh station in Harpurhy; Stockton, Bailie, and Parkinson addressed the people, but it was not till we were over an hour started that a fair audience had assembled; 9 *Weal* sold and four new members joined. We intend working this station on Sunday mornings. We hold a meeting every Monday night at Holt Town, where we generally encounter considerable opposition.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday, 30th ult., C. W. Mowbray addressed two meetings; morning, "The Need for Socialism"; evening, "Socialism, what is it?" The people seemed very interested, and the audience in the evening was the largest we have yet had; 15s. 10d. collection. This is the first collection that has been made in Leicester; 5s. worth of *Commonweal* and pamphlets were sold. H. Snell (Fabian), of Nottingham, gave a short address after Mowbray. Discussion was invited, but there was none forthcoming.—T. P. B.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday morning our speakers attended the bricklayers' labourers' meeting and spoke on their behalf. Again at night we had another meeting, when Sweeney, Hill, Paylor, and Maguire spoke to a large and appreciative audience, who manifested their approval of our ideas by loud cheering. We are endeavouring to organise the unskilled labourers in all branches of industry in the town, since the aristocrats of labour take no steps in organising them.

**ROCHDALE.**—On Sunday 30th we had L. Hall from London; he gave three lectures. A well-known spiritualist put a letter in the local paper which dealt with the strong language used by Socialists, which comrade Hall ably replied to.—H. BLOMLEY, Sec.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Monday a large meeting was held at Belton; comrade Reynolds addressed the meeting, which was very sympathetic. Our reception was so good that it is proposed to continue our meetings here. On Thursday evening a mass meeting was held in the Market Place, at which comrade McCormack of London and comrade Reynolds spoke. On Saturday a splendid meeting was held on the Priory Plain, addressed by Reynolds and McCormack. On Sunday morning on the Plain a meeting was held, which comrades Reynolds, McCormack, Ruffold, and Thomas of Ipswich addressed. In the afternoon another meeting was held, addressed by the same speakers. In the evening, on the Quay, we held a very large meeting, opened by Ruffold and followed by McCormack, who gave his experiences in the provinces; Reynolds came afterwards, and was well received. Six new members; total collection on Sunday, 11s.; *Commonweal* sold out. On Sunday morning, at Bradwell, a meeting was held by comrade Brightwell.—J. McC.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, June 29, G. King lectured on the "Gospel of Plenty." Slight disturbance by two or three blatant Gaels. Shields, Hamilton, Graham, and Wilson took part in discussion.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in the Market Place on Sunday night, Peacock and Rooke speaking. The former denounced the boycotting of the club by certain property owners, who refused to let their premises for meetings.—R. P.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday July 7, at 8.30 p.m., Herbert Burrows will lecture on "Social Democracy v. Anarchism."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 7, at 8 p.m., a lecture by E. B. Bax, "Law." Thursday July 11, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 12, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

All members please turn up.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—A general meeting of the Branch will be held in Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street, on Sunday at 6.30. Members are urgently requested to turn up. Report of Committee and new Rules will be submitted for consideration.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion in Gordon Hall. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 6.

7.30..... Finsbury Park .....Brookes and Charles  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church .....Kitz and Parker  
7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Hill and Samuels  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Mowbray and Davis

SUNDAY 7.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Dean, Crouch, and Lyne jun.  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....East London Branch  
11.30..... Belbrook Common .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... North Kensington—William Street.....Tochatti, Maughan, and Saint  
11.30..... Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms" .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell .....Nicoll  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Mowbray  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Maughan  
5 ..... Victoria Park .....Mrs. Schack  
6.30..... Wood Green—Jolly Butchers Hill .....Mowbray  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....Presburg  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....Brookes  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Kitz  
7.30..... Waltham Green—back of Church .....The Branch  
8 ..... North Kensington—Archer Street .....North Kensington Branch

TUESDAY 9.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Waltham Green Church .....The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste.....St. George's-in-the-East Branch

THURSDAY 11.

8 ..... Ossulton Street .....Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.15..... Hoxton Church .....The Branch

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Bradwell** (near Yarmouth).—Monday evening.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Queen's Road, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Monday: Holt Town, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. North Walsham at 11.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. A Meeting at Belton every Monday evening.

### SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meets every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatown and Dysart** (Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A.

**Paterson**, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—

**Robert Lindsay**, West Calder, Secretary.

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**SOCIALISTS** in Hull willing to form a branch are requested to put themselves in communication with J. T. Smith, "Freiheit" Club, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row, Hull.

**LONDON ANARCHISTS'** open-air propaganda.—Sunday 7th, Regent's Park, at 11.30, Humphreys and Atter-oll, "No Exploitation of Man by Man." Hyde Park (near Marble Arch), at 6 p.m., Bonham and Whiteside, "No Government of Man by Man."



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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 183.

SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

Two announcements which were made last week are among the cheering "straws" that show which way the social "wind" is blowing. Ibsen's "Pillars of Society," literally translated by Mr. Wm. Archer, is to be performed at the Gaiety Theatre, on Tuesday, July 16, and the promoters of the undertaking are most anxious to make it known that there will be no tampering with the text. A new play by Mr. Henry Arthur Jones, called "The Middleman," will be put on the stage in the autumn by Mr. E. S. Willard at the Shaftesbury. It is said to be a study of contemporary life on similar lines to those of the same writer's striking production "Wealth," now running at the Haymarket. Not world-shaking events in themselves, but how much they mean!

In a recent issue of the *Boston Herald*, I noticed an advertisement for an "American man." Just what that means I don't know, outside of a Red Indian, but I was struck by the fact that almost in the next column was a long report of a "mass meeting" which wound up a three day's convention of the "National British-American Association of the United States," formed to antagonise and counteract wherever possible the work of the Irish-American organisations. The same mail brought a German paper with German-American politics and news; and one would have to run through all the nationalities of Europe before the minor organisations of a similar nature were exhausted. As at home, so abroad; the wretched workers all over the world allow themselves to be divided up and set fighting, and then by the time they have got through "antagonising" one another, there is neither time nor energy left for improving their position or deposing their oppressors.

According to a paragraph which went the round of the papers last week, there is actually a scheme on foot for a "land syndicate" to buy Lower California from Mexico in order to form an Irish-American Republic there. For the credit of the Irish race it is to be hoped that this stupid and pitiful plan will fall through before it approaches anything like realisation. It is an outcome of the terrible sectarianism and exclusiveness that has for so long laid Ireland helpless under the feet of her slave-drivers, aliens and natives, and made workmen everywhere the miserable slaves they are.

It is the habit of Englishmen to complain of the insularity of Irishmen, and their obstinate refusal to merge themselves in the mass of any folk they may dwell among, and it is further the delight of Unionist or Tory orators and scribes to dilate on the cruelty they discover ingrained in the Irish character. As for the failing first-named, are not Englishmen themselves a byword for it among all the nations of the earth? And for the cruelty, there is no crime of all that ever were, or could be, wrought by Irishmen, even the most desperate, which could equal for calculating cold-blooded malignity the massacre of the dervishes in the desert, which all English papers but one or two have been chronicling with joy as a great and glorious victory.

Heroically flinging their rude weapons and naked bodies in defence of their homes, their freedom, and their faith, against all the latest modern developments in the machinery of murder, they were beaten, broke, and fled. Then they were hunted down like wolves and vermin, and butchered in detail. Those of them who took refuge in the hills were cut off from water and penned up to die of thirst. Some, scores of them, did so die, and hundreds more of them were dying when the latest news was received, and every maddened wretch who, driven by unendurable, unutterable torment, crawled out into the open to allay the agony of his lingering death, was being coolly shot at sight. Calmly waiting for the despairing rush of each frenzied victim stood the representatives of English law'n'order, upholding religion, civilisation, and all the rest of it, on behalf of their employers, who at home were cursing Patrick Ford and "Transatlantic," and thanking God they were not as these wild devils of dynamitards.

There is now a good chance for English workmen to help themselves in helping others. Danish joiners are locked-out to compel them to accept a reduction; their manifesto will be given in full next week. Let all those English workmen who talk of "foreign competition" go the best way to work to render it harmless by helping their foreign brethren to maintain wages at a decent level. Help should be addressed to P. J. Nielsen, Romersgade 22, Copenhagen. S.

The Northumberland miners at their annual gala had the valuable assistance of Mr. Burt, Mr. Bradlaugh, and Mr. Henry George. It appears that some of Mr. George's remarks did not meet with Mr. Bradlaugh's approval. First he fell foul of his worthy colleague because he said there was more freedom in America than England. Mr. Bradlaugh, as "an Englishman," thought "that we had almost as much liberty here as in America." Quite true, Mr. Bradlaugh. In England you can be bludgeoned to death for holding advanced opinions and endeavouring to express them. In America they will hang you for committing the same offence. Yes, it is probable that we have *almost* as much liberty as they have in America.

Then Mr. Bradlaugh went on to remark upon the marvellous progress achieved since the days of the old Roman empire.

"Mr. George rightly asked why it was that through the whole civilised world the labouring class was poor, but if he could have stood two thousand years ago in the greatest city of the civilised world, he would have had to ask the question—Why was it that the whole of the labouring class were slaves? There had been progress."

Wonderful progress! One would think to hear the unction with which Mr. Bradlaugh speaks of it that it was all owing to the efforts of the pope of the National Secular Society. Still it may be doubted whether the workers have greatly improved their condition by being transformed from slaves into "free labourers." The Roman slave had enough to eat, he was often well housed and well cared for. Can the English "free labourer" say as much?

No, no. The great accomplishment of last century is not the abolition of slavery, but the evolution of Charles Bradlaugh!

Just consider how happy the Roman slave might have been if he could have had a Mr. Bradlaugh to tell him that he must not seek a total change in his condition. "Slavery was healthful, invigorating; it brought out, it developed the manly qualities of independence, honesty, and integrity." Just think how that would have soothed the poor creature down, and how he would have learnt to bless the kindly rule of his excellent master.

Please imagine the Roman Bradlaugh holding forth as follows: "My poor men, Mr. Catiline rightly asks 'Why are you slaves?' I admit there are disadvantages about slavery, great disadvantages; but if Mr. Catiline could have stood in the greatest city of the world a few thousand years ago, he would have had to ask the question 'Why did the workers eat one another?' There has been progress! Be patient, my friends, be patient; no violent language, no physical force, and perhaps in another two or three thousand years you may likewise improve your condition." Here our reporter came away.

Absurd! ridiculous! doubtless. We know slavery developed no manly qualities. But does the beneficent rule of the régime of individualism, which Mr. Bradlaugh praises so highly, bring them out? Are the ground-down slaves of our civilisation, the matchmakers, the unskilled labourers, the chainmakers, the tramwaymen, and the toilers upon the soil remarkable for their independence of character and their freedom from such vile qualities as marked the slaves of old?

No; the curse of the present system is that it degrades the mass of the workers far more than the slavery of the old world, or the serfdom of the feudal system. The serfs and slaves could and did revolt repeatedly against the tyranny of their masters. When will slaves of our commercial system have spirit enough to rise, and with one mighty effort break their chains? D. N.

## A CHAT WITH A BURGLAR.

By PERPETUAL MOTION.

(Continued from p. 216.)

My turning round I beheld a middle-sized well-built man, about my own age, and the most determined-looking face I ever came across. On that face a trace of hesitation could not be detected; the eyes, of steel-grey colour, had all the sternness of an executioner and all the calmness of a practical man at his business. Even if I had been armed, it would have been useless to offer resistance, because a revolver glittered in the clutched, nervous fingers of the stranger, and every movement of mine was dominated by that death-dealing instrument. To do myself justice, my philosophical penchant did not leave me even a moment. I was cool enough to watch the various feelings and sensations in my own person, while the fellow's whole demeanour struck me more by the stamp of an interesting specimen of the *genus homo* than by the possible unpleasant consequences the unexpected visit might have for me.

"Don't raise an alarm, or I'll blow your brains out!" the fellow muttered, audibly enough for me.

"Don't trouble yourselves about that, my dear sir," I answered with all the *sang froid* I was capable of. "If you have not come for the special purpose of murdering me, I shall try to please you in any way you choose."

"I suppose you know what I am here for," the fellow remarked. "You have received some cash to-day, and I am in need of it. Where is it?"

"Would it not be better first to have a little friendly argument?"

"Damn your arguments! Where is the money?"

"There"; and I pointed to the bookcase.

The fellow advanced towards it, covering me with his revolver; opened the case, took the roll of banknotes, put them away in the inside pocket of his coat, and retreated towards the door.

I had kept my seat as unconcerned as if the visit of a burglar had been a daily incident in my life.

"Now look here, my man; I am not going to make any noise about that money. I don't care about it, and I should have given it away. If you had come to me and asked me for it I should have given it to you. And as for risking my own life or taking yours for that money, such an idea never entered my brain. I am a philosopher. I swear to you by the honour of a gentleman that I shall not molest you. But as a philosopher I wish to have a friendly chat with you. You are perfectly secure; you have got the money and that revolver. Sit down there on the chair near the door. I will remain where I am. If I make a move or call for help you can kill me, while the chances of escape are all in your favour. Sit down there and tell me what has forced you to become a burglar."

"Well, I never—" The fellow hesitated a moment and sat down in the chair. "So you want to know the reason why? I suppose you are a literary man, wishing to serve up something new. Why I am a burglar? I will tell you in a few words. Men are thieves; all men are thieves. The rich rob the poor, and now and then a fellow like me robs the rich. The one is legalised robbery, and mine is punishable robbery; that's the whole difference."

"I agree with you perhaps more than you might think," I answered. "There is such an amount of heartless cruelty in our social arrangements, that I am more struck with the moderation of the robbed victims than the amount of crime against property. But robbery in the one case as well as in the other is reprehensible and against the divine law."

"Divine law!" sneered the fellow, and a contemptuous expression overspread his face.

"You must not misjudge me. By divine law I do not mean the law given to man by some self-existing deity, but a law which is the very essence of our spiritual or true being. There is no lawgiver, but there is the fundamental or elemental essence which warns us constantly that things are not what they seem, and that we must not be ruled by them. Do you find any inward satisfaction by following your course?"

"I do. After every successful haul I feel that I have done something to set things right again. The rich man whom I rob has just as much right to his money as I have. He came to it by robbery, and lost it by robbery. I do not rob the poor, only the rich. There is no moral principle involved any more in the one case than in the other. If the Bank of England were broken into and £100,000 were carried away by burglars, I offer a bet that in the whole of England not one man's moral feelings would be outraged. Money, valuables, jewellery—all these things must be watched. They are the property of those who know how to get them."

"Even admitting all that, one thing is certain—that you are an outlaw, living in open or secret rebellion with mankind. Enmity is in your heart, and there can be no room for happiness."

"Perhaps so; but if you knew how I became thus you would judge less harshly of me."

"I do not judge at all, I assure you. You may have been especially unfortunate. To learn from you how this came about is the reason why I detained you."

"Listen, then. I was once an 'honest' working-man. I tried my best to earn a living by hard work. I am a compositor by trade."

"A compositor," I interrupted; "why, that's a very good trade."

"Oh, is it? That's all you know about it. There are at this day hundreds, perhaps thousands, of compositors in London whose weekly

earnings range between eight and twenty shillings. Many of these men have families. I have worked in book-houses where the weekly earnings never reach a pound; sometimes I have earned not even ten shillings. Do you call that a trade?"

"This is almost incredible," I remarked. "How is this possible?"

"It is possible in the piece system, where two-thirds of a man's time is wasted by mismanagement and carelessness on the part of the employer. But this carelessness really means tiger-like cruelty for the poor comp., who is helpless. I know what I have gone through. The idea of being in work on a so-called trade, and bringing ten shillings home to missis on a Saturday was maddening to me. It turned me upside down. I was a young man, with a wife and a child. I should have willingly risked my life for both, and yet I could not earn enough to keep them fed and clothed. I swore the deadliest oath that they should have plenty to eat while I could move a finger, and I became a burglar. I have studied the business."

"And your wife, your children?"

"My wife had to be converted to my religion. It cost me a great deal of trouble. Women will listen to parsons. But my words and hunger made a practical communist out of her. My children know nothing about my doings. I bring them up respectably, like the legalised robbers."

"But suppose you are caught?"

"I shall never be caught alive."

"Then you would commit murder. Now, apart from all the commandments of so-called revealed religion, there is in murder all that is beastly in human nature. Tigers and wolves kill, but man, as an organism knowing the origin of all being, is almost unthinkable as a life-destroyer. Only the savage animalism in ourselves can delight in killing, and a terrible reaction, caused by our true being, makes us aware, when it is too late, that we have murdered our own peace, our sleep, and loosened all the hell-born crew of remorse, fear, terror, and despair."

"The likes of me do not kill for the pleasure of the thing. We only defend ourselves. If people risk their lives for their money, the fault is theirs, not ours. And yet I believe I could, if I had the chance, live as an honest man. I have tried again and again, but want drove me to despair, to hatred. I utterly despise your laws. They protect the rich, while for us they have starvation and the poorhouse."

"Could you not take that money and leave this country—try an honest life in Australia, the Cape, in Canada, or the United States? In your case I should not despair. Is your conscience free from murder?"

"It is."

"Thank goodness for that! Well, then, the mere fact of having robbed rich people of some of their unnecessary wealth should not force you to remain a criminal. There are worse things than burglary. There are deadlier wounds inflicted by countless acts other than the abstraction of banknotes and shining metal or glittering stones. I could commit a deadlier sin by my pen or a word of my mouth than you would be guilty of in house-breaking. But I draw the line at violence, let alone murder. It is questionable whether there exists anything in this world of deceptions worth the life of any human being, least of all a sum of money which may be thrown away for the smile of a painted harlot, or a gaudy picture, a sumptuous dinner for overfed gluttons, or a robe to cover the shrivelled skin of a worthless votary of fashion. If you alter your course and become an honest man, there is no honest man in England who would think much the worse of you because society has driven you to burglary."

"Now, I must say you are a real gentleman. Here, take these five hundred pounds, and I will content myself with half. With this money I shall leave England and try a new life abroad." And he handed me the five banknotes.

"I do not want the money. If I knew that you really meant to do what you say I should willingly give you more. Keep the money and carry out your resolve; and may the spirit of true humanity be henceforth your guide. Depart in peace, and without fear. Good evening, sir."

I could see the man's eyes swimming in tears he could not suppress. He walked out of the room never turning back, and I rewarded this confidence by whistling a popular tune to his retreating steps.

Am I not justified in maintaining that I am not like other people? Is such a man not worthy to invent perpetual motion?

'ZNAMIA.'—We are sorry to learn that the Russian Social-Democratic paper, *Znamia*, which has been published for some time in New York, has given up the ghost. Killed by that curse of labour-papers—lack of funds.

The following anecdote, which I clipped from the *Omaha World*, is a pretty good joke for a "law and order" paper: Penitentiary Visitor—My poor man, how did you come to be in here? Prisoner—For selling fraudulent goods and thereby getting money under false pretences. Visitor—I hope you'll become an honest man here and be a good citizen when you are released. What are you employed at by the State? Prisoner—Making warranted solid leather soles for boots and shoes out of pasteboard.—H. F. C.

From Paris we hear that paper is in the near future bound to supersede cotton and wool as the clothing material of people. For blankets, plain covering and similar purposes the paper fabrics are an established success. How will our cotton and woollen industries be effected by competition from this unexpected quarter? Shoddy paper hats at 3d. each will no doubt be good enough for the workers. Sixpenny glazed-paper overcoats will soon afford them shelter from the bleak winds and tempestuous showers of our inhospitable clime. Hurrah for civilisation! Its blessings are indeed great.—A. B.



# INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

The French *Parti ouvrier* has sustained a heavy loss by the death of comrade Simon Soëns, who died at Paris the 3rd inst., at the age of sixty-six, having been born on the 17th of August 1823. He has been very active, all his life through, in the Socialist cause, and as far back as June 1848 he did his duty as a revolutionist. In 1866 he founded a co-operative productive association, which came to an end during the Franco-German war. The same year he contributed towards the creation of a *chambre syndicale* (trade union) of the shoemakers, which ended in 1882. During the siege of Paris he organised an association for the providing of shoes to the National Guards, and continued the same up to 1880. Besides this merely administrative part of his work, he permeated all these creations with democratic and Socialist principles. He took a very active part in the working-men's movement of the last years of the Third Empire. In 1871 he was of course in the ranks of the Communards, where he bravely did his utmost for the cause of the people. In 1876 he was a delegate at the first general congress of the French Socialists, and in 1878 he aided very actively in the foundation of *Le Proletaire*. He was also up to the time of his death manager of *Le Proletariat*, the organ of the *Parti ouvrier*. In 1878 he was sentenced to imprisonment, with Jules Guesde and forty others, for having convened an international congress at Paris (Jules Favre law against the International). He was elected a member of the Municipal Council of Paris in 1887, and a member of the General Council of the Seine department. He was a noble-minded man, and all who once knew him liked him and soon became his friends. He was buried at the Père-Lachaise cemetery, where citizens Jacques, president of the General Council, Chantemps, chairman of the Municipal Council, and Chabert, in the name of those who have survived the struggles of 1848 and 1871, retraced the career of the deceased.

Never will any other Revolutionary Socialist Congress have been of such a fully international character as the forthcoming gathering of the 14th inst. To the conveners of various nationalities whose names and organisations have already appeared in the *Commonweal* are now to be added the following:—*Greece*—For the Greek Socialist party: Platon F. Drakulis, editor of *Arden*, the Socialist paper of the Hellenes. *Norway*—For the Norwegian Socialist party: Karl Jeppesen. *Italy*—For the Socialist organisation of Sicily: Aldissio Samnito; For the Socialist groups of Milano: O. Gnuchi-Viani. *Hungary*—For the Hungarian Socialist party: A. Thrlinger, and Leo Frankel, ex-member of the Paris Commune. *Germany*—For the Shoemakers' Union of Barmstedt: T. Klüss (Elmshorn); For the Shoemakers' Union of Magdeburg and several other unions of the same trade throughout Germany: W. Bock (Gotha); For the carpenters' trade of Berlin: Karl Legien; For the workers of Königsberg: Karl Schulze; For the cabinetmakers of Germany comrade Karl Kloss (Stuttgart) is likely to be elected, his nomination having already been approved of in various important towns.

## GERMANY.

The former Socialist deputy at the German Reichstag, Wilhelm Hasenclever, who for some time past has been located in a lunatic asylum, died there a few days ago. At the time when he first became ill we have in these notes recorded at some length the Socialistic career of the deceased, who was very much esteemed by the workers of his country.

The attorney Frehsee, who caused our comrade Lieske to be beheaded on account of the execution of the Police Councillor Rumpf, of which he was innocent, and who became mad a few weeks afterwards, has now died at Charlottenburg, near Berlin. No one pities that magistrate; the fate he met with served him right.

The members of the Westphalian strike committee have been tried and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from one to five years. That is the revenge of the capitalist class; but if only the workers will rally together and combine they will soon be able to put an end to that kind of revenging.

## SWITZERLAND.

The national council of the Swiss Social-Democrats have issued a manifesto to the members of the party and to the public generally, in regard to the scandalous attempt made by Iron Bismarck to destroy the right of asylum that has existed (more or less) for centuries past in the little Helvetic Republic. The document is a very important one, as it recapitulates all the shameful doings which for the last seven or eight years have been undertaken in Switzerland through the instrumentality of the German police authorities and their various agents. It has been issued in the columns of the *Arbeiterstimme* (Voice of the Workers) and has been reproduced by a number of revolutionary papers, among which we may mention *der Sozialdemokrat* of London (number 27, of 6th July), where our German-reading English comrades will find it. We regret that lack of space does not allow the *Commonweal* to translate the compendious document of our Swiss friends.

V. D.

If corruption seems rolling over us like a flood, mark, it is not the corruption of the humbler classes. It is millionaires who steal banks, mills, and railways; it is defaulters who live in palaces and make away with millions; it is money kings who buy up congress; it is demagogues and editors, in purple and fine linen, who give fifty thousand dollars for the presidency itself; it is greedy wealth which invests its thousand millions in rum, to coin money out of the weakness of its neighbour. These are the spots where corruption nestles and gangrenes the state. If humble men are corrupted, these furnish the overwhelming temptation. It is not the common people in the streets, but the money changers who have intruded into the temple that we most sorely need someone to scourge.—*Wendell Phillips*.

**THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS.**—The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This natural liberty consists properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without restraint or control, unless by the law of nature; being a right inherent in us by birth. But every man when he enters society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and, in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those rules which the community has thought proper to establish.—*Blackstone's 'Commentaries.'*

# THE RED FLAG.

(Reprinted from the *Democratic Review*, edited by G. Julian Harney, April 1850.)

ATR—"Dark Loch na Garr."

'Tis in the Red Flag true Republicans glory;  
Red is the emblem of Justice and Right—  
By martyrs' blood dyed, whose names live in story—  
The victors, though fallen, in Liberty's fight.  
Fast flow our tears for the fettered and slaughtered,  
And exiles who wander o'er valley and crag.  
Too long has the earth by tyrants been tortured;  
They shall crouch yet and cower before our Red Flag!

Away to the winds with the cant "moderation";  
Mercy is not with king, tiger, or snake;  
Crush them to the dust, as they've crushed each nation—  
In the day of our triumph kings tremble and quake.  
"Mercy!" yes, mercy such as they gave us—  
Such we'll return, and throneless will drag  
From their high places all those that enslave us,  
To bow, mean and abject, before our Red Flag!

"Mercy!" while Haynau riots in murder,  
And tiger-like gloats o'er the blood of mankind;  
While the serfs of the Czar poor Poland engird,  
The betrayers of France Rome's chains again bind!  
Sicily crushed 'neath the Bourbon lies bleeding,  
And Hungary curses the Austrian rag;  
The nations oppressed pray the time may be speeding  
When in triumph and glory shall fly our Red Flag!

That glad time shall come, kings, though patriots you slaughter;  
Fresh legions shall rise for the martyrs who fall.  
Through tempest and sunshine the nations have fought for  
Fair Freedom, benignant, who yet shall bless all;  
We, the people, remember wrongs despots have wrought us;  
Of their "divine right" not much more shall they brag;  
"Moderation" is madness, experience hath taught us,  
When at Freedom's next summons we hoist the Red Flag!

ALFRED FENNELL.

# REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 20, 1889.

14	Sun.	1781. F. H. de la Motte tried for high treason. 1789 Taking of the Bastille and execution of de Launay and de Flesselle: Council General decrees the destruction of the building. 1791. Banquet at Belfast and riots at Birmingham on Bastille Anniversary. 1877. Great strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.
15	Mon.	1381. John Ball murdered. 1809. P. J. Proudhon born. 1832. First number of the <i>Sunday Herald</i> , London, 1d. weekly, advocate of Reform and friendly to Owenism. 1839. Chartist outbreak at Birmingham caused by attack of police on a meeting in the Bull Ring. 1870. Socialist peace demonstration at Paris.
16	Tues.	1647. Murder of Masaniello. 1850. Margaret Fuller drowned. 1857. Beranger died. 1877. Seizure of Martinsburg (W. Va.) by railroad strikers. 1879. Trial of Bilshanski, Gorski, and others in Kieff. Sentences: death, 3; prison, 6; Siberia, 2.
17	Wed.	1789. The King comes to the Hotel de Ville wearing the national cockade. 1791. Immense assemblage, petitioning at the Altar of the Fatherland for deposition of King, dispersed by musketry. 1793. Trial at Newcastle-on Tyne of Alexander Whyte, baker, for seditious libel. 1893. Trial of Paine and Waldron for publishing 'Rights Man.' 1798. Henry Joy McCracken hung. 1816 Special Commission opened at Ely for trial of Fen rioters. 1831. Cobbett tried for seditious libel.
18	Thur.	1770. Trial of John Miller for reprinting <i>Junius's</i> 'Letter to the King.' 1839. Trial at Welchpool of the Llanidloes rioters; Abraham Owens and Lewis Humphreys transported for seven years. 1867. Attempt by Berezovski on Alexander II. while driving with Napoleon III. in Paris. 1870. Michael Davitt and John Wilson convicted of treason-felony in trying to smuggle arms into Ireland. 1872. Benito Juarez died. 1872. Attempt on King and Queen of Spain.
19	Fri.	1348. James van Artevelde slain. 1693. Sarsfield killed at Landen. 1798. John McCann hung. 1824. Iturbide, Emperor of Mexico, shot. 1839. Thomas Powell, ironmonger and Chartist of Welchpool, imprisoned for 12 months and bound over for five years for his speech at the Llanidloes meeting. 1862. N. G. Tchernichevski arrested. 1869. Prof. V. A. Huber, of Wernigerode, died. 1877. Strike begins on Pennsylvania Railroad.
20	Sat.	1795. General meeting of "the Friends of Liberty" at Shacklewell. 1820. Trials for high treason at York and Glasgow. 1839. First number of the <i>Working Bee</i> , organ of the Hodsonian Community at Manea Fen, Cambridgeshire. 1839. Chartist riot at Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1877. Fatal affray at Baltimore (Md.) between militia and populace.

THE HORSE-NAIL MAKERS of Cradley are on strike. They demand an advance of at least 3d. a thousand. The operatives are in a deplorable state of poverty. The Spade and Shovel Makers promise to follow their example unless the masters agree to the following advance—6d. a-dozen on large and solid work, and 3d. on stamped work. It was pointed out by their leaders that if they were unanimous they were bound to succeed. Excellent advice, which we hope they will act upon.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MANCHESTER, and other reports to hand too late for insertion. Must come first post Tuesday morning.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 10.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND
Brotherhood	Investigator	Arbeiterstimme
Die Autonomie	Nationalist	ITALY
Justice	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	Vorbote	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Barcelona—El Productor
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista
Nottingham Daily Express	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
NEW SOUTH WALES	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	San Jose—Pacific Union	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	DENMARK
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
UNITED STATES	Le Proletariat	SWEDEN
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revolt	Malmö—Arbetet
Freiheit	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	Göteborg—Folkets Röst
The Truth	Hague—Recht voor Allen	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	BELGIUM	Cuba—El Productor
Znamia	Ghent—Vooruit	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
	Antwerp—De Werker	Buenos Ayres—Herald

### STORMING THE BASTILLE.

A HUNDRED years is a long time for the short memories bred of modern commercialism to look back upon. It seems longer still to the student of all that has happened since, all the changes in mechanism, all the advantages which science has given to a small luxurious class, and all the grinding misery that has fallen upon the people through the very inventions which have benefited the rich.

But a truce to these reflections called up by the fact that it is a hundred years ago since the Bastille fell, mid the roar of cannon and musketry, and the shouts of a revolted and victorious people. But now let me tell the story of how the people of France, ground down by taxation, the dues of the lords, the tithes of the church, and the tyranny and oppression of an arrogant ruling class, rose in revolt and with one mighty effort shivered the chains that bound them. Poor people, who had lain so long under crushing tyranny were unable to call their souls their own; so starved, so miserable, that they looked a nation of hungry scarecrows. Many of them were forced to live upon boiled grass, nettles, and garbage. A morsel of coarse black bread with a little, a very little meat, was a god-send, but they were forced to eat it with closed doors for fear the prowling tax-gatherer should swoop on them and insist that they must be rich or how could they have meat to eat. Meanwhile, the extravagance of the Court went on increasing by leaps and bounds, but the misery beneath spreads; the people below are taxed so much that they can be taxed no longer, already discontent is spreading, placards appear on every wall mysteriously denouncing the extravagance and corruption of the Royal Court, leaflets and pamphlets containing revolutionary ideas of the philosophers Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot circulate through the

country. Public discontent breaks forth into riots and emeutes, and a scandalous deficit stares the Court in the face threatening national bankruptcy.

The king and his statesmen know not what to do; not even the most grinding tax-gatherer can get anything more out of the people; nay, already they are beginning to refuse the feudal dues and the Royal taxes. Meanwhile, the great middle-class are longing to become rulers in the place of the noblesse, and with many of the aristocracy who are not connected with the Court join in the outcry for a States-General. That is an Assembly composed of Lords, Clergy, and Commons. The Court struggles for a time, but agitation, riots, and emeutes go on unceasingly, and revolution looms in the distance. There is some hope, too, that the States-General may prove a convenient taxing machine for levying dues upon the privileged orders that have hitherto escaped taxation, the clergy and aristocracy. So the king gives way and the States-General is elected amidst bread riots, conflicts between the nobles and the people, and in Paris by open insurrection, resulting in the burning down of a paper manufactory of one Revellion, an employer who said the workmen ought to live on sevenpence-halfpenny a-day, and got his factory burnt down for his philanthropy.

The States-General meet on May 5th. Revolution is in the air, and even infects the timid bourgeois with courage. The middle-class deputies are very rebellious, they refuse to vote taxes meekly as required by the king. They demand, and succeed in obtaining their demand, that the Lords, Clergy, and Commons shall meet in one assembly, knowing that with the aid of the poorer clergy and liberal aristocrats they will easily be able to outvote the reactionary party. The king and his Court grow frightened; they determine on a *coup d'état*. Thirty thousand troops are massed round Paris, many of whom are foreign mercenaries, for the French troops already show signs of fraternising with the people. Cannon are pointed upon Paris, which is wild with fever and passion; the rebellious deputies of the States-General, now christened by them the National Assembly, shall be driven from their hall at the point of the bayonet, and as for the rabble "a whiff of grapeshot" will settle their business.

The king and Court begin their *coup d'état* by the dismissal of Necker, the popular Minister, and the appointment of a reactionary Ministry, of whom the Duc de Broglie, the whiff of grapeshot man, and Foulon, the old scoundrel who said the starving people might eat grass, were the chiefs.

When the news reached Paris, which was already in a wild fever of excitement, the excitement became a delirium of hatred, fury, and fear. It was said that the Royalist troops were advancing ready for massacre, red-hot balls were heated to burn the city, which that night would be given up to fire, sack, and pillage. In the Palais Royal, which had been for some days a kind of Parisian Hyde Park with its dozens of fiery orators, the excitement was maddening.

Suddenly a young man, Camille Desmoulins, with streaming hair and flaming eyes, leaps upon a café table. "Citizens," he shouts with frenzied passion, "Citizens, we have no time to lose; the dismissal of Necker means the massacre of the people. Shall we die tamely like sheep in the penfold bleating vainly for mercy, the knife of the butcher at our throats? No, there is but one thing left for us to do! To arms, citizens! To arms!"

"To arms! To arms!" comes thundering back from the crowd. A procession is formed, and two wax busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans are draped in crape and borne in front of it. Through the streets they march, mid shouts and tumult. In the Place Louis Quinze, the German dragoons, commanded by Prince Lambesc, charge on the procession, sabring right and left. The bearer of one of the busts and a French guard fell dead on the ground. The sabred procession breaks and flies, bearing the news all over Paris. The dragoons mad with murderous fury pursue some of the processionists into the Tuilleries Gardens, and cut and slash without mercy not only the processionists but the usual Sunday promenaders. One poor old man falls, his white hair dabbled in blood from the cut of the sabre of Prince Lambesc. A fearful yell of indignation goes up from the people, who pile up barricades of benches, and literally drove away the dragoons with volleys of missiles of all kinds.

The cry "To arms!" rings through the city. It reaches the French Guards, who are already very mutinous, and who on hearing that one of their comrades has been murdered by Lambesc's dragoons, burst out of their barracks and greet the retreat of these butchers with a volley of sharp shot.

Meanwhile, the whole city breaks into revolt, alarum bells clang out from every steeple; arms shops are broken open and pillaged, and the streets are filled with a furious and desperate crowd; the troops, ordered to advance against the people, refuse, they seem more inclined to join the rebels than to attack; even the foreign mercenaries are disinclined for battle; the officers order a retreat, and the people are left in possession of Paris.

Thus amid clamour, turmoil, and furious excitement passed the night of the 12th of July. Monday, the 13th, was mainly occupied in forming a National Guard, and making pikes and searching for arms. It was a day of terror and uncertainty, for every moment there were groundless alarms that the troops were advancing against the city. Next day, the famous 14th, the people hear that there are 28,000 stand of arms at the Hotel de Invalides. They force their way into it, and carry off these precious weapons. Then arises a tremendous shout, "To the Bastille!" a gloomy fortress prison where languish the victims of royal and feudal tyranny. This place with its frowning walls, its gloomy dungeons, was to the people the symbol of the tyranny

under which they had groaned so long. Let the Bastille fall and France was free.

Arrived outside the fortress gates the leaders of the crowd parley with the governor of the prison, an old officer, one De Launay, noted for his brutality. Suddenly by his orders the drawbridge is drawn up and a treacherous and murderous volley is poured upon the people. But it does not long remain so, as a brave old soldier, Louis Tournay, climbs up the wall of a guard-house, and though shot flies thick and fast around cuts the chains and the drawbridge falls; the crowd throng over and the outworks are in their hands.

But this means but little. The people are met by a terrible fire from the garrison that stands at bay. They retaliate by an infernal fire of musketry, which rains upon the fortress, rising like a grim grey rock amid the spray and foam of the tossing waves of tempest. Thus it rages, but despite the storm of lead the fortress holds out obstinately. The people have two small pieces of cannon, but these are useless against its mighty walls. Thus the fight rages for nearly four hours, but the appearance of the French Guards with some powerful artillery changes the aspect. The few hundred men in the garrison, though bemuddled with drink that had been plentifully served out to them by De Launay, fight with but little heart, for they feel that all Paris is against them, while help there is none. The appearance of the French Guards with their artillery decides the business. The Swiss and the Invalides offer to surrender, despite the resistance of their governor, who attempts to fire the powder magazine and blow the Bastille and insurgents high in the air, but is dragged back by his soldiers.

Suddenly a white flag is waved from the second drawbridge and a paper is held out; a leader crosses the moat on a plank, secures the paper, and shouts assent to the terms proposed—mercy for all. The drawbridge is lowered, and the people rush over by thousands and all is over. The cells in the Bastille are forced, the prisoners are released, and are borne along the streets to the number of seven; with them go more ghastly trophies, seven heads on pikes. Among them is that of De Launay, Governor of Bastille, slain on his way to the Hotel de Ville to be judged for murdering the people. The delicate humanitarians and rabid reactionists who shriek about the heads on pikes, should remember that that barbarous custom had been taught the people by the despotic monarchy, which was fond of cutting off the heads of rebels against its power, and sticking them on gateways as ornaments. This custom had not then been long out of fashion in our own happy land, the Jacobites of 1745 being the last to suffer this penalty.

My story concludes with the surrender of the king and his Court; the flight of the reactionary Ministry, all caused by the fall of the Bastille. A popular victory which overthrew the aristocracy, and put the middle classes in their places upon the backs of the people. When shall our bastilles, the factory, the prison, and the workhouse, fall, and the people be truly free? Is the day still distant? It is, perhaps, nearer than we imagine.

D. J. NICOLL.

## THE HYNDMAN-GEORGE DEBATE.

### I.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of July, St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, was fairly well filled with the partisans of H. M. Hyndman, the Social Democrat, and Henry George, the advocate of the Single Tax. Professor Beesly occupied the chair, and in opening the proceedings at eight sharp, confined himself to pointing out the terms of the debate. George was to commence by a ten minutes speech, in which he explained his proposal; Hyndman to follow with half-an-hour's speech; George to reply in twenty minutes to make up his half-hour; then Hyndman and George to have twenty minutes each, and then the two disputants to have again ten minutes each. By this arrangement George both commenced and ended the debate.

In his opening speech George said that of course they were both agreed as to the wrong in existing social conditions, and they both wanted to alter those conditions so that there should be opportunity for all, leisure for all, and a sufficiency of the necessities and even the luxuries of life for all. But they differed as to means. Man was a land animal, and in the opinion of the single-tax men all the great social evils were to be traced to the monopoly of land by the few. They proposed that the land should be treated as the property of the whole community, and that individuals wishing to use a portion of it should pay the community rent for its use according to its superiority over other land. This rent was to be used for the public benefit. He preferred to call this payment taxes, because in an old country people were used to the payment of taxes. This proposal was called the single-tax, because it was proposed to abolish all other taxes which in any way hamper industry. But this name single-tax expressed their method rather than their ideal; what they really were was liberty men, what they wanted was perfect freedom. They wanted to give every man liberty to use his powers in any way he pleases bounded only by the liberty of others to do the same. They would abolish all monopolies, and they would begin with the worst of all monopolies—the monopoly of land. They did not believe that labour was a poor weak thing that must be coddled and protected by government, but that labour was the producer of all wealth, and that all that labour wanted was a fair field and no favour. Therefore, as against the doctrines of restriction advocated by his opponent they raised the banner of liberty and equal rights in the gospel of free fair play.

Hyndman commenced by pointing out where Social Democrats agreed with George as is set forth in "Progress and Poverty." 1. That wages are not drawn from capital but from the product of the labour for which they are paid, and that the profit which results to capital is unpaid labour. 2. That increase of population is not the cause of poverty. 3. That the proposed remedies for the present state of things (economy in government, limitation of families, better education for the working classes, greater industry by the workers, thrift and temperance, trade unionism, co-operation, and a more general distribution of land) would not even temporarily alter the conditions under which the people live. 4. That the tendency is to pro-

duction on a large scale. 5. That the tendency is for wages to fall in proportion to the wealth created. 6. The collective ownership and management of monopolies. They differed in this:—1. That rent in countries where the capitalist system prevails reduced the rate of wages. He denied that. 2. That rent absorbs all the difference between wages and the total wealth produced. That was not so. 3. They did not believe that a tax on land values up to their limit and the equivalent reduction of all other taxation would benefit the people. 4. They did not believe that competition could be other than harmful. They held that competition in itself was harmful. 5. Mr. George did not propose to nationalise the land; the Social Democrats did. 6. They did not think that monopoly of land was the chief cause of industrial depression at the present time. The rent of land and the increase of land values did not lower wages. In America and Australia wages had not fallen as the rent of land had advanced. Since the enactment of the eight-hour law in Australia wages had risen, and the purchasing power of wages in America was, he contended, higher to day than it was five-and-twenty years ago. Between 1878 and 1888 rent had fallen considerably in England, but wages had not advanced to the same extent. Between 1850 and 1878 rent rose and at the same time wages rose. Mr. George had not proposed that the results of his tax should be expended in building better dwellings for the people, making parks, or anything of that kind. He had proposed to apply it to the reduction of the general taxation, and this would only help the great capitalists. Mr. George did not propose to relieve the land of taxation or rent, he simply proposed to transfer the rent to the State. Therefore the man who went to the land would be in precisely the same state as he is to day. Land taxation was the sheet anchor of the taxation of India, and yet there was no such poverty in the world as there. The total amount of wages taken by the working-class of this country had been estimated at from 300 to 500 millions, and the total annual income was 1200 millions. But the economic rent of England was only 60 millions a-year, and if that amount was added to the amount of wages received by the workers there were still some hundreds of millions untouched, and unless these millions were taken the condition of the working population would remain precisely the same. Mr. George agreed with him that capital was rolling up into larger and larger masses. If he would look across at his own country he would find that that was the principal reason why so many people were out of work there. They would have to deal with these large masses of capital before they touched the land. Social Democrats built up the future society from the facts they saw around them to-day. To-day the capitalists found that they were eating one another up too fast, and rings and combinations were the result. The landlord was but the sleeping partner, and if the sleeping partner was killed and the active man was left at work how much better off were they? If Mr. George is going to tax income from land, why not tax all robbery of labour?

George had never said anything more than that the increase of rent produces a tendency to the decrease of wages as a proportion. What they aimed at was not so much the taking of rent for the good of the community, as the freeing of land for the use of labour. The tax on land would compel the dogs in the manger to let go their grasp, and everywhere open opportunities by which labour could employ itself. And then how many men would be knocking at the factory gates for work? The unemployed had been driven off the land. He himself had seen a family evicted in Ireland and met that same family in a factory town begging for work at any price. Land and labour were the only two absolutely necessary factors in the production of wealth. Capital was the child of labour exerted upon land. Give labour access to land and it will produce capital, and give labour access to land and the power of the capitalist to grind down the people must disappear. Mr. Hyndman quarrelled with competition; he wanted to abolish it. To abolish competition would be to abolish freedom. How could they abolish competition except by saying to men "Thou shalt not"? How could they abolish competition save by preventing men from doing what they wanted to do, and what it was to the interest of the community that they should do? Why, to-day what was it that the working classes had to complain of? The restriction of competition—monopoly. How was competition to be abolished? The Social-Democrats proposed to take everything—not merely that which belonged of natural right to all men equally, but that which belonged by natural right to the men who had produced it. It was a pretty big job. Competition could not be abolished without subjecting men to the worst form of tyranny, without stopping all progress. Where competition was not permitted there was stagnation. It was the competition of manufacturer with manufacturer that led to the adoption of inventions in manufacture, it was the competition of steamship-owner with steamship-owner that had given them the greyhounds of the sea. What was wanted was full competition. What they wanted to do was to abolish the monopolies that prevent competition. It was to these monopolies and not to the earnings of capital that great fortunes were due. The great owners of Irish estates were not the Irish landlords but the English banks and insurance societies. Jay Gould made his first start by getting hold of a piece of land and taking advantage of its rise in value, and he was to-day the owner of millions of acres. Capital was a real thing; something produced by labour from land, and used again in the production of wealth. If the English national debt were wiped out to-morrow there would not be a penny less capital in the country. Let there be competition all around, from the highest to the lowest, and then it became the highest, the widest, the finest the most delicate system of co-operation that could possibly be devised by the art of man. Labour's fight should not be against capital but against monopoly. Abolish monopoly everywhere, put all men on an equal footing, and then trust to freedom. To abolish competition they must have restriction, they must call upon the coercive powers of the State; how else were they going to do it?

JAMES BLACKWELL.

(To be concluded).

"THE SOLDIERS HATE THIS KIND OF THING."—A Dundee soldier, writing to his brother from the South of Ireland, gives some particulars of eviction scenes on the Ponsonby estates in County Cork, in which he, as one of the military body-guard of the emergency men, was called upon to take part. He says:—We rose at four, got our breakfast at half-past, and were on the road by five. We were joined by the emergency men, and a more villainous lot of human beings I never set eyes on. Priests and Irish newspaper men were not allowed inside the ring we had made. I was sickened by some of the sights I saw. Little did I think I would ever assist at an eviction, and I can tell you the soldiers hate this sort of thing, an officer remarking, with some feeling, during the proceedings, that he wondered why the landlords did not depart from the country and leave the land to the "poor devils." He would not put a dog into some of these houses. It was eight at night before we got back to camp.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Seamen's Strike.

The shipowners at Liverpool merit sympathy. They are very hard up for rats, and two worthy gentlemen have been supplying the 'Adriatic,' one of the steamers of the White Star Line, with paupers from the workhouse dressed up in sailors' clothes, and then pocketed their advance notes, of £2 each, as a slight recompense for their trouble. Two of the paupers who were rejected were intercepted by the union, so the whole thing was exposed, and these practical philanthropists who desired to supply the paupers with useful work for a consideration were heavily fined by unsympathetic magistrates. It does not appear that the paupers knew anything about seamen-ship, and if the scab crews are generally made up with material of this kind, it is to be hoped that the passengers on big lines like the White Star and Cunard admire the care with which these companies select their scab crews.

The monotony of the strike at Liverpool was broken on Tuesday, July 3, by an attack on the house of a boarding-house keeper who has been supplying the ship-owners with scabs. His windows were broken, the doors forced, and his furniture smashed. The riot was thought so serious that the mounted police were called out. It is evident that the men at Liverpool, who are holding together so splendidly, will not be beaten without a bitter struggle.

The seamen are beaten at Sunderland, but they have resolved at Liverpool by 584 to 40 to continue the strike.

### The Tram Slaves.

Another piece of shameful tyranny on the part of the London Tramway Company. They have dismissed one of their men, T. C. Roberts, a horse-keeper, because he would not sign an agreement binding him to give the company four day's notice if he wanted to leave, while the company could dismiss him at a moment's notice. Unfortunately, he found no backers in his plucky behaviour, for the rest of the men signed this in fear of dismissal. When will the men learn that a wrong inflicted upon one of their number is the concern of all? Several of the men who have been already discharged have obtained situations.

The spread of the union in the North of London has wrung the concession of a summer holiday from the North Metropolitan Tramway Company. The inspectors are to have ten days and their pay, and so on down to the horsekeepers, who will get two days and their pay. The hardest worked and the worst paid get the shortest holiday. This is the capitalistic notion of justice to their employees; they naturally treat their slave-drivers better than their slaves. These gentlemen will come back from their ten days at the seaside full of health and spirits for their pleasant task of harrying and harassing the unfortunate men.

Edward Cross, a conductor on the South London line, has issued a circular warning his fellow workmen against "agitators," and the danger and folly of coming out on strike. It is to be hoped that the directors have paid his printing expenses.

The West Metropolitan Company have sacked two men. One of them, conductor Dennington, received his dismissal, according to the company's manager, Mr. Gayner, "for endeavouring to get men to join the Union." Driver C. Witte has been evicted as well, for after he had joined the Union he was turned out of one of the company's houses, which the manager suddenly discovered he wanted for an office. The house was a new one, and it had cost him a sovereign for coals to dry. Where is his compensation for improving the property of the company? The West Metropolitan is the line of which the manager and officials were so prominent at one of the Union meetings. We can guess what they were there for now. Three cheers, my lads, for free England, where people are never evicted nor coerced!

### National Conference of Miners.

At this conference, which was held at Manchester on July 2 and 3, there were fifty delegates present representing 240,000 miners. It was stated that Somerset was the only district in which the advance generally demanded by the miners had not been conceded. It was decided to give the men on strike in Somerset active support till they obtain the advance. It was agreed to support the resolution carried at Birmingham in favour of reducing the hours of labour for miners to eight a day, working five days a week. A resolution in sympathy with the relatives of the miners killed in the explosion at St. Etienne was adopted. This shows that our miners are getting international in their sympathies. Resolutions condemning the use of roborite in mines, and regretting the non-representation of workmen on the Rents and Royalties Commission were carried, and the conference then rose.

**GENERAL STRIKE OF NAIL-MAKERS.**—At a mass meeting of wrought nail-makers belonging to the East Worcestershire and Staffordshire districts, held at Halesowen last Monday, a general strike was declared. The operatives, who number about 15,000, claim an advance of wages ranging from 10 to 15 per cent.

**STRIKE OF NEWSBOYS AT CARDIFF.**—The spirit of revolt has spread from the tram men to the newsboys. The Cardiff newsboys on Monday refused to take out two evening papers, demanding to purchase the papers at 3d. a dozen instead of 4d., as hitherto paid. The boys surrounded two offices, broke the windows with sticks, threw the contents boards into the river, and expressed their determination not to give way. No papers are being sold in the streets. These young rebels put some of our men to shame.

**TERMINATION OF THE GAS-WORKERS' DISPUTE.**—The London gas-workers and labourers gained a partial victory last Saturday. The men, some 10,000 in number, originally worked twelve hours a day, and filled ninety-six retorts, and they demanded that their hours should be reduced to eight a day, with seventy-two retorts to draw and charge, and attendance to producers. The employers have decided to concede the men's demand for eight hours, but stipulated that eighty retorts should be drawn and charged, with attendance to ten producers. They are going to hold a demonstration on Sunday, to thank their employers for giving way. This is a mistake, for the employers certainly would not have given way unless they were obliged to, so there is nothing to thank them for.

D. J. N.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Chicago and Alton Railroad has withdrawn from the Interstate Railroad Association. This considerably endangers the future existence of the embryo railroad trust, and the most likely upshot will be the formation of another association, with "cast-iron" rules, under the absolute dictatorship of Jay Gould. It will be remembered that the Interstate Railroad Association was the result of a compact entered into by the United States railroad magnates in New York last January. A railroad trust must and will come, for there is no other way imaginable to capitalistic minds in which to conform somewhat to economic laws. Railroad competition and its consequences—viz., passenger and goods rates "demoralisation"—is doomed, and must go to the wall. But what will the people do? Well, as Vanderbilt once remarked, the people be damned!

The present unsettled state of the railroads makes investors rather shy of this kind of property. Railroad stocks are practically ignored on the stock exchange, but everybody is hurrying to get hold of some trust shares. It is said that men have begun "to gamble blindly, heedless of the quantity and quality of their purchases." Sugar, lead, and oil take the lead, and the proverbial poor widow is withdrawing her money from savings banks to buy trust stock. The poor widow! She is always trotted out in any discussion on expropriation. However, she appears to have a taste for gambling, and a wish to participate in the spoils of the "unearned increment"; and perhaps it may not be so wicked after all to give her a chance to earn an honest living in a Socialistic society.

Edward Bellamy, of 'Looking Backward' fame, has written an open letter to the Nationalist Clubs advocating the extension of compulsory education to the seventeenth year. Reverend Solomon Schindler, also of the Nationalist Society, goes him one better, and closes an article in the Boston Globe with the following propositions:

"I for one stand ready to take the onus of absurdity on me by declaring that I believe (1) in manual training as the necessary supplement to mental training; (2) in the equal right of all, rich or poor, to share in the benefits of such an improved education; (3) in the extension of school life to the seventeenth year at least; and (4) in the duty of a community which pretends to offer education 'free' to all, to provide indigent scholars with the necessities of life during their years of study."

If only these good people could see how urgent it is to concentrate all our energies on solving the economical question, after which all other questions will speedily solve themselves! It's no good switching on to side tracks.

Ex-inspector of Chicago police, John Bonfield, has been arrested for stealing diamonds. Of course nothing will happen to him; his services during the Anarchist trial were too valuable to allow of his being imprisoned for theft!

Things have evolved in Johnstown, Pa., much as I said they would. The members of the club who owned the reservoir have been declared not guilty by "experts." The money given by "charitable" people has not yet reached the deserving needy. The "honest, solid, self-made" business men, who, in conjunction with the State authorities, are in control, declare that in view of the chaotic condition in which everything happens to be in that unfortunate city, it is impossible to keep any accounts. The workers who were engaged in clearing away the debris struck because of the starvation wage paid them, and more than 1,500 of them have been compelled in consequence to leave the valley. Yet, after all, "America is a free country and a brotherhood of man."

The Washington, D. C., grand jury has indicted ten members of a hod-carriers' union for "conspiracy" in threatening to strike unless an offensive non-unionist were discharged by their employers.

The International Typographical Union in session at Denver, Col., adjourned on June 15th, having completed its labours. A resolution demanding that the Government return to the process of hand-work in printing Government bonds and banknotes was adopted. The convention indorsed Government control of telegraphs.

A trades council of delegates from all trade and labour unions has been organised in Salt Lake City.

A movement is on foot by the Knights of Labour and Farmers' Alliance to capture the Legislature of Alabama. They claim 40 out of 66 counties.

Brooklyn gravediggers will not dig for any but the body of a union man, and the Harse-drivers' Union in that city will not handle a non-union corpse.

The organisations of the railway firemen, switchmen, and brakemen have formed an alliance, to be known as the "United Order of Railway Employés."

Number of strikes from June 1 to 22, 33; number of strikers, 6,552.  
Boston, Mass., June 26, 1889. HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**International Congress.**—The delegates of the Socialist League will start from London Bridge Station, L.B. and S.C.R., by the 9 p.m. train on Saturday, July 13, arriving at Paris (St. Lazare) at 8 a.m. Their address while in Paris will be Hotel du Cercle, 48, Boulevard Clichy.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 5, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Provincial Missionary Fund.**—Brookes, 6d.; North London Branch, 9s. 9d.; Propaganda Committee donation, 10s.; Yarmouth Branch, 2s.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITE, Secretary.

**"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.**

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Webb, 1s.; J. Presburg, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 2s. 6d.; F. Kitz, 6d.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

**REPORTS.**

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Wentje Road, Hammersmith*—Good meeting on Sunday evening, Morris and G. B. Shaw speakers; 5s. 8d. collected. *Kilburn*—On Sunday morning, Mainwaring and Parker addressed a large audience outside the "Old Plough," Kilburn Lane, Harrow Road, at which place the meetings, formerly held at the Canterbury Road, will be carried on in future. *Weal* sold out. *Finsbury Park*—Brookes and Parker were here last Saturday, and had a little friendly chat with some workmen and distributed a large number of leaflets. By the way, whoever had the selection of the spot in the park for public meetings, chose the dreariest and least attractive that could be found. This is not to be wondered at, for it is quite in keeping with middle-class ideas of gratifying the tastes of the people. *Streatham Fountain*—Brookes addressed a very earnest audience on Sunday evening, and several questions were asked and answered. A plain-clothes policeman tried to find out where the speaker was employed. We know the benevolent intentions of these wretches when they make such enquiries.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Good meeting on the Green, J. Turner and Mrs. Lahr speaking. We afterwards adjourned from Green to hall, which we found crammed, and had to turn heaps of sympathisers and visitors away. Herbert Burrows (S.D.F.) lectured on "Social Democracy and Anarchism." After the lecture one of the Social Democrats present proposed that the Democrats abstain from discussion in order to allow the Anarchists a chance to reply. Warm discussion resulting in a challenge given by Burrows to Turner to debate "Anarchism and Social Democracy," Turner accepting the challenge the debate will be duly announced when arrangements are completed.—P.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Sunday evening E. B. Bax lectured on "Law," full audience, many questions, and smart debate in which comrade Tucker (of Boston) took part.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday, July 7th, Kitz and Brooks spoke to a good audience; 13 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 2d. collected. In the evening in our rooms we held a special meeting to elect a delegate to the Paris Congress; comrade Cooper was elected to represent the branch.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Maughan, Tochatti, A. J. Smith, and Mrs. Lahr; 35 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 6d. collected; one new member. A fair meeting at William Street; speakers were Lyne, jun., Crouch, Davis, and Maughan; 6 *Commonweal* sold. At Archer Street 7.30 p.m., a good meeting was held; speakers were Tochatti, Dean, Crouch, and Maughan; a Christian spoke in opposition to parts of our programme; 15 *Commonweal* sold and 6d. collected.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Very good meeting addressed by Cantwell and Mowbray on Sunday morning at Regent's Park; 44 *Commonweal* sold and 7s. 4d. collected. Hyde Park on Sunday 3.30 p.m., good meeting addressed by Cantwell, Mainwaring, Mowbray, and Parker; *Commonweal* sold out and a number of pamphlets. A good meeting was held at Ossulton Street on Thursday evening, addressed by Hill, Cantwell, and Nicoll; fair sale of *Weal*. On Saturday evening at Hyde Park, Charles, Humphries, Cantwell, Hill, Cunningham, Nicoll, and Samuels addressed a very large meeting; some opposition on the foreign labour question; collection 2s. 2d., and 31 *Weal* sold.

**ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.**—Splendid meeting on Mile-end Waste on Tuesday, addressed by Foley and Turner on "Trades Unionism and Socialism." Fair members' meeting on Wednesday. Further collection for banner fund. Fair meeting at Leman Street on Sunday, addressed by Nicoll and Turner, Nicoll giving account of the taking of the Bastille.—J. T.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 1st inst., Frederic Harrison's lecture, "A Few Words about the Nineteenth Century," was read and discussed. The rain prevented open-air work on Saturday and Sunday.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday the usual meetings were held by Timothy, Joe Burgoyne, and Glasier. At the same stations good meetings were held the Sunday previous, when 2s. 8d. was collected for dock labourers. Owing to the Glasgow Fair Holidays no meetings will be held next Sunday.—D. McC.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday morning last Peacock of Nottingham addressed a fairly good audience in Russell Square; 4s. 4d. collected, 3s. worth of literature sold. In the evening, in Humberstone Gate, Cunningham Graham, M.P., addressed us on "The Eight Hours Movement." The audience was little short of 1,000. Several of the political and trades union leaders were present, and the press have given us ample reports. Barclay took the chair, and after a few words on Socialism, introduced the lecturer. Graham, who commenced with a very warm tribute to William Morris, went on to make out a good case for eight hours labour all round. The audience listened attentively, and were decidedly favourable to his sarcasms and denunciations. There was no opposition at the close, but several questions were put to the lecturer, which he dealt with. At this meeting 18s. 4d. was collected, which will go to other propagandist purposes, as Graham refused to have anything towards his expenses; 8s. worth of literature sold. Total collection, 22s. 8d.; total literature, 11s.—T. P. B.

**LEEDS.**—A large meeting was addressed on Sunday morning by Sweeney, Paylor, and Corkwell. In the afternoon a mass meeting of the builders' labourers took place in Vicars Croft, numbering 4,000. The Labourers' Union is now in thoroughgoing order; on Saturday last over 350 paid the shilling entrance fee and were enrolled as members. Meanwhile the strike is taking place; some forty masters have conceded the halfpenny per hour advance, and in the present flourishing state of the building trade the men are sure to win. The committee continue to meet at our rooms.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday afternoon, owing to no speaker turning up, our usual stand was taken up by Mr. Burgess, editor of *Daylight*, who spoke upon various questions of interest to working-men, and was followed by comrade Swash. A meeting was held at North Walsham, addressed by comrades Adams and Moore; very attentive audience.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Monday a huge meeting was held at Belton by Ruffold, McCormack, and Brightwell. On Thursday comrade McCormack lectured at Nelson Hall on "How the Poor Live" to a good audience; brisk discussion, in which a Tory parson was "sat on." On Sunday morning, on Priory Plain, a large meeting was held; Cores sang a "Song for Socialists," then Fred Henderson spoke and completely pulverised an individualist who made some disparaging remarks; Reynolds also spoke. In the afternoon another meeting was held at the same place, the speakers being Ruffolds, McCormack, Cores, and Reynolds. On the Quay, in the evening, a most successful meeting was held, Cores, Henderson, McCormack, and Reynolds being the speakers. Splendid collections; 42 *Commonweal* sold, also a number of pamphlets.—J. McC.

**BRADWELL.**—On Sunday morning comrades McCormack and Ruffolds came over from Yarmouth and held a very successful meeting. 3 *Commonweal* and 16 pamphlets sold. We are going to start a branch here soon.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, July 6th, Mr. J. Hamilton lectured on "Peasant Proprietary," advocating the system of occupying ownership. The reactionary nature of the scheme was forcibly pointed out by Frizelle, Toomey, King, and others.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in the Market Place on Sunday. Rooke and Whalley spoke on School Board election. Next Sunday the Socialist excursion to Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, takes place.—P.

**LECTURE DIARY.****LONDON.**

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minutes from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 14, at 8 p.m., a lecture by H. H. Sparling, "The Fall of the Bastille." Thursday July 18, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 19, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All members please turn up.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion in Gordon Hall. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.****SATURDAY 13.**

7.30.....	Finsbury Park .....	Brookes and Mrs. Lahr
8.30.....	Battersea—opposite Christ Church .....	The Branch
7.30.....	Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....	Mainwaring
8.30.....	Mile-end Waste .....	Mowbray and Cores

**SUNDAY 14.**

11 .....	Latimer Road Station .....	Maughan, Dean, and Saint
11 .....	North Kensington—William Street.....	Crouch, Lyne jun., and Smith
11.30.....	Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....	East London Branch
11.30.....	Eelbrook Common .....	Hammersmith Branch
11.30.....	Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....	Parker and Mainwaring
11.30.....	Leman Street, Shadwell .....	Turner and Mowbray
11.30.....	Mitcham Fair Green .....	Brookes and Mrs. Lahr
11.30.....	Regent's Park .....	Nicoll and Cantwell
3.30.....	Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....	Parker
7 .....	Clerkenwell Green .....	The Branch
7 .....	Wentje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....	Hammersmith Branch
7.5 .....	North Kensington—Archer Street .....	North Kensington Branch
7.30.....	Mitcham Fair Green .....	The Branch
7.30.....	Streatham—Fountain, High Street.....	Brookes and Mrs. Lahr
7.30.....	Walham Green—back of Church .....	The Branch

**TUESDAY 16.**

8 .....	Fulham—back of Walham Green Church .....	The Branch
8 .....	Mile-end Waste.....	St. George's-in-the-East Branch

**THURSDAY 18.**

8 .....	Ossulton Street .....	The Branch
8.15.....	Hoxton Church .....	The Branch

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**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Queen's Road, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Monday: Holt Town, at 8 p.m.

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**Paterson,** 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. *Kilmarnock*—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. *West Calder*—

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# THE COMMONWEAL

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SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE International Socialist Congress was opened on Sunday in the Salle Petrella, as announced, but the delegates numbered nearly 400, and on Monday it was necessary to move into the larger hall known as the Fantaisies Parisiennes in the Rue Rochefoucault. Attracting less notice than any other event which took place on the centenary of the Bastille, the opening of this Congress was yet by far the most important happening of the day, to the workers of the world at least.

The present Congress is the largest and most representative that has ever been held, even in the palmiest days of the old International, and it is to be hoped that it will not separate without leaving as part of the result of its labours a reconstructed and stronger International.

The centenary shows everywhere have been very poor as celebrations in the true sense of the word. That in Paris even was only remarkable for its size and brilliance as a spectacle; the enthusiastic rejoicing that should have informed it, were the "celebration" real, was notable by its absence. The bourgeois were obviously unable to abandon themselves to merriment and amusement in face of so many reminders of the instability of wrongful privilege.

They thought upon existing Bastilles for the fall of which they are not anxious, and their efforts at gaiety were half-hearted and spasmodic. As for the workers—well! the Bastille fell a long while ago, and they are still poor and cruelly oppressed; they could not very well realise what good it had done them. However, the holiday was a boon, and the sunshine and the flags and the fireworks and the rest of the fun made it enjoyable, so the mass of them huzzaed, and didn't know why.

But the ever-increasing army of the discontented thought of the memories and associations of the day that had been, and looked forward to the days that are to come.

"A highly promising specimen of permissive legislation," as the *Daily News* calls it, in the shape of a Bill for enabling the London County Council to buy up the metropolitan water-works, is before Parliament, but with very small chance of becoming law this Session. As it only provides, however, that the water companies may sell, and that the Council may buy, there is very little need, one would think, for any great alarm on the part of the monopolists, or of enthusiasm on that of those who are adopting this method of attack upon their prerogatives. It is not very likely that the shareholders in the New River Company, for instance, will readily or soon relinquish the river of gold which their control over the river of water enables them to divert from the people's pockets to their own.

But there is, no doubt, looming large to their frightened eyes, behind this mild measure one couched in more imperative terms. Also they may remember the threat openly expressed on the Council itself some time ago, that if they asked exorbitant prices, or in any other way obstructed public control of public resources, it would always be possible to open new sources of supply and to compete them out of the field, which would be turning their own weapons upon them with a vengeance.

Another piece of legislation which has caused much weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, is that clause of the Scotch Local Government Bill which provides for free education. "Free" education alone, and only for Scotland at that, is not calculated to stir a Socialist's blood to any great extent, but, as we have so often insisted in these columns, there is a meaning in these small things which makes them of much greater importance than many other events which to ordinary newspaper readers make the history of the time. S.

Mr. Lazarus has drawn attention at the St. Pancras Vestry to what is, ironically, called the "housing" of the poor in that locality. It appears

that he has taken the trouble to visit some of the dens in which the poor live, and he declares that the houses are more like pigsties than habitations for human beings.

To quote his own forcible statement: "The staircases were rotten, the floor boards had great holes in them, the doors were broken off at the hinges, and some of these kennels were occupied by as many as fifteen or sixteen people, and an aggregate rent squeezed out of them amounting to some £68 and £70 per annum."

He afterwards gave some interesting details as to the amount of rent paid by these unhappy people. The details may be of interest, especially to our provincial friends, who can have very little idea as to that great curse of the helpless London worker, remorseless rack-renting by unscrupulous and greedy landlords. But let the figures speak for themselves.

These are the rents paid for some of the rooms in one of these houses. They range thus: Ground-floor front, two lodgers, 4s.; ground-floor back, six lodgers, 3s.; first floor, one family of four persons, 6s. 6d.; second floor front, three persons, 3s. 6d.; second floor back, no windows, one at 2s. 6d.; front kitchen, eight persons, 3s.; back kitchen, two at 2s. And yet this is rather a mild case of rack-renting for London. St. Pancras is some distance from the centre of London, and rents are cheaper there, but in the swarming dens of Soho, St. Luke's, and the East-end, it is not uncommon to find a family paying 5s. to 6s., or even 7s. for a single room.

Just let any thoughtful man think what this means. The most devoted believer in the respectable doctrine of individual responsibility must surely ask himself the question what he would be like if he had to live under these conditions, with an average wage of some 20s. a-week and a frowsy den to live in, in which bad smells, the voices of scolding women, and the shrieks of squalling children are painfully predominant. I wonder if, to escape this hell, he would not take to the milder one of the publichouse, and drink to drown his wretchedness.

I am not talking here to the self-righteous Pharisee, or to the smug temperance advocate with lungs of brass and a heart of iron. These people imagine that because under exceptionally favourable circumstances they can refrain from drink, therefore everyone else, no matter what their surroundings or environment may be, can do the same. No; I appeal to men with hearts to feel and brains to think, and not to the unconscious blockheads whose stolid stupidity and cruel hard-heartedness obtains for them a reputation for solid wisdom in respectable British society.

To the men of good-will I appeal. I ask them if they think it right that there should exist, beneath the smooth surface of modern society, this black pit, this yawning inferno, this hell on earth into which the wretched sink to rise no more.

Some of my readers may be trade unionists, workmen earning decent wages. And perhaps they imagine that this does not concern them. I think it does; for, my friends, despite your good wages and your little balance in the savings bank to-day, there may come a time when a commercial crisis, the failure of your master, a new machine, or sickness or death may precipitate you and your wife and children into one of these dens in the slums.

There, 'mid the stench, the shrieks, the yells, the curses, the hideous vices of many of the sufferers in these modern hells, you will find how easy it is to lead a decent life under such circumstances. It will need the sternest and noblest virtue on their part to keep your children pure and honest, to save the girls from the streets and the boys from vice and crime. Why, their surroundings, every sight they see, every word they hear, will urge them towards these courses with irresistible force; while at the same time their insanitary surroundings

destroy their health and strength, and render them absolutely unfit for the grinding toil of the working people's existence.

Then let all unite, not to improve the house-farmer's property, as some Radicals seem inclined to do, but to make it harder and harder for him to exact the rents that grinds the people down into misery and vice. When we remember that people who live under these conditions may be reckoned by hundreds of thousands, it should urge the most indolent and careless of us to strike a heavy blow at the damnable system which makes these things possible. Talk of a Plan of Campaign in Ireland: do we not want one in London? D. N.

## THE PHILANTHROPY OF SHIPOWNERS

ACCORDING to the published reports of the interviews between representatives of the daily press and shipowners, the latter have of late been very much grieved by the ungrateful spirit which their sailors and firemen have shown in agitating for higher wages. They expected better treatment from the men, seeing that they had in dull times kept their ships running at a loss solely to prevent their men suffering from want of employment. Several of the owners have repeated this story of their magnanimity so often that now they actually imagine that they are an unselfish and ill-used body. They will find some difficulty, however, in getting the men to believe that they ever run their ships at a loss from purely philanthropic motives, especially those men who have been often thrown out of work owing to want of remunerative employment on vessels belonging to the very fellows who are now blowing their own trumpet so loudly. The workers are beginning to learn that commercial men consider a business is being carried on at a loss, not merely when there is a balance on the wrong side of profit and loss account, but whenever the average profit is not realised. If the average profit is 10 per cent., and only 5 per cent. is being made, the capitalist is sure to raise a howl about his losses and his public spirit in keeping the business going. Indeed, it is more than suspected that often when he is making a very good thing of it he indulges in not a little whining and whimpering, for the purpose of keeping off competitors.

Sometimes, no doubt, ships are run at an actual loss, but that happens either through a slip on the part of the managers or through the desire of keeping hold of a certain trade which they know pays well on the average. What the profits made by shipping really are is not always easy to discover. All private companies, of course, keep their books and accounts under lock and key, safe from the vulgar eye. If, however, there is any truth in the following excerpt from the *Glasgow Herald* of 19th June, private concerns seem to be doing fairly well: "Some steamers have been doing uncommonly well for their owners of late. We have just heard of a firm that has distributed amongst the partners 30 per cent. of the drawings of the past year and have written off 10 per cent. besides. But this is moderate compared with the reported earnings of a Durham steamer—no less than 63 per cent. per annum." It is quite probable, of course, that the whole story is pure fiction, even though it did appear in the above-mentioned "respectable" paper. I give it for what it is worth.

In the case of public companies we have more reliable information, for most of them publish balance-sheets and working accounts, which are sometimes procurable. It seems that some are paying no dividend, because they are being crushed out by larger competitive lines. Others again are paying nothing because they have been paying too much in preceding years. They have been distributing dividends too high to leave them a sufficient sum to cover the depreciation in value of their vessels; and they have now to lay by abnormal sums from their net earnings in order to make their assets square with their subscribed capital and other liabilities. In other words, they have been taking from their net earnings, not only ordinary profits, but what was, strictly speaking, capital—namely, that which was to recompense them for the necessary and continuous fall in value of their vessels; they have been consuming their capital and have now to suffer for this extravagance by doing without dividends till they raise it to its original figure. For instance, the National Steamship Company paid no dividend for 1888, because in order to put itself into a good financial position it had during the previous three years been writing off the value of its ships enormous sums, which should have been spread over a great number of years. The value of its fleet as it stood in the books at the end of 1884 was £1,079,802, and it now appears as only £193,528, in these three years there having been written off £886,274, a large portion of which would have been paid in dividends if the shareholders had pocketed less in former years. This company gives, be it observed, 8 per cent. on its preference shares, and that must be paid before any dividend can be declared on ordinary stock.

On the other hand the General Steam Navigation Company, the oldest shipping company in the kingdom, is a good, steady-going concern. For 1888 it paid 3½ per cent. on ordinary stock and 5 per cent. on preference. The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company paid 10 per cent. in dividend and bonus. The Union Steamship Company paid 7½ per cent. in dividend and bonus on ordinary shares, and 4 per cent. on its debenture stock.

It is difficult to tell the ratio of wages to profits, because some companies do not publish detailed working accounts, and others include with wages, in a single amount, such items as lights, tonnage-dues, port-charges, pilotages, provisions for troops and emigrants, and incidentals; which is certainly not explicit enough for a Socialist's purpose.

In the Royal Mail Company's accounts for 1888, however, we find £75,090 for wages, to which, since the company victuals the crews, has to be added a part of the sum shown in the item "provisions." Now as the sum paid in dividend and bonus amounted to £86,250, it is beyond doubt that wages might with perfect ease be raised by 75 per cent. at least. But the sum of £86,250 was not all that was earned by the workers in the employment of this company, and fished from them and their class. Out of the net earnings of the same year £87,007 was put by for repairing and renewing ships and machinery, £47,700 for insurance of the fleet, and £73,078 for depreciation—that is, for the replacement of capital lost by the natural fall in the market-value of the ships. The sums written off for depreciation are fabulously large, owing to the extremely rapid advance of the arts of shipbuilding and engineering, and to competition forcing shipowners to utilise without delay the very latest inventions and improvements. It is thus easily seen that the workers by their labour earn not only their wages but enough to repair all the wear and tear of the ships, replace such as are lost at sea, and keep adding to the fleet with all the latest improvements, besides enough to pay the shareholders a handsome dividend. Thus, taking the Royal Mail Company's accounts we find the workers engaged in its service handing over to the shareholders for the purposes mentioned above £294,035 in all, or more than three times the sum they receive in wages.

These facts and figures are sufficient to enable us to form a pretty correct estimate of the financial position of shipping, and they show that in the vast majority of cases the shipowners could pay their men even far higher wages than the men themselves have at present the sense to think of claiming. Unfortunately, shipowners like other capitalists cannot be brought to see that there is no moral justification of the receipt of dividends. They believe they have a right to appropriate or confiscate the proceeds of the labour of other men when in the form of dividends, and cannot or will not see that, except in the case of gifts, whatever is taken from another without the return of an equivalent in value is robbery. Indeed it may be safely said that the capitalist class will never be moralised, but will cling to their privileges to the last. The workers must therefore depend upon themselves alone to realise Socialism and thus procure justice for all.

Under Socialism the shipping trade would, like other industries then, be managed for the good of the whole people instead of for the profit of a capitalist class. The safety, comfort, and wellbeing of the seamen and firemen would receive the first attention, no pecuniary sacrifice being considered too great to make their life as well worth living as that of the other workers. The payments made by the community for the work done by its mercantile navy would be large enough to cover as at present the expenses of maintaining the vessels in good order, supplying them with stores, building new ships to replace the old and those lost at sea. Further, they would be large enough to give the sailors and firemen the value of their labour, and not a mere fraction of it as at present. All this would not involve an extra drain on the resources of the community, for the sum paid in dividends at present would be used for this purpose, besides the enormous sums saved by the shipping being managed on co-operative lines instead of in the present private speculative way. To give an idea of the great saving that might be effected if shipping were nationalised, it may be mentioned that it was stated by the Hon. D. A. Wells, LL.D., in the *Contemporary Review* of August 1887, that good authorities had estimated that "the tonnage afloat in 1886 was about 25 per cent. in excess of all that was needed to do the carrying trade of the world." The meaning of that is obvious. It follows that if business were managed in an economical and rational manner, each sailor and fireman might, as the result of the saving effected by the reduction of tonnage alone, receive his present wages and into the bargain every year nearly three months' holidays ashore on full pay! For, as is easily seen, those thrown out of work by the reduction of tonnage would be available to relieve the general body of one-fifth of their work, and all would receive the same wages for nine months and a half as they now get for twelve, the same quantity of goods as now being carried for the same freights.

In view of all this, the paltry advance of two or three shillings which the firemen and sailors struck for is hardly worth troubling about. Let them go in for the full measure of justice to the whole of the working class with as much energy as they have displayed in their great strike, and if united with other trades, they will very soon rid the world of monopoly and privilege. They must put a high ideal before them, and make up their minds never to flinch till they have achieved the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capitalism.

R. ELLIOTT.

Ignorance is less distant from truth than prejudice.—*Diderot*.

G. C. Clemens of Topeka, Kans., has written a book entitled 'The History and Philosophy of the Labour Movement,' which I hope to review at length in the near future. For the present the following paragraph may suffice as the neatest and most concise illustration of the capitalistic system I have ever seen: "An enterprising man in a Missouri River town once during a freshet when the river was high advertised in a newspaper for five hundred hands to catch driftwood on shares. Scores of men responded to the advertisement, and for two or three days fished driftwood from the river, giving the advertiser half (which he very prudently hauled away at once), and piling up their own shares on the bank. It was amusing, of course, though sad enough, too, when philosophically thought of. When the men came to their senses at last and bethought them that the driftwood belonged to their 'employer' no more than to them, they were greatly incensed, but were so laughed at that they raised no disturbance."—H. F. C.

FOULON TO THE LANTERNE!

It is nearly a week after the fall of the Bastille. The power of the aristocracy has vanished, and already the respectable middle class have taken the places of the nobles. Astronomer Bailly, who is now mayor of Paris, and military Lafayette, commander of the National Guard, are endeavouring to maintain law and order in the interests of the monied classes. Maintaining law and order in a revolted capital, in the midst of an armed and starving people, is hard work; and so Lafayette and Bailly find it. The affair I am going to refer to especially upset them when it occurred on the 22nd of July.

It appears that old Foulon, knowing how great was the love the people bore him for his extortions, his tyranny, his schemes of taxation, and above all for his famous phrase, "The people may eat grass!" has a report spread that he is dead, and even goes to the expense of a sham funeral, concealing himself in the meantime in the country. Here he is unearthed by some country people, and dragged to Paris, with a bundle of grass on his back and a garland of nettles and thistles round his neck. Thus he is dragged along through the narrow streets to the Hôtel de Ville, a dense crowd, armed with every species of weapon, waiting outside, to see that justice is done; for the people have very grave doubts as to whether the new Municipals really desire to punish so great a man as Foulon. The people are right, for the Municipal Councillors, with the natural love of all respectable persons for scoundrels in high places, do their best to get him off. Seeing the temper of the people, who throng their council hall, which bristles with pikes and muskets, they waste the time in legal rhetoric. Morning has passed away; it is noon, but he is still unjudged. Lafayette, who has been sent for by Bailly and Co., arrives and suggests that Foulon may have accomplices, and that he had better be sent to the Abbaye prison in order to get the truth out of him. Some of the audience are foolish enough to applaud this treacherous suggestion, and old Foulon, knowing that he will be safe enough there in the kindly care of his friends upon the Municipal Council, claps his hands also. The people see the plot at once, and a well dressed man springing forward exclaimed, "Friends, what is the use of judging this man? Has he not been judged these thirty years?" In another moment he is seized by the people, dragged down stairs into the Place du Grève, and is swept across to the "lanterne" at the corner of the Rue de la Vannerie. The oil lamps of those days were hung from irons projecting from the walls of the houses, and these, with ropes by which the lamps were drawn up and lowered from them, formed convenient gibbets for popular executions. Well, Foulon, screeching for mercy, has a rope put round his neck and is dragged up to the iron. The rope breaks and down he falls; another also gives way; but the third finishes him. His head is then stuck on a pike and is borne through Paris with some grass in its mouth, amid shouts of triumphant rejoicing from a furious people.

Bailly and his friends feel anything but comfortable; but what is their dismay when they hear that Berthier, Foulon's son-in-law, has also been captured and is on his way to Paris. This man was the tyrant who had exacted taxes from the people of Paris; he had made a large fortune by his unjust exactions, and by starving the people by monopolising corn in times of scarcity. He is met by huge crowds at the gates of the city, who receive him with yells of fury and triumph. They brandish pikes, muskets, and huge placards bearing the particulars of the crimes of which he is accused, "He devoured the substance of the people," "He was the slave of the rich and the tyrant of the poor," "He drank the blood of the widow and orphan," "He betrayed his country." These are crimes that require a heavy retribution.

In the midst of the shouts and tumult he beholds the bloody head of Foulon coming towards him. He shrinks in horror from the ghastly object, and already feels the shadow of coming doom. Brought before the Municipals he refuses to answer their questions; he has only obeyed his orders, they have his papers and they can judge; as for himself he is worn out by want of rest, he only wants to sleep. A strong escort is prepared for him; he leaves the Council Hall to start for the Abbaye. But at the door of the hotel the people rush on his guards, the ranks are torn asunder, and he is whirled towards the Lanterne. He breaks loose from the encircling arms of those around him, snatches a musket and strikes desperately, for a moment driving back his assailants; but he is struck down, trampled under foot, and dragged to the lamp iron and hanged. His head is cut off, his heart torn out, and both are carried on steel points through the shouting streets. Thus die the foes of the people in the days of popular triumph and vengeance.

D. J. NICOLL.

It is difficult to free fools from the chains they revere.— Voltaire.

THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE.—The seamen's strike at Liverpool has collapsed; this was to be expected. For a long time it has been evident that the men were fighting a losing battle, though with invincible pluck and determination. They have been beaten, not so much by the organisation and wealth of the capitalist, as by the treachery of men belonging to their own class. The strike has been swamped by scabs, and it is to be feared that other strikes of the more downtrodden of the workers may be crushed in the same fashion. You see that in any labour strike, concerning those whose occupation can be learnt in a few days, may be always defeated by the aid of traitors who fight on the side of the capitalists against their fellows. It seems that nothing but the strongest measures will meet these emergencies. It is the scab and the capitalist that make terrorism necessary, and they cannot complain if their brutality and treachery brings fresh perils upon their shoulders.

A GILBERTIAN PERVERSION.

(SENTRY'S SONG, "IOLANTHE.")

WHEN all life long a chap remains  
A workin' hard, the dull monotony  
Must more or less obscure his brains,—  
That is, supposin' that he's got any.  
But though you cultured rich despise  
The toiling herd, I must admonish you,  
A few of us can use our eyes,  
And think of things that would astonish you.  
We doubt your doctrine's hardly true  
That Nature ordered all things thus—  
That there must needs be classes two,  
One useful, one mere incubus;  
And why should we break our backs for you,  
If you do never a stroke for us?

You Ornamental Classes may  
Feel difficulty in believing it,  
But speaking candidly, the way  
You get your living is by thieving it.  
Wherever Mammon makes his game,  
From Tennessee to Trichinopoly,  
The system's every whit the same—  
The merry system of monopoly.  
But now its days are growing few;  
We see it's quite ridiculous  
That there must needs be classes two—  
One useful, one mere incubus;  
And why should we break our backs for you,  
If you do never a stroke for us?

Us workers, how the very name  
Of Law and Order used to frighten us!  
To-day, that text sounds rather tame—  
Such power has hunger to enlighten us.  
But, once we bid you all Good-day,  
You money-bags and all your retinue,  
We'll blink the pranks you used to play,  
And say 'twas we were fools for lettin' you.  
But though you may look somewhat blue,  
We'll be no more bamboozled thus,  
That there must needs be classes two,  
One useful, one mere incubus;  
For why should we toil and moil for you,  
If you do never a stroke for us?  
C. W. BECKETT.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 27, 1889.

21	Sun.	1683. William, Lord Russell beheaded. 1796. Robert Burns died. 1848. Dillon, Reilly, O'Gorman, Meagher, and Father Kenyon appointed "War Directory." 1877. Pennsylvania militia defeated at Pittsburgh by railroad strikers. 1884. Suffrage demonstration on the Embankment and in Hyde Park.
22	Mon.	1789. Foulon hanged, with grass in his mouth. 1792. Solemn proclamation at Paris that "the country is in danger." 1801. Toussaint L'Ouverture proclaims San Domingo an independent republic. 1819. Reform demonstration in Smithfield. 1848. Habeas Corpus Act suspended in Ireland. 1852. Battle of Six Mile Cross. 1877. Burning and sacking of Pennsylvania Railroad at Pittsburgh. 1885. Police attack on a Socialist funeral at Frankfurt.
23	Tues.	1795. Trial of Henry York (or Redhead) for conspiracy. 1803. Emmett's rising in Dublin. 1866. Hyde Park railings pulled down. 1870. General Council of International Working-men's Association issue manifesto on the war.
24	Wed.	1792. Prussian declaration of war against France. 1821. Trial of Carlile's sister for publishing Paine. 1836. Armand Carrel died. 1852. Window-tax repealed. 1872. François, Aubry, Dalivonst, and De St Omer shot as Communards.
25	Thur.	1792. Coblenz manifesto of the Allies against French Revolution. 1793. William Winterbotham, Baptist minister, tried at Exeter for seditious words uttered in a sermon delivered Nov. 5, 1792, at How's Lane Chapel, Plymouth. 1794. André Chenier guillotined. 1826. The Decembrists, K. F. Rileeff, S. T. Mouravieff-Apostol, M. P. Bestuyeff-Ruinin, and P. A. Kakhovski, hanged. 1830. Proclamations of Charles X. restraining the liberty of the press and abridging the right of election. 1844. Brothers Bandiera shot. 1877. General Trepoff flogs a political prisoner, for which he is afterwards shot by Vera Zassulich.
26	Fri.	1549. Norwich taken by the rebels under Ket. 1792. Quarrel between Jacobins and Girondins. 1793. Trial of William Winterbotham for seditious words uttered in a sermon on Nov. 18, 1792, at How's Lane Chapel, Plymouth. 1794. Robespierre's last oration to the Convention, denouncing the stockjobbers. 1819. Meeting at City of London Tavern, Duke of Kent in chair, to consider practicability of Robert Owen's plan; resolved to carry it into effect and raise a subscription for that purpose. 1830. Protest of Parisian editors against the proclamation of the day before. 1869. Irish Church Disestablishment Bill passed.
27	Sat.	1777. Murder of Jane McCrea near Fort Edward on the Hudson River by Red Indians in the pay of the English Government. 1792. Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, from Coblenz, threatening France "with military execution" if royalty be meddled with. 1794. Fall of Robespierre (9th Thermidor). 1830. Many papers published in Paris in defiance of the law, wholesale arrests, and severe rioting.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**ABERDEEN and LEICESTER.**—It is impossible to get lectures or speeches into the limited space for reports. If comrades will not attempt to do this, it will save some disappointment. Any point worth preserving could much better be put in a paragraph.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 17.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO—Knights of Labor	SWITZERLAND
Brotherhood	Baecker Zeitung	Geneva—Przedswit
Christian Socialist	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Bulletin Continental
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	ITALY
Labour Elector	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	Arbeiter Zeitung	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	Die Wahrheit	Seville—La Solidaridad
Norwich—Daylight	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Sozial Demokrat	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	San Jose—Pacific Union	GERMANY
NEW SOUTH WALES	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Hamilton—Radical	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	AUSTRIA
INDIA	FRANCE	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Wien—Sozialdemokratische
Madras—People's Friend	Le Proletariat	Monatschrift
UNITED STATES	La Revolte	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Malmö—Arbetet
Workmen's Advocate	Anarchist	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Nationalist	BELGIUM	WEST INDIES
Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit	Cuba—El Productor
Investigator	Antwerp—De Werker	
Liberty	Liege—L'Avenir	

No remittances for League purposes should be sent to any other persons than those specially appointed to receive them, and whose names are duly advertised in the "Commonweal," or to any other address than this Office. Readers, especially in the Provinces, are asked to beware of appeals emanating from any person other than the Treasurer of the League, the Secretary of the Propaganda Committee, or myself,

FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

### TO ENGLISH WORKERS.

#### A DANISH ADDRESS.

BRETHREN,—In these days it is not necessary, as it would have been some years ago, to explain why we appeal to you. The cry, "Proletarians of the World, Unite!" long sounded in deaf ears; the millions were unconscious of their common misery. But now the workers everywhere are drawing closer their bonds of friendship, and are recognising that the wrong of one is the wrong of all.

Here in Denmark the Labour Movement began in 1871. Brave and energetic men took the lead and founded associations, which by their practical basis and great unanimity have extorted admiration even from our enemies. Through shortening hours, establishing regular prices for certain work, and enforcing these ameliorations by strikes

and great sacrifices, we formed a defence against the encroachments of single employers; and our perfect solidarity alone has up to this time enabled us to maintain these advantages. But our enemies are also awake; they have never lost a moment in their attempts to regain their former absolute power. They have tried to form anti-Trade Union Associations, and in 1885 struck a fierce blow at one of our greatest Unions, that of the Smiths and Engineers, meaning to crush that first and the others in detail afterwards. That they failed can only be attributed to the resolute and universal aid in defence rendered by all workers.

Now the situation is much the same as then. Employers in the joinery trade have enforced a lock-out, which, if they can fulfil their intentions, will paralyse us for a very long time. Therefore we come to You, asking your help in the battle which is not alone ours but Yours also.

They have locked out 500 cabinet-makers as well as the joiners, and they threaten to carry it further and include in one monstrous lock-out all cabinet-makers, all builders, all iron-workers, and all plumbers and tinkers. To do all this, indeed, the will is not missing; and to nip the evil project in the bud, your support, moral and material, is urgently necessary. It will at least make them hesitate to carry it out, even if it do not hinder them altogether from making the attempt, when they are aware that we are not alone but have your great strength also on our side. Speedy help is here twofold help.

The cause of the conflict and its development into a lock-out is soon told. In May, 1888, a joint committee of workmen and employers completely revised the scale of pay which had been in force from 1875. The new scale made a reduction of about 20 per cent. for most of the hand-work, and an addition of 10 and 25 per cent. respectively for putting up hand and machine-work. Although the employers themselves had taken part in establishing the new prices, they speedily repudiated them and even the old scale as well. Last October we struck against two employers, and the strike ended in the compromise that the old prices should remain in force until further notice. On May 18th, these were abolished in favour of a reduction of 20 per cent. on all doors and windows worked by hand, and an addition of 15 per cent. for setting up of all joiner's work.

To many people these rates of wages may seem strange, but they are founded on the present circumstance of the trade in Copenhagen. Machine-production of joinery-work has greatly increased in the last few years, and the effects of the *grande industrie* are too well known to need recapitulation here.

During the negotiations the masters seemed to wish for a greater reduction for hand-work and a larger addition on setting up machine-work. Not finding these demands fulfilled in the new list they rejected it. We had not expected such a tempest as that with which our proposal was met, thinking to satisfy both parties by keeping up the reduction while reducing the addition and making it valid for both kinds of work.

As the Employer's Association did not accept our offer we struck on May 27th in seven workshops with about 120 hands. They now charged the Joiner's guild to negotiate with us, but as the guild largely consists of cabinet makers, who did not understand the subject of discussion, the negotiation came to nothing. At the last meeting it was even openly declared that the masters would acknowledge no scale; out of pure mercy they would accept the reduction, but the addition should be only 7½ per cent., and if we did not accept in fifteen minutes they would even withdraw this! Such a demand it was impossible to entertain. We claimed a delay in order to put the matter before a general assembly of our Union. We got the delay, and the answer of the Union was, as might be expected, a refusal.

We knew the truth now; it was not the mere percentage they would attack; it was the organisation they sought to destroy. On Tuesday, June 11th, Capital revealed itself in its true colours; flinging off the mask it refused to bargain any longer with its slaves, bringing against them its last resource, the Lock-Out.

In spite of all, we are of good cheer and resolved on fighting to the last. To-day it is we who must defend the rampart of Danish trades' unionism; to-morrow it may be another, many other trades. The smallness of our country and the troubles we have already endured, make it difficult to get the necessary support within our own ranks. But, knowing that for us, the oppressed and dispossessed, there are no frontiers, no difference of race or nation, we come to you for your powerful aid in our common battle, relying upon your knowledge that not we alone, but the workers everywhere are concerned. If we lose, you lose; our victory will be your gain. The international solidarity of Labour must confront and combat the international tyranny of Capital.

Therefore, brethren, help us, and help us speedily.—With fraternal greeting, for the Joiners' Trade Union, C. M. OLSEN, President.

Remittances should be sent to P. T. NIELSEN, Joiner, Joiners' Lock-Out Bureau, Romersgade, 22, Copenhagen, K., Denmark.

POWER OF CONSCIENCE.—Coal Magnate—My dear, I couldn't sleep last night. Wife—No wonder; the room was terribly warm. C. M.—Yes, the room was warm, but that wasn't what was the matter; my conscience troubled me. Wife—Eh? C. M.—Yes; I got thinking of all the poor people in the world, and what a hard time they had to get along, and I couldn't help thinking it was a pity they had to pay so much for things. Wife—Yes? C. M.—Yes; and I firmly resolved that with heaven's help I'd reduce the price of coal 25 cents, before the Fourth of July; but I guess maybe 15 cents. will be enough.—*New York Weekly*.

## THE HYNDMAN-GEORGE DEBATE.

## II.

(Concluded from p. 221.)

HYNDMAN pointed out that according to Arnold Toynbee the agricultural rent was annually 30 millions sterling, and the town ground rent also about 30 millions. And even if it were 150 millions, what did it matter? That was but a small amount compared with the total wealth which did not go to the producer. But Mr. George had said his object was to free the land. It would be just as impossible for the worker to get on the land after Mr. George had begun his operations as before, because he was going to exact the full economic rent every year. But supposing the worker went on to the land, who was going to supply his tools, and how was he to meet the competition of the big factory farms? If competition was such a glorious thing, would Mr. George tell him how the man who was working on ten acres with the spade was going to meet the competition of the great factory farmers of Dakota with their steam-ploughs, etc. The law of competition would crush out the small men who went on the land without tools. This law of competition meant degradation for the mass of the people. Socialists wanted instead that co-operation of man with man for the development of the faculties of each, and he believed that this national and international co-operation was the necessary future of mankind. What Mr. George was proposing was practically to substitute the monopoly of the capitalist by competition for the monopoly of the landlord by land. The system of competition was falling down at the present time by its own weight. Competition had been tried and found wanting. He was told that the Social Democratic system would mean the stunting of faculty—were not men's faculties stunted by competition and the mere desire to compete and crush down their fellows? He saw the finest faculties crushed down by overwork because of this competition. If it was immoral to socialise capital—the tools—then it was equally immoral to touch the rent which goes to the landlord. One was the result of historical causes just as much as the other, and one meant the expropriation of labour just as much as the other. He was told that co-operation would stop progress, but capitalism stopped progress to-day. The great forces of electricity were practically not utilised to-day because of this very capitalist system.

George said what he proposed was to take rent—always meaning by rent economic rent—for the community, because it belonged to the community. He would not abolish it; he would exact it from anyone who used land. The importance that he attributed to this taking of rent was not merely that it was taking that which would not restrict industry, oppress labour, or hamper production, but that in taking rent they made mere land ownership utterly valueless, that they made it unprofitable to hold land in expectation of a future increase in its values, that they made it impossible to extort from the worker a monopoly rent, and that they made it impossible for individuals to hold vast tracts of land in idleness or for purposes of pleasure. Tax land values to the full and what was the result? The land which had no value, the land lying on the outskirts, could be had without price. The selling value of land would be destroyed, and land which had a value from position or fertility could be had by paying the rent to the community. Mr. Hyndman had asked who was to supply tools. This was a striking illustration of how the Social Democrats simply took the old dicta of such political economists as Ricardo. Just as they used to say that labour cannot be employed unless there is capital to employ it, and capital must therefore restrict the employment of labour because labour could not support itself, save on the produce of past labour, which is capital, the Social Democrats now said that labour could not go on to land and utilise it without capital. But who was the capitalist who supplied the first man with capital? And, he was asked, how was labour to get to land. How had labour got to land when it was much farther off? How had the Irish labourer gone three thousand miles across the sea, and then in many cases a thousand miles west? By saving, by borrowing, some member of the family had gone across, and his earnings had constituted an emigration fund for the rest of the family. The whole development of the United States, the whole development of any new country, proved the fallacy of the assertion that labour could not employ itself without capital. Go into a new country where land is free, or at least the price of land is not yet high, and there they would find no such thing as an unemployed man. The monopoly of land and not the exploitation of capital had been the cause of the deterioration in the condition of the people of the United States. Wherever the farmer goes he finds the land speculator ahead of him, and he had to mortgage his labour for years. That was the cause of mortgages, and that was why times had been getting harder in the United States. As to the man with the spade competing with the great factory farmer, at least he could always make a good living for himself with the spade if he had access to the land, and when men could do that they would not work for another for anything less. Capital was not really the employer of labour, labour was the employer of capital—that was the natural order. Give labour access to land and the reward of its exertions upon it, and the dissensions between the capitalist and the labourer would pass away, and if there were then great organisations of capital they would necessarily be co-operative organisations, in which labour would have its full share. He proposed to go back to the old English system, to recognise that all men were equally entitled to the use of the land, and that each man was absolutely entitled to that which his labour produced. They had heard a great deal that night about nationalising all the instruments of production, making capital the property of the State, and organising labour by the State, but he had yet to hear of any practical step in this direction. How did the Social Democrats propose to begin? The instruments of production included the axe, the spade, and the tools of the individual workman; were they going to take all that? It was a good big job. Had it ever happened in the history of the world that the men who had nothing took everything from the possessing class? never! But if it was taken what did they propose to do? To use it under government direction. To have a government official or a Board at the head of every vocation, from lawyers, doctors, and civil engineers down to milkmen, costermongers, and bootblacks. Did not organisation always mean a concentration of power? Did not those present who belonged to trade and political organisations know that the tendency always was to their being managed by a few? When things were left to the vote of a large number of people it was a few designing men who had the advantage. The system of protection, or taxation on imports, which existed in his country was an example of government protection of production. It was the result of the wisdom of the people of the United States expressed by manhood suffrage, and it was a system of utter robbery and spoliation, a system which gave to such men as Andrew Carnegie incomes of millions of dollars a year and

had driven American ships off the seas. Let them think of what would be the result if that system was applied to all industry. Think of the tyranny. The Social Democrats talked about organising industrial armies: an army always meant that a man must be put into the ranks as a machine and must obey arbitrary authority. Did they think there would be less tyranny because men claimed to act by the authority of the people? Not at all. They knew in the United States that there could be a tyranny of majorities just as bad as the tyranny of royalty.

Hyndman then enumerated the palliative measures propounded by the S. D. F. Mr. George had asked how Social Democrats were going to carry out their programme. By vote if possible, by force if necessary; and he would have to get his rent or tax in the same way.

George, in conclusion, claimed that the single tax would compel those who were now holding land unemployed to use it themselves or sell out to those who would. Mr. Hyndman had stated that industrial depression came from too much production; that because too many boots were made, men went shoeless, and so on. That was not it. There could not be too much production until the wants of all were satisfied. It was because the men were unable to apply their labour to produce something they could exchange for the boots. Industrial depression was caused by speculation in land values and shutting out labour and capital from employment on land, thus causing men to compete with each other for an employer. The Anglo-Saxon race had secured its predominance through trusting very little to government; more than any other people they had allowed free scope to the individual. He wanted them to follow their traditions to more and more liberty. The interest of the people was always in freedom. Their watchword should be—Freedom, Freedom, always Freedom.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, Professor Beesly, led him to reply that he agreed with neither party, and that in his opinion the best parts of the speeches were those in which the opponents destroyed one another's arguments.

JAMES BLACKWELL.

## PROPOSED FEDERATION OF YORKSHIRE SOCIALISTS.

The following circular has been submitted to the Council of the Socialist League, and has received their warm approbation. They recommend it as an example to other provincial branches, and believe that a similar scheme would be a great help to all of them by strengthening them in the work of propaganda:—

Leeds Branch of the Socialist League,  
Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road.

Your attendance is invited at the above address on Sunday, July 28th, at 7 p.m., to consider the advisability of forming a Federation of Yorkshire Socialists, for the purpose of strengthening existing branches and where possible establishing new ones.

In furtherance of this object it is suggested that an Annual Conference be held, time and place to be determined by sitting Conference. Members of branches and individuals taking part in the work of the Federation to be eligible to attend the Annual Conference.

In order that the work of Federation may be effectually carried on, it is further suggested:

That a Yorkshire secretary may be annually elected, whose duties shall be:—The organisation of the Socialist elements of Yorkshire, with a view to co-operative propaganda; by visiting branches and corresponding with individuals where branches do not exist; the preparation of a list of speakers for indoor and outdoor meetings, and collecting funds for defraying all expenses incidental to the agitation.

County secretary to pay a monthly visit to branches, and acquaint them of work done and to make arrangements for ensuing month. The secretary also to inform by correspondence, individuals situated in districts where branches do not exist, how the work of the Federation is going on, and to make such arrangements as may lead to the formation of branches.

All persons interested in the well-being of the Federation to consider it a duty to render every help to the county secretary, by promptly communicating facts as to trade disputes, places where meetings might be held, and names and addresses of such persons as could be counted upon to co-operate in the work.

N. B.—The above to be subject to any alterations or additions that the Conference may decide upon. F. CORKWELL, Organising Secretary of  
Leeds Branch of the Socialist League.

## LANDLORD TYRANNY.

It appears that the people of Zetland have gained a great victory. The inhabitants of this primitive island in the far north living far from the rush and roar of the modern world, retain many habits and customs which we have long forgotten. Strange as it may appear, these men have no foe but the feudal landlord, who endeavours vainly to keep up the exactions of the past. The men of Zetland are largely engaged in the whale-fishery, and it has been the pleasant little custom of the landlords to claim a third of the value of any whales which had been driven upon the seashore and killed upon their property. Sometimes these exactions were extended to half the value of the fish caught. If the men refused, they had to take the consequences—eviction and loss of work. In order to avoid these feudal dues the men have sometimes not followed their usual custom of driving the whales into the shore, but have killed them at sea. This practice has been met by "fines" and "punishments." However, some rebellious people have taken the matter into court and have gained the day. Sheriff Mackenzie has decided that the landlord has no legal claim. In the judge's note to his decision occurs the following remarkable passages. In speaking of the landlord's claim, he points out that it has no written law at the back of it, and that according to Erskine, "Unwritten law is that which without any express enactment of the supreme power, derives its force from its tacit consent, which consent is presumed from the inveterate or immemorial usage of the community." That is, the landlord has only the consent of the community to rely upon for the legalisation of his exactions. He then points out that usage is not immemorial and inveterate, nor is it founded upon consent, "unless that consent is construed as the choice of two evils, the submission to a burden under the knowledge that a greater harm would come from resisting it. Every payment or claim, such as rent or taxes, is no doubt felt by many to be a hard thing, and one that they would be relieved from, but for which they from obvious reasons are compelled to pay." Indeed, Mr. Sheriff, and what are the "obvious reasons"? One fails to see them. What need is there for keeping a pack of idle landlords, government officials, and all the host of slave-driving classes? None whatever. Mr. Sheriff Mackenzie has discovered that it is illegal for men to pay a tax on the produce reaped by their labour from the sea; who knows that some day he may not find out that it is "illegal" for men to pay tax upon their labour, even if it be in the form of rent, taxes, profit, or interest.

D. N.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Tram Slaves.

I have already mentioned the hard case of the men employed upon the cars of the North London Tramway Company. It appears that the company pays its men a miserable pittance ranging from 3s. 3d. to 3s. 9d. for a day of 14 or 15 hours, while it manages to screw for its shareholders 6½ per cent. dividend out of the slavery of its men. Yes, slavery! There is no other word for it, to work men seven days a-week and only give them a holiday once in every twenty-one days, while their life is made miserable by tyranny of the inspectors and the usual system of worrying fines.

Well, these men held a meeting at Edmonton in the small hours of Thursday morning, and were addressed, among others, by the Rev. D. Russel. The rev. gentleman acted up to his character of a minister of the gospel by recommending the men to combine and not to resort to "mob violence." Dear me! Suppose, now, the reverend gent was a tramway man and did some useful work for his living, instead of talking nonsense. Suppose, too, he came out on strike for higher wages, and saw that his place was being taken by traitors to his class, who by their cowardly action were taking the bread out of the mouth of himself his wife and children, and driving them to perish by quick starvation in the street or slow starvation in the workhouse, and there happened to be a brick handy. I wonder if the reverend gent would forget his Christian principles so far as to pick it up and chuck it at the head of that scab, as a gentle reminder that he was not wanted in his present position. If he did so he would be resorting to "mob violence"; but who could blame him for defending himself and his family against a man who was cutting their throats? The reverend gent should reserve his reprobation for the directors and their friends the scabs, who by their aggressive action force people into "mob violence."

The South London Tramway Co. have followed the example of the North Metropolitan by declaring that they have no objection to their men combining, and have also promised to do their best to remedy any grievances. Very kind of them. Such consideration from a tramway company is rare. Inspector Pain, the amateur spy, has gone to Honolulu,—a good journey to him! The West Metropolitan company are still dismissing their men for joining the union; while the Southwark and Deptford are short of conductors, and have to press horse-keepers for service in that capacity. All seems going well for the men; they are literally overwhelmed by the support of respectables. Rather different from the days when only the disreputable Socialist was found to plead their cause.

### The Glasgow Dock-Labourers' Strike.

The dock-labourers' strike in Glasgow has collapsed. The surrender of the seamen and firemen made it futile for the labourers to hold out longer, and with the view of retaining some funds in hand the officials recommended the men to go back at the old terms for a time.

The labourers came out on strike on the understanding that the seamen and the labourers would stand or fall together. The action, therefore, of the seamen or their officials in "raising the siege" without the consent of the labourers provoked much ill-feeling amongst the latter, and will make the association of the two unions in a future struggle a very difficult task.

In many respects the dock-labourers fought well—better, indeed, than most working-men fight. They kept a watch upon the sheds day and night, and for a couple of weeks either coaxed or terrorised the most of the scabs to leave off work. They received very little aliment from their union—many of them none at all—and faithfully followed the advice of their official leaders. Their compulsory surrender is therefore much to be regretted, and it will probably dishearten the men for a long time to come.

### Somersetshire Miners.

The Somerset miners still hold out for the 10 per cent. advance. There are upwards of 3,000 men out on strike. We take the following from our contemporary, the *Labour Tribune*, which tells a little story of how the Somersetshire women have made it hot for the scabs. After informing us that the miners are enjoying their holiday in a mild and tranquil manner, it goes on to observe: "So much as this cannot be said about the women, for the few people who went to work on the first day after the general cessation of work, seem to become the special charge of the fair sex, and they accompany some of these brave fellows to and from their work, and what with the beating of trays and bread tins and such like, produce a combination of sounds not in strict accordance with the rules of harmony, while occasionally above the din would be heard a shrill voice calling out 'blackleg.'" The end of it all, of course, was that twenty-three women and boys were summoned for "intimidation." The appearance of all who were summoned was more than ordinarily respectable, and most of the women carried babies! Fancy accusing a woman with a baby of "intimidation." I wonder they didn't summon the baby while they were about it. The magistrates happily saw the idiocy of the charges, and merely contented themselves by binding these dangerous people over to come up for judgment when called upon.

**THE CLYDE RIVETERS.**—The strike has been settled, and the threatened lock-out of 10,000 men averted by a compromise. The riveters are to work the next six months at a fixed rate.

**THE GAS STOKERS** after being victorious by their own action, have lost in the law courts. This must always be expected when workmen are foolish enough to go to law. Judge Bayley has decided that the men are only day labourers, and have no claim for a week's wages when dismissed without notice. What more could be expected from middle-class "justice?" Trust in your own strong arms, my friends, but don't waste time and money in your master's law courts. By doing so you only fill the capitalist classes with suppressed laughter; they know you will get more kicks than ha'pence at that game.

**SHOE TRADE WAGES.**—The boot and shoe riveters have gained an advance of 5 per cent. This increase has been the result of the deliberations of an arbitration board, composed equally of masters and men. This board was formed after the great lock-out of 1887, when 20,000 operatives were thrown out of work. The board appears to have worked well, but whether in the interest of masters or men the report does not say. Some 8,000 will be affected by the increase. The handstitch men have also received an advance they applied for a month ago. The increase to the hand-sewers or cordwainers is over 10 per cent.

## SOCIALISM IN LANCASHIRE.

ONE thing the visit of our comrade Kitz to this epitome of civilisation has unmistakably made clear—*i.e.*, the fact that Socialism is a name to conjure with among the workers of Lancashire; that, amid all the befogging and ugly surroundings, amid the horrors of this sordid régime of factory hells, the degradation and degeneracy of the human profit-grinding machines, the obliteration of all sense of natural beauty, and the total destruction of rural loveliness from the face of nature, which are the legacies left us by the glorious reign of commercial supremacy; amid the evil and benighting effects of these triumphs of modern civilisation, when one would have expected to find all hope abandoned by the working people who are its victims, it is yet true that the ideas of Socialism, the gospel of Revolution, has taken root and is now becoming a goodly tree, under whose spreading branches the thinking portion of the people are finding hope and discovering how they can work out the salvation of *all* humanity.

The first of the series of meetings addressed by comrade Kitz was held on Sunday afternoon the 23rd ult. in Stevenson Square, Manchester. It was called together to hear the question "Why the Workers Live in Slums" discussed from the revolutionary standpoint. The chair was taken by E. H. Parkinson, whose opening remarks were well received. The following resolution, proposed by Ritson, seconded by Marshall, each in an able speech on the question raised, was supported by F. Kitz:

"That this meeting of workers of Manchester, recognising the disparity between the death rate of the idlers living in luxury upon others' labour and that of the workers living in slums, declares that rent, interest, and profit, together with the monopoly of land and the means of production, are the main causes of the miseries of the producers, and can only be swept away by the workers combining for a total change in society."

The audience—nearly 2,000—filling the square listened most attentively to an address which lasted over an hour, and throughout received the uncompromising attack upon puritanical hypocrisy and social iniquity, which are the outcome of our class society, in a spirit of enthusiastic acquiescence which was most encouraging to the speaker. After Kitz's splendid address, which was much applauded, a notorious individual, who has fallen foul of every Socialist and labour movement which he became connected with, proposed an amendment which simply aimed at limiting the scope of the resolution. When it was put to the meeting, none but the mover and seconder could be found to support it. Leonard Hall stigmatised them as the half-loafers, which seemed to gauge the general feeling on the matter. The meeting, however, were for having none of the half-loaf business, so the resolution was carried unanimously. A good collection was made, and about 9s. worth of *Commonweal* and other literature sold.

Our usual meeting at Chester Road was also addressed by Kitz on Sunday night.

On Monday night a most sympathetic meeting of about 800 was addressed by Kitz and others on the Town Hall Square, Rochdale. Some opposition was given, which merely served to show how the people appreciated the gospel of Socialism. The S. D. F. is the only Socialist body here at present.

On Tuesday comrade Kitz paid Liverpool a visit, where no organisation of our party exists, but we have good reason to expect that some real work will soon be undertaken by the League in this fertile soil for the preaching of the Cause.

Bolton was selected for Wednesday night, where a large meeting was addressed by Kitz and Bailie, with the assistance of some members of the late branch of the S. D. F., which has been swamped by a premature effort at practical Socialism under the name of a Commonwealth, which has now become a society for the accumulation of capital and the spread of commercialism. When will our impatient sympathisers see the hopelessness of revolutionising society by isolated efforts at abolishing capitalism by means of commercial ventures whose capital is obtained by the pinching, misdirected thrift of a few wage-slaves? Even if they were to succeed in their small way, what of the mass which could never hope to attain independence through saving, when they fail to obtain enough to keep away hunger under this system of monopoly? Less energy would be required to establish a free condition of society for all than would be necessary to steer one of these individualist co-operative efforts through a commercial crisis.

The visit of our comrade has infused fresh energy into the movement in these parts. He returned to London on Thursday, but we hope before long our success will enable us to bring him amongst us again. Two of the Manchester daily papers gave a short account of our Sunday demonstration and the resolution in full. Any energy which can be set in motion in this direction among the workers of industrial centres cannot fail to have satisfactory results and give the cause an impetus which cannot be stayed.

The visit of Kitz to Lancashire shows what good work can be done in stirring up the revolutionary spirit among the workers in the provinces. We could send other speakers who could do equally good work; but we need funds. Those desirous of helping this good work may send their subscriptions to D. J. Nicoll, Secretary of the Provincial Missionary Fund, 13 Farringdon Road.

In the death of our comrade George Robson, Socialism in Leicester has lost one of its best supporters and ablest exponents. From the first formation of our Branch he has been very active in the Cause. Wherever there was any lecture, discussion, newspaper controversy, or anti-Socialist cant, there was Robson in the midst of it, fighting fiercely for Socialism. None who knew him well could help but esteem him, both as a man and for his unselfish efforts in the Cause.

The opinions of mankind have been found wonderfully flexible, have always tended to consecrate existing facts, and to declare what did not yet exist either pernicious or impracticable.—*John Stuart Mill.*

In the *North American Review* for June, Andrew Carnegie has an article on "Wealth." Andrew, who for a long time received 5,000 dollars a-day on his protected steel (sometimes spelled *steal*), ought to know something about it.—*Boston Sunday Globe.*

**READY FOR TRIAL.**—Great Lawyer—The trial of our honourable client will begin to-morrow. Assistant (astounded)—Trial? couldn't you get the case postponed any longer? G. L.—No need to have it further postponed: all the important witnesses are dead.



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 5, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, July 23rd, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the *Weal*.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Mile-end Waste*—On Saturday evening, Mowbray and Hicks spoke. *Kilburn*—On Sunday morning, Parker, Samuels, Charles, and Mainwaring were in attendance, but the heavy rain prevented any meeting being held; one new member made. *Hyde Park*—An excellent meeting was held here on Sunday afternoon, the speakers being Parker and Crouch, and Hunter Watts and Emerson (S.D.F.); literature sold out. *Mitcham Fair Green*—Mrs. Lahr spoke here on Sunday morning. *Streatham Fountain*—Mrs. Lahr spoke to a large and enthusiastic audience; *Weal* sold out and 2s. 10d. collected for propaganda.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Crouch, Saint, Bullock, and Maughan; 17 *Commonweal* sold and 7d. collected. At Archer Street we were told by the police we could not hold our meeting, who would give us no reason for the decision; our meetings have been most orderly. We moved away to the other end of the street, where Maughan and Bullock spoke for a little while, when the police came down and again broke our meeting up. We then took a stand which the religious party had vacated ten minutes before, but were again driven away.

**NORTH LONDON.**—A good meeting at Ossulton Street on Thursday, addressed by Humphries, Nicoll, and Cantwell; 15 *Commonweal* sold. A splendid meeting in Hyde Park on Saturday evening, when Davies, Nicoll, Humphries, Cantwell, Mrs. Lahr, and Miss Robertson (S.D.F.) spoke. Some disturbance caused by Tories and some of her Majesty's Foot Guards, who accused Mrs. Lahr of being "a foreigner." They were well replied to by Miss Robertson; good collection and 56 *Commonweal* sold.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 8th, Leatham read a paper in answer to the question, "Does the Universe show signs of being under Beneficent and Intelligent Government?" At Woodside on Friday night, Leatham addressed a meeting at the Fountain, and distributed a parcel of papers at the close.

**GLASGOW.**—Despite the fact that the Glasgow Fair holidays were on, Glasier and Joe Burgoyne had an unusually good audience last Sunday on Jail Square. An individual who assailed our speakers for defending the poor Soudanese, whom our "Christian soldiers" are butchering in the name of God and the Queen, was soon discomfited, and ridiculed "out of court" by the audience.

**LEEDS.**—Within the last week this branch has held three open-air meetings, all of which large audiences have attended. On Wednesday, July 10th, a mass meeting of the labourers in the building trade (now out on strike) was held. The speakers, comrades Maguire, Sweeny, Paylor, and A. Vickers (of Manchester) explained our position on strikes in general, and were loudly applauded. On Sunday morning at 11, another large meeting was held in Vicar's Croft; the speakers were comrades Corkwell, Sweeney, Maguire, Paylor, Hill, and Vickers; 27s. 4d. was collected for the labourers on strike. In the evening another meeting was held at same place, when Corkwell, Paylor, Sweeney, and Hill spoke; 6s. collected for Labourers' Strike Fund.—F. C.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday morning last Barclay spoke in Russell Square on "Making a Profit"; we drew the audience into a very earnest and friendly discussion. In the evening Barclay again spoke in Humberstone Gate; the co-operators were to the fore to hear "A Criticism of Co-operation." Discussion having been called for, Thomas Slater, of Bury, got up and accessed the lecturer of being ignorant of the principles of Co-operation. Barclay replied vigorously; discussion was kept up till ten o'clock. Collection, 4s. 1d.; literature sale, 2s. 4d.

**MANCHESTER.**—Parkinson spoke for nearly two hours to a large and attentive audience at Middleton on Saturday night; 31 *Commonweal* sold. On Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon a fair meeting was addressed by Marshall and Bailie. At 8 p.m. Marshall spoke at Chester Road. On Monday night at Holt Town we held a good meeting.—W. B.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Monday we held our usual meeting at Belton, in spite of an attempt of some hobbledoes to upset the meeting; McCormack, Ruffold, and Leggett addressed the audience. On Sunday morning a large meeting was held on Priory Plain, where we had a surprise in the person of comrade Rossiter, of the Battersea S.D.F., who gave an earnest address; Reynolds also spoke. On the Quay, in the evening, a most successful meeting was held; Darley opened the meeting with a song, followed by addresses from Adams and Darley (of Norwich), Rossiter, and Reynolds, to a large and sympathetic audience. Good collections, and *Commonweal* sold out. On Sunday morning comrades Ruffolds and Annis held a meeting at Brandwell, comrade Annis making a very good maiden speech; 5 *Commonweal* sold. On Monday evening comrades Reynolds and Rossiter will break fresh ground at Norton Stage. This will make the third village we have captured this summer.—J. H.

"THE THREE KINGS," Clerkenwell Close.—Brookes lectured on Sunday last; subject, "Order without Law." Rather animated opposition.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—We had our annual excursion on Sunday to Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, proceeding thither in brakes, with much waving of red flags and singing of the "Marseillaise." Dinner and tea at a farm house, a visit to St. Bernard's Abbey, and a single innings match "Socialists v. Secularists" (in which the former scored 67 and the latter 46 runs), made up an enjoyable day.—P.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday July 21, at 8.30, A. Brookes will lecture on "Competition." Individualist Anarchists are specially invited.

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 21, at 8 p.m., a lecture by Mrs. Cunningham Graham. Thursday July 25, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 26, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All members please turn up.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 20.

7 ..... Finsbury Park ..... Parker and Cores  
7.30 ..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Mrs. Lahr  
8.30 ..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... The Branch  
8.30 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Davis

SUNDAY 21.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lyne sen. and Dean  
11 ..... North Kensington—William Street ..... Maughan, Crouch, Lyne jun.  
11.30 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... East London Branch  
11.30 ..... Elbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30 ..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Crouch and Parker  
11.30 ..... Leman Street, Shadwell ..... Davis  
11.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Samuels  
11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
3.30 ..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Cores, Mainwaring, and Parker  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... The Branch  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.5 ..... North Kensington—Archer Street ..... North Kensington Branch  
7.30 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Parker and Samuels  
7.30 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Mrs. Lahr  
7.30 ..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

TUESDAY 23.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Mrs. Lahr

THURSDAY 25.

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Mrs. Lahr  
8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... The Branch

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Queen's Road, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Monday: Holt Town, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3 and 7. North Walsham, at 11.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.—Comrade Mowbray will be at Yarmouth on Sunday next, July 21st.

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatown and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A.

**Paterson,** 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**LIVERPOOL.**—Socialists willing to join a Branch of the S. L. in Liverpool should communicate with W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley Street.

**CLUB AUTONOME,** 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday July 21st, at 8.30 p.m., a debate on "Individualist Anarchism."

**SOCIALISTS** in Hull willing to form a branch are requested to put themselves in communication with J. T. Smith, "Freiheit" Club, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row, Hull.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE** (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday July 21st, at 8.45, George Cox, "Nature and Art; or an Old Socialist Novelist."

An adjourned discussion on Communist Anarchy will be held at the Britannia Coffee House, Prebend Street, Packington Street, Essex Road, on Friday July 19, at 8.30. W. White, S.D.F., will open the debate.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION, LTD.**—The Half-Yearly General Meeting will be held at 28 Grays Inn Road, Holborn, on Sunday July 28, at 3 in the afternoon. Members are earnestly requested to attend, as very important business has to be transacted. Their subscription-cards will be required for audit.

# SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Charts for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Composi- tors). . 1d  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. . 2d  
 Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.  
**True and False Society.** By Wm. Morris. . 1d.  
**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . 1d.  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 185.

SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

At its last meeting the London County Council passed by a large majority a demand for the control of Trafalgar Square. They are not likely to get it, nor can one be quite certain as to how they would exercise it if they did, but it would be a clear gain to have it in the hands of an elected body rather than in that of an irresponsible official. Of course Mr. Frederic Harrison voted against popular control of the Square, so following up his speech against popular control of the police. He was followed into the "No" lobby by these other alleged "Progressives," Messrs. Carr-Gomm, Johnson, Jno. Jones, and Lemon. It is as well to remember the names; they may need recalling some day.

It seems that Mr. Shipton has, after all, now been really and definitely rejected by the House Decorator's trade union, of which he was secretary. That trade unionists should rebel against a "boss" of Mr. Shipton's kind is novel enough, but that it should be on the score of his neglecting labour interests in favour of sugar bounty, bimetalism, peace-society, and other boodle-bringing agitations, is little short of marvellous. The usual procedure in the past has been for trade union "leaders," like Mr. Shipton and other illustrious men, to receive higher rewards and more docile obedience from their servile following the more they disavowed their mandates, and the faster they fell into line as party hacks and wirepullers. Almost may we begin to hope for the clearing of the London Trades' Council from the unscrupulous ring-runners and forty-piece-of-silver politicians who have made of it a byword and a scorn, instead of the effective centre that it could and should be of the labour war in this country.

But while trade unionists are coming forward, there is no reason that Socialists should go backward, and all appearances go to prove that there is little danger of any great bulk of them doing so. Wherefore we may look with more amusement than alarm upon the spectacle of whilom revolutionists at the Possibilist Congress dramatically weeping upon the broad and throbbing bosom of Mr. Fenwick, M.P., and exchanging the kiss of peace with the Parliamentary Committee.

Comrade Burns, who did not join in this "spontaneous and impressive" stage-effect, stood out honourably also from among the English Possibilists when the question of amalgamating with the Socialist Congress was under discussion. His fraternal anxiety for union showed well against the background afforded by the bitter spite and sectional bigotry which masqueraded under the lofty guise of "fundamental principle."

The production of Ibsen's "Pillars of Society" last week gave the critics an ample opportunity of again displaying their puerile ignorance of humanity and modern life. They by no means lost the opportunity. Their pitiful little foot-rules and methods of measurement betrayed once more how ludicrously inadequate they were to the task of judging such a giant as Ibsen, or so strange a thing, to them, as the representation of truth. "Subdued to that they work in," they cannot see the corruption of bourgeois society and the sordid realities that lurk under its pretentious covering of culture and respectability. Accustomed to the polite and feeble play-wright who goes no further than some surface effect in his attacks, even when he attacks anything at all, and does not calmly assent to the current morality and base his drama on some beastliness that comes of it, they can only cavil and squeal in chorus at the strong man who, with a few well-directed blows, cuts his way through all hypocrisies and wrappings, and lays bare the problem in all its bitterness.

To solve the problem Ibsen does not pretend. Why should he? Is it not enough that he puts it clearly before people who in no other way could be roused to its consideration? And he does so put it; it would be difficult to imagine anyone, other than a critic or an otherwise hopeless person, who could witness any one of his plays without being disquieted and set thinking.

Our good friends the police have been very busy lately. What with knocking Salvationists about and keeping a wary eye upon the wicked Socialist, they have had their hands full, and in consequence have had no time to attend to such a trifling matter as the detection of crime.

Mr. Monro admits, in his annual report published a few days back, that crime has increased, but that is because the police have had so many onerous duties to perform. They have had to look after the mysterious murderer in Whitechapel, and to keep if anything a more vigilant eye lest some impious Socialist or Salvationist should desecrate the spot sacred to the memory of Warren—Trafalgar Square.

Who can be surprised if with this heavy work upon the shoulders of a harassed Chief Commissioner, that he should slightly neglect his ordinary duties, and that burglary should increase, and that another murder be committed in Whitechapel? These are trifling matters, and why should any respectable citizen of the bourgeois class fret about them? Trafalgar Square is safe, the unemployed dare not venture within the shadow of Nelson's column, and if murder and burglary go on increasing, it is only a sign that we want more police. Law'n'-order must be maintained; more spies, more police, more bludgeoning, more corpses! Long live the Law and the Constitution!

Horrible as are the deeds of the monster of Whitechapel, they yet throw a lurid light—perhaps more because of their horror than of anything else—upon the lives which so many are forced to lead amid the squalid gloom of the crowded courts of the East-end.

The case of Alice Mackenzie is particularly worthy of notice. Here is a woman who is, on the admission of all who know her, hard-working and industrious, toiling at one of the most miserable of all trades, that of charwoman in a poor neighbourhood, and despite all her industry, she is forced at times to drift on to the street to increase her scanty earnings by the wages of prostitution. In one of these excursions, to get money for her night's lodging, she falls before the murderous knife which has already slain so many of her class. And what is this woman, hard-working, industrious, and yet obliged to sell herself, but a type of thousands of her class?

Writers on respectable papers like the *Daily News* may talk about the great improvement in the condition of the poor at the East-end and elsewhere during the last forty years; but those who know the East-end will laugh at them. Walk through the streets of that stagnant marsh of misery, and see hopeless poverty reflected from the forms, the face, and the very garments of its inhabitants. It is not because there is a look of hungry hatred or the hope of coming vengeance upon their oppressors in their faces. These signs would be hopeful compared with the heavy look of habitual submission to unjust suffering, the total want of spirit, and the broken-down air which comes of continued semi-starvation and the grinding toil of a heavy existence.

Some times you ask yourself whether it is not hopeless to hope to stir these people into rebellion against their tyrants. But let history lend us a little comfort. The people of Paris were quite as downtrodden, if we are to believe one who wrote only a few years before the Revolution in France. "In Paris," says Mercier, "the people are weak, pallid, diminutive, and stunted." A countryman of our own, Arthur Young, bore witness as to how, with the meekness bred of long slavery, they let their nobles crush them and their children beneath their carriage wheels as they drove furiously through the streets. And yet a few years after these words were written the people rose and the Bastille fell beneath their cannon. So perhaps it would not be well for revolutionists even to despair of the East-end of London.

The *Daily Telegraph* has a long article on the "Weeds of Whitechapel." This title is an insult even to the poorest and most miserable of its inhabitants, for even the very criminals there are far more useful than those patrons of the *D. T.*, the jobbers of the Stock Exchange.

D. N.



## IMPRESSIONS OF THE PARIS CONGRESS.

We delegates of the League met as agreed at London Bridge Station, and found an enormous crowd of people going our way. We got stored into the carriages somehow, and whiled away the time in singing songs and selling a few numbers of *Commonweal* to divers good folk who had only a glimmering about the events that the French were going to celebrate on the morrow. Getting to the boats at New-haven, we found that the clerk of the weather had provided us with a *sell* in the form of spring tides, so that the boats which were timed to start at 11 p.m. did not stir from the harbour till close on 3 a.m. And even then there was not enough water for us to get into Dieppe for an hour or two; so that, in short, instead of getting into Paris at 8 a.m. we did not start from Dieppe till 10, and got to Paris at 1.30, somewhat weary with the long journey.

We were met at the station by several old acquaintances, and made the best of our way to our headquarters, which is in the Montmartre district, the northern suburb of Paris. As a matter of course we thus missed the first sitting of the Congress at the Rue Petrelle, though I, having been put upon the committee, went down to the hall and saw our friend Lafargue and the members of the Organising Committee; after which there was nothing left for us but to take our pleasure as we best could in wandering about the city and seeing what I should irreverently call the "fun of the fair."

The next morning, Monday, we went down to the Salle Petrelle, and found the delegates assembling; I found myself also appointed to verify the mandates of the English-speaking delegates, and had plenty of work to do. It was obvious from the first that the Salle Petrelle was not large enough for the Congress, as it would not hold 300 persons, and besides the delegates the public was admitted. Hasty arrangements were made for another hall, and we were presently on the way to a kind of theatre, called the *Fantasies Parisiennes*, in the neighbouring Rue Rochechouart, where we soon got to business, with Vaillant and Liebknecht in the chair. The first business was of course the roll-call of the delegates, which of itself was a somewhat imposing ceremony, considering the great number of them, and the trouble and even risk to which some of them had been put to come. The numbers of the delegates first taken were as follows: French, 180; Germans, 81; English, 21; Belgian, 14; Austrian, 8; Italian, 11; Russian, 6; Swiss, 6; Denmark, 3; Roumania, 4; Spain, 2; Poland, 4; Hungary, 3; America, 2; Portugal, 1; Greece, 1; Holland, 4; Sweden, 1; Norway, 1. In all, 353; but later comers made up the list to upwards of 400. The spirit of the Congress was good, the enthusiasm undoubted. As above said, the mere presence of so many Socialists come together from so many countries so earnest and eager was inspiring and encouraging.

Little was done at this morning meeting except what might be called formal business; but it was clear from the first that there were two parties in the Congress, one of which was anxious almost at any price for fusion with the Possibilist Congress, and the other quite contented to let them hold their deliberations by themselves. Accordingly a meeting of the English delegates met on the Monday afternoon to decide upon their course of action, at which the delegates of the League were unanimous for keeping quite apart from the Possibilist Congress, which has no pretensions to being a Socialist Congress, and considering that Germany is quite unrepresented there, and that there is a distinct smack of jingoism about it, no *valid* pretensions to being international.

We expected that this question of fusion would come on in the evening sitting of Monday, but the whole time was taken up in settling various details of the constitution of the Congress, some of which excited angry feeling among the French delegates; the cause of which it was difficult, or impossible rather, for a stranger to understand. Underlying it all, however, was this question of fusion: for it must be understood that the Belgian, Dutch, and Italian delegates had a definite mission to bring about a fusion of the two congresses, and that many of them were very hot about it. The chairman (a Swiss) at this evening meeting, though apparently a straightforward sincere man, had no hold on the meeting, so that it got rather out of hand; and no doubt there was some of the usual police element present. However, amongst the genuine Socialists no harm was meant and none was done.

The next morning we received at our headquarters comrades Charles and J. and R. Turner, and at the Congress the ground was cleared for the settlement of this question of fusion. There were practically three resolutions before the meeting. Domela Nieuwenhuis spoke for the fusion in a speech which his obvious earnestness and good-will made very impressive; though he ignored the fact that as to the French party neither the Guesdists nor the Possibilists really desired it, and rightly so, as the breach was too great between them to be healed by a mere formality. Tressaud, the Marseilles delegate, in a speech quite straightforward and to the point, spoke against the fusion, and I followed him, and supported him with the full assent of our comrades of the League.

Liebknecht brought forward another motion which threw the onus of making the fusion on the Possibilists; and this was clearly the popular view among the French and German delegates. The propositions made, a long time was spent in a somewhat wearisome and very involved discussion as to how we were to vote, and at last it was settled that the voting should be by nations. Then the voting took place, and it became clear that if we voted for Tressaud's proposal, as we should have preferred to do and thus took our votes away from Liebknecht, we should risk giving the majority to those who wished for

fusion on almost any terms, and thus should find ourselves sitting in a Congress which, as above said, was not a Socialist one. We therefore voted for Liebknecht's proposal, appending to our votes a statement that if Tressaud's had been brought up we should have voted for it; and we found that the French delegates had voted in the same way. There was a large majority for Liebknecht's motion; and a committee was appointed to confer with the Possibilists and see if anything practical in the way of fusion could follow from this motion, which expressed a wish for fusion, but only on the terms that there should be no submission on our part; and thus a long sitting came to an end.

The next morning (Wednesday) we heard that the Possibilists had accepted the fusion; but on condition that we should submit to having our mandates examined by the united Congresses, which it was clearly impossible for us to agree to, as even those who had been most eager in pressing on the fusion admitted. We answered the Possibilists therefore that we could not agree to these terms, and in the evening received an answer from them in return breaking off the negotiations for good and all.

We had thus wasted two whole days in discussing a matter which in the opinion of the delegates of the Socialist League ought never to have been discussed at all, since our Congress was open even at the last moment to the delegates of any genuine working-men's association, so that there was nothing to prevent any one from joining us who felt friendly towards us. And furthermore, the plain truth is that real union between the two French sections was impossible, and an artificial union would have produced worse quarrels, and have prevented any profitable discussion to say the least of it.

On Wednesday morning, with this matter of the fusion hanging unsettled over us, began the reading of the reports, Bebel leading off for Germany. These have lasted all to-day; but as we shall go to press before an account of the end of the Congress could be given, I will leave these for the present.

Our comrades should understand that whatever is said in the Congress, whether French, German, or English, has to be translated doubly; and the translations seemed on the whole to be very well done. Mrs. Aveling acted as translator between German and French and English; Vollmar did the German part: the translators had their difficult task made more difficult by the buzz of conversation which arose as soon as the original speaker ended.

The earnestness and enthusiasm of the delegates was very impressive, and seems to have made some impression even on bourgeois observers; and whatever eagerness there was in debate, we all met out of debate with great friendliness and goodwill. A great many of the delegates have continually found themselves sitting at the same table for the meal after the session in the pleasantest and most fraternal manner in the cheaper restaurants round about the place of meeting.

I am sorry to say that I must finish this letter with mentioning a disagreeable affair, on which it is impossible to be wholly silent. In the discussion which took place in the Possibilist Congress anent the fusion, Mrs. Besant allowed herself to say that the English delegates at our Congress represented nothing but themselves. We have in consequence offered our comrades here to give them every opportunity for the fullest scrutiny of our mandates; but it is quite clear that we owe no account of ourselves to a Congress for which we have received no mandate.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

Thursday, July 18th, 1889.

(To be concluded.)

## "BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION."

In conversation the other day, a friend, who has a good deal of sympathy with Socialism, said, "One of the most difficult things you will have to deal with under Socialism will be the corruption of the officials." The remark arose out of a talk about different forms of corruption and bribery which flourish under the present system; and as this difficulty may be presenting itself to others, it will be worth while to compare the two, and see whether Socialism or the present competitive system would be the more likely to foster corruption, assuming for the present that anything like "officials" as we know them would exist under Socialism.

It will be well first to give some examples that have either come under my own observation or have come direct to me from those concerned. The first case is in the wood line. When a railway is fresh cut a large amount of wood fencing is required; this is let out by contract to the makers, and is put up by men employed by the contractors for the railway, and will have to be to the satisfaction of the inspecting engineer. My friend (a manufacturer of this fencing) described to me how he and another man, who had contracted to supply something else, went with the engineer to inspect a portion of the line. Now, inspecting rough wood fencing, as may easily be imagined, is not a difficult operation, but it is one the result of which will very largely depend upon the humour in which the engineer happens to be; if he was in a bad humour he could easily condemn every piece of wood that looked at all as if it had a flaw in it, while if he was in a good humour he would condemn nothing that was really fit for the work. So that, even with an inspector who is too honest to be bribed into passing really bad work, there is a large margin for him to be worked upon by the maker of fencing. In this case the two contractors whose work he was going to inspect made it as easy as possible for him, first by providing a carriage and pair to take him to

the nearest point to start from, and then by providing him with a good lunch and plenty of good wine before commencing the serious business of inspecting!

I will not refer to cases of more flagrant bribery, where money, jewellery, pianos, etc., come into the hands of the engineer, as I wish more especially to deal with the milder forms which have almost become absolutely necessary, and so nearly universal, amongst even those who would be ranked as scrupulously honest men. But our fence-maker had not quite done all that was necessary yet; he saw that a great deal in the look of a fencing depended upon how it was put up, and he found that the foreman over the erectors of it also required a little sweetening to induce him to make the best of it. Evidently it would make all the difference whether the fence was made with all the best sides to the line (for even the best wood has two sides, you know!), or whether all the worst sides and pieces were put in the most conspicuous places. This, it soon turned out, depended very often upon whether the foreman had received his tip of a sovereign or half-sovereign. The contractor who was most liberal with such tips got his work shown to the best advantage.

Without going into any of the more flagrantly dishonest branches of this tipping, where, for instance, a bribe gets really bad work passed or hidden, it is very evident that this system is one which must grow, which gives great encouragement and temptation to all concerned to go further and further into it; and the more it grows the more impossible it becomes for an honest man to get on. My friend told me that unless he did that sort of thing he could not possibly get orders, or get the work passed without too much waste to allow it to pay. And when we add to this the fact that such contracts are competed for so keenly that the price is run down as low as it is possible to put the work in just good enough to pass, one realises still further how difficult it is for an honest man to live.

Let me give another instance, this time in the iron trade. For the sake of those who do not know much about iron, I may explain that the iron ore is first smelted in large blast-furnaces and then run out into bars for sale as pig-iron. When castings are wanted it is usual to melt up some of these bars of pig-iron in smaller furnaces called cupolas: in the re-melting the iron becomes purified from a certain amount of slag and other matter that is still mixed with it when first run from the furnaces, and so cupola-iron, as it is called, is generally considered superior to furnace-iron, and in large contracts for castings, columns, cylinders, pipes, and such-like, it is very often specified that cupola-iron shall be used. Of course, all foundries where they have no blast-furnaces are obliged to use cupola-iron, but most places with blast-furnaces have now foundries in connection with them and contract for making castings. Now these places can save about ten shillings per ton by using furnace-iron, and this, as may be imagined, they very frequently do. Hence it is quite evident that a firm with facility for using furnace-iron could quote so low a price as to cut out all who had no such facility and still make a decent profit. And it is also evident that one firm quoting on that basis could soon compel all other firms who could to adopt the same method, or else give up their trade in castings. This and other similar tricks of the trade make it necessary for those giving orders for castings to send inspectors to see that the work is carried out according to contract; and it is no unusual thing to see half-a-dozen inspectors hanging about a large foundry yard, to see that this that and the other set of castings is made according to specification. I know of one very large contract for castings where the inspecting costs at least £1,000 a-year to the purchasers, besides an elaborate system of testing which is paid for by the contractors. This system of inspection brings in the same temptations to bribery and corruption that we saw above. The inspectors are usually fed while on the works at the expense of the contractor, and not infrequently receive a brace of pheasants or some such small sweetener. Of course this is another of the cases where there are mitigating circumstances. Very often the inspectors are ignorant and make frivolous objections. And if furnace-iron will stand the test, the maker will argue, that is all that is required: moreover, he will be brought up if possible with the firm belief that furnace-iron—and his furnace-iron particularly—is as good as cupola-iron, if not a little better;—it is wonderful how easily we believe pleasant things, and he is a poor man who cannot find some plausible arguments for almost any proposition! But as I said before, it is these more moderate species of corruption and bribing that even the most honest of business men are forced into, which are of greatest interest to us in showing how the competitive system works. Here we see that a maker of castings must either contract with the intention of supplying an article *different* from that ordered, or he must be willing to see the contract go to someone else who will do this; which means in the end ruin to himself. Having got the contract, he then has to hoodwink the inspector, to sweeten and bribe him in varying degrees according to the honesty of them both!

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be concluded).

CHRISTIAN CHARITY.—Our Yarmouth comrades send us the following: The Priory Plain, where we hold our meetings, adjoins the Old Man's Hospital, and one of the old men has attended and shown great interest, sitting as a rule on the stall from which we speak. Well, this poor old man received notice last week from the clerk by order of the trustees, that if he was seen at the meetings again he would be turned out of the Hospital, where he gets 5s. per week, into the workhouse.—These are the modern followers of a meek and lowly saviour—these brutal Mammon-worshippers, these bullying Bumbles, who make their creed stink in the nostrils of all honest and kindhearted people.

## A SONG OF RESURRECTION.

FREEDOM has risen—  
Freedom has risen—  
Freedom has risen to-day!  
The daughter of heaven  
Her tomb has riven,  
And burst from her gaolers away.

"When was she born?  
How was she nurst?  
Where was her cradle laid?"  
In want and scorn,  
Reviled and curst,  
'Mid the ranks of toil and trade.

"And hath she gone  
On her holy-morn,  
Nor staid for the long work-day?"  
From heaven she came,  
On earth to remain,  
And bide with her sons alway.

"Did she break the grave  
Our souls to save  
And leave our bodies in hell?"  
To save us alive  
If we will but strive,  
Body and soul as well.

"Then what must we do  
To prove us true,  
And what is the law she gave?"  
Never fulfil  
A tyrant's will,  
Nor willingly live a slave.

Then this we'll do  
To prove us true;  
And follow the law she gave;  
Never fulfil  
A tyrant's will,  
Nor willingly live a slave.

ERNEST JONES.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 3, 1889.

28	Sun.	1794. Robespierre guillotined (Thermidor 10, year 2). 1794. W. M. Byrne hung. 1830. Paris in arms, red flag hoisted on the Porte St Denis, the Hotel de Ville attacked, and severe fighting in the streets. 1835. Fieschi's attempt on Louis Philippe. 1846. "Irish Confederation" formed. 1878. Olga Liubatovitch escapes from Talutorovsk. 1884. 250 arrests at Warsaw.
29	Mon.	1792. Marseillaise, "who know how to die," arrive in Paris. 1830. Attack on the Louvre and Tuileries, and fierce fighting throughout the day, ending in retreat of royal troops. 1833. National Equitable Labour Exchange opened at Birmingham. 1833. W. Wilberforce died. 1840. Oration at Manchester to the Glasgow cotton-spinners on their return from transportation. 1848. Ballingarry. 1860. Garibaldi entered Messina. 1877. John Frost died. 1880. Traitor Goldenberg killed himself in St Petersburg fortress.
30	Tues.	1784. Diderot died. 1830. Provisional Government proclaimed at Paris. 1839. Renewed Chartist rioting at Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1846. Last (Owenite) Socialist Congress held at Queenwood Farm. 1879. Gerski, Bilchanski, and Hobst hanged at Kieff.
31	Wed.	1820. Trial of Major Cartwright, Wooler, Lewis, Edmonds, and Maddox for "exciting disaffection to government." 1830. The Provisional Government at Paris hands over the power to Louis Philippe. 1839. Chartist riot at Stockport, seizure of arms, and conflict with the military. 1877. Strike of masons at Law Courts, London.
1	Thur.	1818. Riot of cotton-spinners at Manchester against low wages. 1834. Abolition of Negro slavery in British colonies. 1842. Strike of Scotch colliers and iron-workers.
2	Fri.	1786. Margaret Nicholson's attempt on George III. 1823. Carnot died. 1839. Trial of Chartists: sentences—Henry Vincent, one year; W. Edwards, 9 months; W. A. Townsend and John Dickenson, 6 months' imprisonment. 1857. Eugène Sue died. 1882. W. Mertens sentenced for libel. 1884. Daly, Egan, and McDonnell sentenced for treason-felony.
3	Sat.	1816. Rioting in Glasgow, caused by the opening of a soup-kitchen instead of relief-works. 1820. George Edmonds, Charles Maddocks, John Cartwright, T. J. Wooler, and W. G. Lewis tried at Warwick for their speeches at the Birmingham meeting of July 12, 1819. 1859. Builders' meeting in Hyde Park. 1868. C. G. Halpine died.

Poverty is the fruitful parent of weakness, of misery, and of crime.—*Buckle.*

A Pennsylvania man who ran a needle into his foot had it drawn out by holding his foot near a dynamo. Happy thought! Hold some of our railroad directors near a great big dynamo and see if it won't draw the steal out of them.—*Boston Bulletin.*



orderly. They were no customers of his, and in his speech from the bench he said, "Young men, I am ashamed, and you ought to be ashamed to see yourselves standing where you now do; if you were to husband your savings you might some day occupy the high and dignified position I now hold." "How's that for high?" If they had been his customers the speech and sentence would have taken another turn, for it is clearly evident that if all the bailie's customers had followed his advice he would not have reached the "high and dignified position" of a non-paid Nupkins. It is not necessary that a Scotch bailie should be a judicious or cultured person, or that a kirk elder should be a gentle, kind-hearted, forgiving man.

In Scotland it not unfrequently happens that the bailie and elder go down the church aisle on Sundays raising "a joyful noise" in the same pair of chirping boots, after the bells have rung and all the other people are seated. The bailie and elder may or may not have a strong smell of whisky, but he certainly always appears, on Sundays at least, to be pious and important, notwithstanding what he may have been on the Saturday night previous. The privilege of his prerogative to order for any one of his neighbours seven day's imprisonment is a source of peculiar satisfaction to the bailie, it clothes him with importance, and the opportunities he has to favour some with lenient punishments are not the least of his assets as a church elder who needs to do something, at times, for the good of the kirk. To give a light sentence is a credit to the elder, and takes nothing from the pocket of the bailie. The Scotch kirk elder is generally the most tyrannical of masters, who would dismiss his clerk for the slightest offence and clap him in prison for the merest irregularity. The bailie who reaches the bench through the unpaid wages of girls, or the pious publican who reaches "respectability" through the gill stoup, are both typical of the pharisaical foundation on which society at present is built. In this Christian country it is unlawful to reduce the spirit of Christianity to practice; it is also unlawful not to profess a belief in it. The man who professes Christianity but does not practice it is the man who lives and succeeds according to law and order, but the man who practices its precepts and does not profess his belief in their plenary inspiration, is sure to break the law and disturb the order which prevails at present.

Psalm-singing Scotland holds the hundredth and the twenty-third psalms as first favorites. In the former all people on the earth are welcomed to praise the Lord with mirth because "We are his flock, He doth us feed," and in the latter each is assured "The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want." The heavy heart is permitted to rejoice with mirth but not to "feed," and if it be in earnest in saying "I'll not want" it is cast into prison. It is no part of present day Christianity to feed those who are "an hungred" with loaves and fishes, and if those who are "an hungred" attempt to feed themselves contrary to law and order they are put in prison by the bailie and are not visited therein by the elder.

A case in point was disposed of at Greenock Police-court the other day, when a bailie found Rebecca White guilty of being destitute and "an hungred," and as she put into practice the blessed twenty-third psalm, "I'll not want," by taking 6d. worth of bread from a shop-door, she was ordered to prison for three days. Now Rebecca was "an hungred" and they gave her no meat. There was no doubt in the court but that Rebecca was sorely in need of the bread she annexed, and would the bailie be quite certain, think you, that he had never eaten bread to which his claim was not so just, or good, in the sight of God, as Rebecca's was to that for which he imprisoned her? I am not aware of the peculiar traits of character or the nature of the basis of the social status through which the Greenock bailie reached the bench, but it is quite evident the verdict had more of cruelty than justice in it. The ends of justice would have been amply met by the court paying 6d. to the shopkeeper, and it would have been a saving to the town to have settled it that way. Rebecca's three days in prison would be more expensive than 6d., the price of the two loaves she took. Rebecca had to suffer not for her own crime, but for that others might commit.

Our clergy are never weary of proclaiming that the laws of the land are founded on a Christian basis. A greater lie than that was never proclaimed from pulpit, and that is saying much. In the face of the practices of the law, pulpit platitudes are becoming "too thin" to keep simple-minded people in subjection and contentment with the law and order that now prevails. Signs are not wanting that the sweater and publican as elder and bailie, are getting in the eyes of the multitude "rather steep" for the fitness of things. They, at last, are beginning to enquire into the nature of Justice's colour-blindness and the church's charity. When their knowledge consolidates into action, the earwigs of the law and the bats of the church will raise a cry of alarm that if the ivy, in which they nestle, be disturbed, the building of our social structure will fall in ruins. If the building cannot stand without the aid of two such hypocrisies, the quicker it falls the better, and the safer it will be for all concerned. A lie can never be a desirable or permanent safeguard. Let us be done with lies, and if in doing so the fabric of our constitution falls, the materials can be built on a better foundation in truth and purity, which will prove more healthy, humane, and harmonious. The present system brutalises and degrades all who come into immediate contact with the working of the machine, and the hypocrisies of the bailie and the elder permeate the whole structure, and enlarge themselves as they reach up to the highest offices in the law and the church. By a proper and exhaustive study of the minor offices, common unsophisticated minded people will be the better prepared to appreciate the enormities of the higher.

GEORGE MCLEAN.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 24.

ENGLAND	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Die Autonomie	Pacific Union	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Labour Tribune	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	Porto—A Revolta
London—Freie Presse	FRANCE	A Revolucao Social
Railway Review	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	GERMANY
Revolutionary Review	Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Sozial Demokrat	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
Worker's Friend	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
The Sower	Montlucon—Le Travailleur	HUNGARY
INDIA	BELGIUM	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Ghent—Vooruit	DENMARK
UNITED STATES	Antwerp—De Werker	Copenhagen—Arbejdereen
New York—Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Freiheit	Brussels—Le Drapeau Noir	Malmo—Arbetet
Truthseeker	SWITZERLAND	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Arbeiterstimme	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Jewish Volkszeitung	ITALY	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal	SPAIN	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Investigator	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista	
Milwaukee—National Reformer		

No remittances for League purposes should be sent to any other persons than those specially appointed to receive them, and whose names are duly advertised in the "Commonweal," or to any other address than this Office. Readers, especially in the Provinces, are asked to beware of appeals emanating from any person other than the Treasurer of the League, the Secretary of the Propaganda Committee, or myself,

FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

THE SCOTCH MIDDLEMAN'S COVETED REWARDS.

THERE are two offices which serve in Scotland as suitable rewards to the successful sweater and the prosperous publican. To be a bailie or a kirk elder is the ambition of these two classes of men, and they are backed by the clear-sighted vision of their wives, who see therein the veneer of "respectability" which covereth a multitude of sins. The Scotch bailie is an honorary police magistrate, and the kirk elder is an honorary dispenser of religious soothing syrup, sometimes flavoured with sulphur. The paid religious dispensers, however, deal the largest in sulphur. Those who secure the dignities of bailie and kirk elder, are generally men deficient in heart and wisdom who have had the shrewdness to gather gear from the accumulated unpaid wages of girls or from the profits of the gill stoup. A bailie, who is also a kirk elder, has always the air about him of being somebody in particular. In my younger days I knew a publican who was a bailie, and remember him convicting some young men of being drunk and dis-



## IN THE UNITED STATES.

How well organised our antagonists, the capitalists, are, is no secret to us, the revolutionists. Just look at this example. In England the seamen and firemen are on strike; scabs appear to be scarce, so other countries must be appealed to. The following advertisement I clipped from the *Boston Globe*:

**Wanted**—Seamen, ordinary seamen, deck hands, firemen and coal passers for Liverpool and London; a good chance for passage to England with wages. Apply to C. BALLEM, 232, Commercial St., Boston, Mass.

If the workers took but one hundredth part of the pains to protect their interests that the capitalists do to protect theirs, there would come a speedy end to the dispute between capital and labour.

Dakota's Farmer's Alliance favors government ownership of railroads.

A novel feature in the college commencements that have been in progress during the past fortnight, may be seen in the fact that the graduates in many cases took up the labour question in their essays.

At a meeting held in New York City by the Executive Board of the National Journeymen Baker's Union, a communication was read from the Baker's National Union of Germany asking American support for a new movement of the trade in Berlin. A National Convention of German bakers was held in Berlin on June 27th. It is proposed to hold an International Conference to form an International Union of the trade.

Immigration from all parts of Europe to this country is decidedly on the increase.

A Chinese laundryman is responsible for the following remarkable statement:—

"Few organised workers know that the strongest trades' unions in the world are in China. The great Tai-ping (or working-men's) rebellion was started by delegates from the trades' unions for the purpose of establishing a republic. Had not the notorious "Chinese" Gordon, backed by English and French influences, turned to and helped the empire, the rebellion would have been a success."

The tramping English capital has found a new and fine chance for investment. The *Manufacturer's Record* of Baltimore, Ind., says:—

"A distinctively new era in the South's iron and steel history is marked by the organisation of English companies, composed of the leading iron and steel makers of Great Britain, to build extensive steel and iron works, including four furnaces, steel rail mill, rolling mill, etc., at a new town at Cumberland Gap, on the dividing line between Tennessee and Kentucky. The name of the town is to be Middlesboro, Ky., and for over a year the work of buying mineral lands, preparing for railroad connections, etc., has been vigorously but quietly pushed by the American Association (Limited), which is the name of the parent company."

Three cheers and a "tiger," as the Americans have it, for the patriotic capital!

The famous agreement of the railroad presidents has gone to smithereens. The Baltimore and Ohio line has cut the rates, and all the other lines are following suit. Well, what next?—A railroad trust, of course.

The governmental labour statisticians have met in conference in Hartford, Ct., and some strange facts have been told to us. Colonel Carroll D. Wright, the national commissioner of labour statistics, for instance, tells us of the licence and prohibition figures which came under his observation in Massachusetts, that the results showed more arrests for drunkenness under prohibition than under licence. This, he says, was due to the prejudice of the police against prohibition, which caused them to arrest every drunken man under prohibition. Under licence they were lax, being favourable thereto. The figures, the colonel wound up, are not worth a "rap." Well, if these figures are not worth a "rap," what trust can we put in any figures collected by governmental employés? And is it not a fact that the New York legislature forgot about one year ago to vote the "supply" of the labour statistician of that State? Why? Because the man had published some correct figures. It may also be remarked right here that Col. Wright, the national labour statistician for the last two years, has been employed to collect the figures for divorce statistics! However, long live the State and—all the fools.

Boston, Mass., July 9, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

If war injures the capitalist, the manufacturer, and the trader, still more does it injure the worker.—*Wallace*.

The first requisite for man's moral improvement is the one generally last thought of—prosperity. Means of existence must be supplied before preaching and tracts can be effective. . . . Comfort must precede education; and leisure is necessary for both moral and mental development.—*Robert C. Adams, in Pioneer Pith*.

**THE CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA.**—The agitation connected with the presence of the Chinese in the Australian colonies has made so much noise all over the world that one is greatly surprised to find how few these Chinese really are and that they are actually decreasing in numbers. Yet this appears to be the case, according to the careful and elaborate statistical report just issued by Mr. Hayter, of Victoria. In 1854 there were 2,000 enumerated in the census. The following year the first restrictive Act was passed. It limited the number of Chinese males a vessel might bring to one for every ten tons, and put a poll-tax of £10 on each. This Act was evaded by landing Chinese in another colony, and leaving them to find their way overland. In 1857 the number of Chinese in Victoria had increased to 25,424, and in 1859 to 42,000. Soon afterwards an exodus took place to the New South Wales diggings, and in 1861 there were only 24,732, and although the Restriction Act was repealed this number continued to decline steadily up to 1871, when the number was 17,935, and again until 1881, when it stood at 12,120. At the end of 1887 it was 12,470. Since 1860 the records of the arrivals of Chinese by sea have been kept, and from these it appears that only 17,992 arrived in the twenty-seven years, or an average of 666 per year. Deducting the departures, it appears the Chinese population of Victoria increased by only 1,277, and in three of these years more departed than arrived. In 1887 the arrivals exceeded the departures by 1,147. After the Restriction Act of 1881 the tendency of the Chinese was to become naturalised. In eleven years ending 1881 only 91 Chinese took out letters of naturalisation. In 1882 the number reached 317; in 1883, 593; in 1884, 601, and in 1885, 1,178. Those naturalised were mainly gardeners, miners, labourers, shopkeepers, hawkers, carpenters, and cooks.

## PLENTY.

(Translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.)

AN undulating sea of corn defies  
Famine to do her work here; the hot air  
Breathes aromatic odours everywhere;  
The full corn in the ear awaits the scythes.

Field-mice and sparrows hold a feast; the cries  
Of the shrill cricket like small trumpets blare;  
The brute world in our joyance seems to share;  
All nature with us plenty glorifies.

So from the nurse's breast, under the blue  
Of the bright heavens, a flood of life outwells;  
The full earth fruits and flowers and bursts and swells.

Yet walking homeward my foot staggereth  
At a mother and child in tatters!—starved to death!  
How say you, ripe corn, and who harvests you?

Paris, July 1883.

EUGENE POTTIER.

## HEARD BY THE WAY.

SCENE.—*Cross Roads in the country. Enter from one side an OLD MAN, very battered, leaning on stick; from the other a well-built YOUNG MAN, with a bundle over his shoulder.*

YOUNG MAN. Morning, governor. Can you tell us how far it is to Portsmouth?

OLD MAN. Marnin'. A matter o' seven miles. Be you goin' there?

Y. M. Yes, worse luck. I have walked all the way from London.

O. M. From Lunnon; I was never there but once. Be ye lookin' for a job o' work?

Y. M. Yes, I've been out of a job for a long time.

O. M. Oi be main afraid you'n not find a job at Portsmouth.

Y. M. (*dejectedly*). Why, guv'nor?

O. M. They be sacking dockyard hands.

Y. M. And I have walked sixty miles on this chance. Ah, well!

O. M. Ha' ye any friends? Be ye married?

Y. M. Yes; but don't talk of it, I can't bear to think what they're doing now I'm away. Where are you going, old man?

O. M. Oi be goin' to the Union.

Y. M. To the Union?

O. M. Oi, to the work'us; we all go there in time.

Y. M. You all go to the Union?

O. M. Ay; my father went, I'm goin', and my lads 'll go when they be old.

Y. M. It is terrible. But I suppose you don't mind it as it's so common?

O. M. Not mind it! Whoi it's been my dream to keep out of the Union. When oi were a lad oi began to have to keep me out; when Sal and oi were wed we warked and scraped, but it were no good. The times we were out o' wark took all we saved, and when Sal died oi 'ad to go the parish for a coffin.

Y. M. And yet you've worked hard?

O. M. Warked! Look 'ere, look about, every field you see oi've warked and tilled, sowed and reaped for nigh on fifty-five year, and now oi must go to the work'us.

Y. M. It is hard.

O. M. Hard, you call it! Oi've warked for the squire's father and grand-father; oi shall have been warking fifty-five year come Martimmas. Oi were allus obedient; some o' the others joined the Chartists, but oi wouldn't, oi stuck by the old squire, an' a lot oi've gained by it. Last 'lection oi voted as he telled me, but oi doubt it wuld have been all the same if oi had voted for the other chap. I could have kept out o' the Union if he would have 'lowed me half-a-crown a-week, but he wouldn't. Betsy, she's my grand-daughter, went up to the Hall for it, but he wouldn't give it. He said oi should be better in the work'us. Damn him! Look 'ere, young man, if you'll take the advice of an old 'un, strike 'em back. You'll get nothing by being humble; strike back 'ard. You be out o' work, 'ow did that come?

Y. M. The firm I worked for have closed the works.

O. M. That's some of their trickery, oi reckon; they've summat to gain by it.

Y. M. That's so; leastways the chaps say so.

O. M. Depend on't they're right.

Y. M. But where must we go? Who'll help us?

O. M. There be the Socialists. Our Sam picked up a paper the other day as some one 'ad put by the road, an' he read it to me every word. They be the folks as 'll help you, an' the only ones. They are poor men themselves, and don't want voting into big places, they are the only men that can help you. By God, oi wish oi was young again, oi'd be a rousing big Socialist.

Y. M. Well, I'll think it over. Good-bye, old man, I must be off.

O. M. Good-bye; good luck to ye. Don't ye forget the Socialists.

The trouble with most people is, they bow to what is called authority; they have a certain reverence for the old because it is old. They think a man is better for being dead, especially if he has been dead a long time.—*Ingersoll*.

The busy bee still survives as the symbol of industry, but the ingenuity of man appears to be more than a match for it. Commercial cunning now makes honey from glucose, and puts it in a paraffin comb so deftly that it takes an expert to detect the difference. The busy bee must go.—*Boston (Mass.) Herald*.

**THE HALF-YEAR'S BANK DIVIDENDS.**—We often hear of the self-sacrificing bourgeois who employ their capital for other people's benefit. That they usually make it pay them for the trouble there are a thousand proofs, if they are needed. One of the latest is a list recently published, showing the dividends paid by joint-stock banks for the half-year just closed. For London banks the amounts range all the way from 5 per cent. (Merchant Banking Co.) to 18 per cent. (Capital and Counties). Provincial banks paid from 5 per cent. (London and Yorkshire) to 20 per cent. (Manchester and Liverpool Dis.). Indian and colonial also begin with 5 per cent. (Bank of Egypt), and run up to 14 per cent. (Union Bank of Australia).

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Tram Slaves.

The West Metropolitan Tramway Company is following the old policy pursued by most modern slave-drivers. On the one hand it has made some slight concessions to the men, the cars now having one journey taken off and the men getting a journey's relief on Sunday, and on the other hand the inspectors of the company are utilised as spies upon the Union collectors to see what men pay them subscriptions. Considering they have already sacked several Union men we can guess why this is done. One collector was too sharp to be caught this way, and noticing that an inspector was watching him he went away without collecting any money at all. The latest person of distinguished respectability to give his countenance to the Union is Lord Rosebery, who has sent £20 to the Union funds and promises them his help as far as his numerous engagements will allow.

### The Eight Hours' Question.

Mr. Beaufoy, the *Star* member for Kennington, has tried the eight hours system in his own works, and has discovered that he is not one penny the worse for its introduction. He can get quite as much work out of his men at the new system as he could before, and save with the exception of the watchmen and the enginemen he hasn't had to increase his staff by a single man. This only proves what we have stated again and again, that the cry for the eight hours working-day is only another instance of "much ado about nothing." If it is possible for the employer to get as much work out of his men in the shorter as in the longer time, what becomes of the greatness of the reform, which to hear some people talk you would think it involved the creation of an earthly paradise in this sorry world of ours? What becomes of all this talk when, in the words of Mr. Beaufoy, "if a man works for eight hours you get out of him in one day all that is really in him"? Workmen, are you going to waste your time in agitating for a measure which, when you have obtained it, will still enable the capitalist to get out of you in one day all that is really in you? What a triumph when you gain it? Why an Eight Hours Labour Bill is enough of a sham to go in the programme of the Gladstonian Liberal Party.

### Sweating the Herring-Curers.

At Fraserburgh in Scotland, writes a Scotch correspondent (whom we hope to hear from again), there are some herring-curing works said to belong to Monachie Bros., of London and Lowestoft. They employ about 400 hands, chiefly girls. They usually work from six in the morning to ten o'clock at night. Sometimes their hours are longer—till two or three in the early morning. Their hours of work ranging from fourteen to twenty a-day. There is no difference on Saturday. For these fearfully long hours the girls have sometimes been paid 5s. a-week. The slavery in the other branches of herring-curing is quite as bad. When the herrings are brought in from the sea they are carted direct to the curing yard. Here they are gutted and packed into barrels. It is generally at night when the boats arrive. This packing and gutting has to be done by women and girls at all sorts of hours and in all sorts of weather. They do not get home for any food as long as there are any herrings left. If they are lucky enough to get any food brought to them they have to snatch a moment to eat it, while they are at their work, not even getting time to clean their hands, which are bandaged up with rags. It is a pitiable sight to see them standing at the middle of the night in the pouring rain, devouring what little food will keep up their strength to finish their work. The men and women who flock here to fish and gutting from all parts of the country are so badly housed that epidemics are common. The shopkeepers also victimise them terribly. Is there no one in the district who could help these women to fight against the hideous tyranny of their sweaters? Trade unionists, is there not some work for you here?

### The Railway Slaves.

There is a worse slavery than even that of tram men. This is apparent from a letter in the *Star* from one of the slaves employed on the railway. He points out that at the Nine Elms engine-shed of the London and North-Western Railway Company, there are many men working for from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a-day, and that it is of frequent occurrence for men and lads to work three shifts right off (36 hours) for the purpose of getting one extra day's pay to make their week's wage come to the grand total of 18s., 19s., or 20s. He says with truth that this is not done in the purer air of the streets but in an engine-shed, the atmosphere of which is frequently charged with smoke and carbonic acid gas from engines getting up steam. Here is a dismal state of slavery, calculated to raise the compassion of any man with a heart in his breast. But while the men are being slowly poisoned in an atmosphere laden with noxious vapours, the shareholders draw their dividends in peace and security. When shall their calm be disturbed by a general revolt on the part of these wretched slaves?

There was a debate on the long hours of railway servants in the House of Lords last week. The recent returns of the overtime worked by railway men show that in many cases they have been working from twelve to sixteen and seventeen hours a-day. It is not only the porters and unskilled workers who are slaving in this way, but the very men in whose hands lies the precious lives of the middle-classes—the signalmen and engine-drivers. The Armagh disaster—in which, of course, the higher officials have not even had a true bill brought in against them by a middle-class jury, who were ready enough to indict the overworked and underpaid servants of the Company—shows what results from this slavery, and proves once for all that the slavery of the most miserable and downtrodden of humanity may sometimes affect those who move in the "hupper suckles." Well, the House of Lords after a little talk regretting this sad state of things, came to the conclusion that it could do nothing. Quite natural! I wonder what would get either the House of Lords or Commons to do anything. Perhaps if a few hundred peers or M.P.'s were mashed into indescribable pulp through being taken out in a train engineered by a driver who had worked eighteen hours, and signalled by signal men who had been on duty for the same period, they might be awakened into a temporary semblance of activity; but I am sure it would not last long. It would need the Social Revolution to awaken most of our legislators. D. N.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

A new Socialist organ has been started at Montluçon, in the Allier Department, under the title of *Le Travailleur* (the Worker). It has nothing to do with the Possibilist party, as the names of the contributors will at once show that it is to be a real Revolutionary Socialist paper. The editorial committee is composed of comrades Carrau, Dormoy, Raoul Fréjac, Létang, Souvarine, and Thivrier, and the principal contributors are comrades G. Deville, Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and Edouard Vaillant. We hope that the new organ will prove a good success and make a good deal towards spreading the Revolutionary ideas among the working classes and peasantry of that part of France.

### GERMANY.

Last week comrades Stendtemann, Johnne, Richter, and Berck were sentenced by the tribunal of Dresden to *thirty-five months* of imprisonment because they *intended* to unfurl a red flag on some telephone stake, in remembrance of the revolutionary events of May 1848 at Dresden! That's what they call "justice" in Bismarck's accursed fatherland!

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Perquisitions having again been made at the houses of comrades Revalovicz, editor of the *Kurjer Lwowsky*, and Wyslouch, co-editor of the same organ, the latter has been arrested at Lemberg. A charge of "secret Socialist conspiracy" will be brought against him, which means several years of imprisonment, according to the brutal exceptional laws against revolutionaries in Austria. As usual in these cases, "conspiracy" only exists in the imagination of the so-called authorities.

### SWITZERLAND.

The Federal Council has now definitively decided upon the publication of all the diplomatical notes despatched by it to the German Government in reference to the Wohlgemuth affair, and the dispute to which it gave rise.

## MIDLAND COUNTIES FRAMEWORK KNITTERS' FEDERATION.

THE following pithy little address is prefixed to the book of rules of the above society, which certainly seems to know what it is driving at, and have some idea of how to get there. Good luck to it!

"FELLOW-MEMBERS,—Late in the day, but not too late, we hope, we have taken a step towards bringing closer together our fellow-workers in the Hosiery Trade. We are like others—it needs adversity to make us feel that our interests are the same. As long as one district felt itself independent of the other, it never sought closer union. Men generally, when they are doing well can be oppressed without notice, and it needs the cloud as well as sunshine to keep up the balance. Now competition and monopoly are hemming us in, and we feel the pressure, we are compelled to acknowledge the need for mutual help.

"This is not the end of trade and commerce; a system will yet be developed that will compel the workers of all trades, in all nations, to come together and form a solid square, in the claim to be made for labour's full reward.

"Labour to day is the great pay-master of all: interest on capital, profit on exchange, and rent for land, besides keeping the sources of all progress open to the world. Interest means that a class can always be kept without work at the direct expense of the workers. Profit creates a class of lookers-on, with nothing to do only what wages of superintendence covers. The reward of labour is therefore again lessened. Rent is a tax paid by labour for the privilege to work and live. This kind of social revolution, if ever effected, will require the combined efforts of all workers in every nation. The step we are taking is but a step in the early stage of a great movement, the end of which cannot be seen.

"In our trade, we seem to feel the effects of isolation first, from two or three causes. The march of invention in improved machinery, keeps the supply for goods up to the demand, limiting the number of hands required. With this great operating cause we have men thrown out of work in our villages, literally starving, rushing into our already over-crowded towns, seeking for work at any price—upon which they can barely live. The workers, therefore, are competing with one another for work, themselves bringing wages down.

"Where this is not felt, employers, eager to get rich, look out some poverty-stricken place, where they can take their machinery, and make use of the workers' poverty to increase their riches, and this is considered fair, honest competition.

"It is certain that necessity compels Federation and Union of all workers in all nations. We are following the lead of other great trades and organisations—Shoe-makers, Tailors, Miners, Carpenters, Engineers, Moulders, Cabinet-makers, Boiler-makers, Cotton operatives, etc.

"Fellow-workers, let us do our best at all times, to allow the good of all to control the action of each, so that with reason at the helm, justice at the scales, and courtesy and consideration in all our dealings with employers of labour, the wisest and the best may be done for the interest of all.

"We commend the rules to your careful consideration, and hope they will give us a solid basis of action for the good of Nottingham, Leicester, Ilkeston, and Loughborough. By our meetings we hope to assist in advising each other, and creating strong and lasting sympathy; and by creating a common fund from which we all can obtain support in our emergencies, we shall have greater power at our back, and encouragement before us to stand firm in our just demands.—We remain, yours very respectfully,

### "THE COUNCIL OF FEDERATION.

JAMES HOLMES (Leicester), *President*.

SAMUEL BOWERS (Nottingham), *Secretary*.

LANCASHIRE MINERS.—The masters have agreed to a 5 per cent. advance so the strike in Lancashire has concluded.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—The masters, on the pretext that the sliding scale showed a decrease last month, have graciously consented to reduce their wages 2½ per cent.

THE STRIKE IN THE NAIL TRADE.—The nailmakers at Oldbury have gone in, their masters consenting to a 10 per cent. advance after the 27th inst., and agreeing to give fair consideration to the framing of a new list. At a general meeting held at Birmingham by the nailmakers, it was agreed to avoid a general strike and accept similar terms.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 5, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Provincial Missionary Fund.**—Anonymous, 7d.; Norwich Branch, 5s.; Brookes (Streatham collection), 2s. 10d.; and North London Branch, 3s. 2½d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 6d.; M. Rose, 1s.; B. W., 1s.; Webb, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; J. Turner, 1s.; R. Turner, 1s.; and collection, 1s. 6d.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday night, A. Brookes lectured upon "Competition." After the lecture an interesting discussion took place. The meeting finished with a few revolutionary songs; 11d. collected, and fair sale of *Commonweal* and literature.—J. P.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Dean, J. Lyne, and R. J. Lyne; 6½d. collected and 40 *Commonweal* sold. No meeting at William Street owing to wet. At 7.30 p.m. we met at Archer Street, but the police were in force and stopped our meeting. We attempted to take our stand where the religious body held their meeting, but it was no good. We had a great crowd of people round us, and a man in the gathering fell down in a fit. Our comrade Lyne, sen., told the police the man was in a fit, and was told to get him out of it if he was of our party. The man was a complete stranger; so you see they were willing to let him die if he were a Socialist. We then walked a little further and held a good meeting in Cambridge Road, and sold 10 *Commonweal*; speakers were Maughan, Lyne, sen., Crouch, and Saint.

**NORTH LONDON.**—The meeting at Ossulton Street on Thursday evening was addressed by Cantwell, Nicoll, and Cores; 12 *Commonweal* sold. Splendid meeting at Hyde Park; Furlong (S.D.F.), Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, and Miss Robertson (S.D.F.) spoke; 32 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 7½d. collected for Provincial Missionary Fund.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 15th, "The Man with the Red Flag," being the first trial speech of John Burns, was read and discussed. No open-air work has been done during the week, this being holiday-time, the town largely deserted, and the weather very rainy.—L.

**LEICESTER.**—Pengeley, of Nottingham, spoke twice Sunday last; morning at Russell Square, on "The Gospel of Socialism;" evening at Humberstone Gate, "The Curse of Competition." Pengeley is a good and agreeable speaker; this was his maiden open-air address, and he certainly ought not to be discouraged from trying again. At the conclusion of his speech he was greeted with applause. Our old friend, Thos. Slater, again opposed, and discussion was kept up long after we had ceased speaking; audience good, 7s. 5d. collected, and 2s. 10d. worth of literature sold.—T. P. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—Despite the inclement weather we went to Middleton on Saturday night. Bailie spoke for about an hour to an attentive audience whilst rain fell heavily; Stockton followed, and was drawn into a long discussion with an intelligent opponent; 42 *Commonweal* sold. We had no meeting on Sunday afternoon owing to severity of weather. At night on Chester Road, Stockton and Bailie addressed a good meeting.

**NORWICH.**—The week before last eleven open-air meetings were held, addressed by comrades McCormack, Poynts, W. Moore, Swash, and Fred Henderson; the audiences very enthusiastic. Good meetings held this week at St. Pauls and Shirehall, addressed by Poynts and McCormack. On Saturday evening McCormack and Mowbray addressed a good meeting on the Haymarket. Mowbray had challenged Mr. Burgess to debate upon Free Love and Physical Force on Sunday afternoon; Mowbray did not put in an appearance, having stayed at Yarmouth; McCormack addressed the crowd for a time, expecting Mowbray would turn up. Mr. Burgess opened the debate at some length, and was ably replied to by McCormack. McCormack's reply was loudly applauded. Afterwards the meeting adjourned to the Fishmarket, owing to the rain. In the evening a very large meeting was held in the Market Place. At North Walsham in the morning a good meeting was held, addressed by McCormack; good impression made; 12 *Commonweal* sold. Collected for propaganda for last two weeks, 19s. 7d.; sale of literature, 1s. 3d.

**YARMOUTH.**—Some good work was done on Sunday. In the morning Mowbray gave an interesting address, devoting part of the time to the question why Socialists don't vote and part to the question "Is Socialism practical?" An opponent turned up in the person of a Scotch Radical. The joke of the opposition was that Scotty commenced by saying our comrade had nothing but abuse for everything, and ended by calling Mowbray "a bloody fool!" Our afternoon meeting was not so well attended. In the evening we had a good audience, who listened to our comrade whilst he showed how Socialism might be realised peaceably. 9s. 10½d. collected, and all the *Commonweal* sold. Sunday morning Ruffold, Annis, and Leggett went to Bradwell, where the people discuss with our comrades. They offered to pay any expenses if Reynolds would go and explain some of the points they stumble at. To-night several comrades go to Belton.—C. R.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in Sneinton market on Sunday morning, addressed by Peacock. In the evening Peacock and Proctor addressed, in spite of rain, good audience in Great Market. Collection for School Board contest fund realised 2s. 6d. The Club has obtained convenient premises in Woodland Place, Upper Parliament Street, and meets there Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays at 8.—P.

**SHEFFIELD OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—During the last nine or ten weeks J. Sketchley, assisted by two or three friends, has held good meetings every Sunday evening on West Bar Green. It would be well if all who are Socialists would attend and give a helping hand. On Sunday last the chair was taken by Bullas, after which Sketchley addressed the meeting, which was very earnest and enthusiastic. A fair amount of literature is sold every week. We are pleased with the initiative taken by the friends of Leeds.—T. L.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 28, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday August 1, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 2, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

All members please turn up.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 27.

7 ..... Finsbury Park ..... Parker  
7.30 ..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.30 ..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Kitz and Samuels  
8.30 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Brookes and Cores

SUNDAY 28.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lyne sen. and jun., and Crouch  
11 ..... North Kensington—William Street ..... Dean, Saint, and Maughan  
11.30 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels and Mrs. Lahr  
11.30 ..... Belbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30 ..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mainwaring  
11.30 ..... Shadwell—Leman Street ..... Turner  
11.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Brookes  
11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
3.30 ..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Mainwaring and Cores  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Presburg  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.5 ..... North Kensington—Cambridge Rd. .... North Kensington Branch  
7.30 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels and Cores  
7.30 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Brookes  
7.30 ..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

TUESDAY 30.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Mowbray

WEDNESDAY 31.

8.30 ..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Samuels.

THURSDAY 1.

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... The Branch

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Queen's Road, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Monday: Holt Town, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Monday: Thorpe Village, at 8. Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

### SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday; at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatown and Dysart (Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**LIVERPOOL.**—Socialists willing to join a Branch of the S. L. in Liverpool should communicate with W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley Street.

**SOCIALISTS in Hull** willing to form a branch are requested to put themselves in communication with J. T. Smith, "Freiheit" Club, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row, Hull.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE** (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday July 28th, at 8.45, William Townshend, "International Congress: State Control, would it be a Remedy for the great wrongs of Labour?"

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION, LTD.**—The Half-Yearly General Meeting will be held at 28 Grays Inn Road, Holborn, on Sunday July 28, at 3 in the afternoon. Members are earnestly requested to attend, as very important business has to be transacted. Their subscription-cards will be required for audit.



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WEEKLY ; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Royal Grants! We shall be expected to have a word or two to say about them. I hope what follows will not be considered too irreverent either towards the sovereignty of the sovereign or the sovereignty of the people; but it cannot be helped; it is impossible to treat the matter wholly seriously, though there is food for serious reflection in it. Let us put before our readers various views on the subject.

No. 1. The gracious Monarch of this land, the Empress of this beneficent Empire of Great Britain (on which the sun never sets), is pleased to inform her loyal and loving subjects that, owing to circumstances over which she has no control, she has grandchildren (who cannot *work* but are *not* ashamed to beg) who require pensioning, and that she is well aware how pleased all her l. and l. subjects will be to hear of this opportunity of showing their love and loyalty, and of expressing their sense of gratitude for the privilege which they enjoy of being so kindly allowed to live (if they can) under the shadow of the glory of the said empire. All this notwithstanding the fact that there are certain apes and demons in human form living amongst us, who have a dim idea that to pay a great deal for nothing at all is not their ideal of doing business in an ordinary way.

That is the official view of the matter, held as an article of faith by the greater part of the flunkey and ignorant middle-class population, and that part of the working classes who would be middle-class if they could. It is not meant to state facts: it is an article of faith, like the Athanasian Creed.

No. 2. England is practically a democratic republic, and as good a country as need be for an active and well-to-do middle-class man to live in: but there are anomalies in it which are troublesome to the logic of a commonsense man. Amongst these is a survival from the feudalism of the Middle Ages in the form of a sovereign who is usually of no great harm and never of much use. But even we commercial progressive people think it worth while to keep this sham going as a sort of symbol that we don't want to go too fast: still, having this gilt figure-head, as business men we don't want to pay too much for it, and of course we will take every opportunity of curbing its extravagancies.

That is the ordinary Radical view, and considers itself very superior and knowing. It is after all only a translation of No. 1 into a language understood of the people, and still leaves room for other views.

No. 3, for instance. "Well, what's the use of all this talk? Of course the old lady tries to get as much as she can from us and to do as little as possible for it; and since she is queen, she can easily best us: so we had better stump up, and say no more about it."

That is the ordinary commonsense working-man's view of it, looking at it from the outside. It is not very far from the fact as times go. But there is still room for the Socialist point of view: call it

No. 4. We are governed by a bureaucracy—*i.e.*, a government of professional officials governing in their own interests as representatives of the proprietary classes. This Bureaucracy thinks it necessary to have a head ornamental official and to call it king or queen, though it has nothing whatever to do with the old feudal king, who had definite duties to perform. The present demand for more money is not made to the people in any form, but to the Bureaucracy, by its head official. That Bureaucracy, knowing well that its safety depends on its being as reactionary as possible, replies, "More money? certainly: only don't overdo it," and then proceeds to work the oracle by the usual parliamentary means; and the whole business of semi-opposition, and downright opposition, is all a solemn farce. The bureaucracy does not object. Let anyone else object if he pleases; he can't do anything.

After, all, working-men needn't lament the vote too much: if the Queen were not to have the money, they wouldn't. It will go just where it would have gone in any case—to the association for wasting

the labour of the workers—*i.e.*, the privileged classes. Cast your eyes over the list of the rubbish offered to our gilt gibbie-stick of royalty on this very occasion, and reflect on the toil and skill of ingenious and laborious men which has been cast away into the gutter in producing things that nobody wants, and how that toil and skill might have been employed in producing what everybody wants, and you will think that our head official with the sham mediæval cloak cast about it, is but a very natural expression of the great fraud and folly of our age.

Here is a sham Society, a real band of robbers, that steals and steals from all men who do anything, till it makes life hard and miserable for the great majority of men, and yet it can do no better for itself than waste its stolen resources in ugly and ridiculous toys, that those who are cumbered with them can do nothing with but bury or forget. For such a Society the crowned toy is good enough, and I can only wish it had to pay for it really instead of seemingly.

Yet, mind you, for the serious Radicals who voted against this natural and necessary insult to the community on principle and not for cheese-paring reasons, we cannot help feeling sympathy. But, poor souls, what are they to do if they have tacked themselves on to the skirts of such leaders as they are bound to put up with? All amateurs of oratory agree that Mr. Gladstone has at last made a speech worthy of his best period. What has he spent that rhetoric upon? Home Rule? Freedom of speech? Surely at least the independence and dignity of the House of Commons? Not at all, it was made in favour of the grant to save the Queen's pocket. What is to be said after that?

Also will any one explain why the Irish members voted for the Government on Mr. Labouchere's amendment? Is that part of the whitewashing into respectability of Mr. Parnell? or is it part of some Parliamentary tactics, a dodge that "almost no feller" can understand?

In any case the Irish members ought to consider whether the support of the "thoroughly respectable" is worth more to them than that of the democratic working men who have honestly taken up the cause of the poor of Ireland without any thought of their own self-interest.

As to Mr. Chamberlain, what need be said but that if one's enemy likes to roll himself in filth, it is not our business to warn him that he will stink afterwards? W. M.

It seems that British capital is taking to itself wings, and is emigrating to the furthest corners of the earth. A telegram appeared in the *Daily News* last Saturday from New York, stating that "the agents of some English capitalists have been attempting several immense general retail shops in this city. . . These shops are somewhat like Whiteley's, they occupy immense buildings, and sell almost every kind of article.

We learn also from the same telegram that English capital now controls some of the largest breweries, has complete control of the salt industry, partial control of certain iron and steel mills, and is largely interested in tobacco factories, sugar refineries, flour mills, and cattle ranches. We are also informed that British capital has been endeavouring to buy Delmonico's celebrated restaurant. What is the meaning of this?

It is possible that some people may exclaim that it is the effect of the propaganda of the wicked Socialists which is driving all the capital out of the country. But this will hardly serve, we have not yet had a general strike on the eight hour's question, nor have there been pitched battles in the streets between workmen and the police. So, on the whole, I should imagine that capital is more secure in this country than in America. Well, what is the reason then of its emigration?

It probably springs from the fact that capital generally goes where it can get the most out of the people, where there are fresh fields for exploitation. In England at the present time, to use the language of the stock-jobbers, there is a great lack of remunerative investments.

It means, in plain English, that the capitalist has sweated the happy English worker till he can sweat very little more out of him, and he is now going to try his hand on the unfortunate American.

We Socialists should rejoice, for it only proves that the great commercial crisis, which will smash up the present system, is not far off, and that the far-seeing capitalist is getting out of a country which will soon be too hot for him. We shall soon have experience of the fact that by his system of wholesale robbery and greedy extortion, he has brought England to the verge of bankruptcy and national ruin. The birds are already beginning to fly before the coming storm.

Bryant and May have only been able to declare a dividend of 15 per cent. in place of the usual 20, and this in a time of improvement in trade! Surely you would think that this excellent firm, which is so generally noted for its "kindness" to its employees, ought to increase its dividends when trade is "improving." It seems, after all, that the Socialist advice to boycott certain firms is bearing good fruit, and that Bryant and May's advice (see advertisements) to the British consumer to patronise "British industry" in the persons of Bryant and May's shareholders, has not had the effect which doubtless the advertisers hoped.

Meanwhile, we can only advise our comrades to go on recommending people to boycott Bryant and May. If we can knock off 5 per cent. every year, in a very little time that firm of slave-driving Quakers will be in the bankrupt court, which, at least, we trust will be "some consolation to mankind."

D. N.

## IMPRESSIONS OF THE PARIS CONGRESS.

(Concluded from p. 234.)

ON the Wednesday, after the introduction of a delegate from the far-off country of Finland, who was received with much enthusiasm, Bebel began the reading of the reports with a history of the German movement in more recent days. This took two hours in the delivery, I should think, and of course could not be translated; a short resumé was all that could be given in French and English, but even from that it was plain that the original was able and exhaustive. I should mention that most, if not all, of the reports have been handed in in writing and will be printed; so that we shall have the benefit of noting the views of the delegates as to the position of the movement in the various countries.

A Spanish delegate (I think) followed Bebel, and spoke in his native tongue, which was translated by Lafargue. His address seemed emphatic and pithy.

In the evening the veteran Lavroff read a long and interesting report from Russia. After which came a threatening of the repetition of the fruitless noise of Monday evening, for what cause I, as a stranger, am utterly unable to say. The chairman (Anseele), however, disposed of this pretty easily, though I think in England we should have thought him a little too ready to adopt the last resort of "chucking out."

Then Jules Guesde got up and delivered what as a speech must be considered as the speech of the Congress, and was certainly splendid oratory. It was hardly a report, however, and to some of us there seemed too strong a flavour of electioneering in it; which, considering the position of the French Social-Democrats, was of course to be expected.

Next morning, after some preliminaries, I was called upon to report for England. I should mention here that we S. L. delegates were strongly of opinion that Keir Hardie, who represented the Parliamentary side of English Socialism, should have an opportunity of speaking to that side, and that we pressed this on the Committee. In the light of what occurred later, I think this ought to be noticed.

I was told that the time now pressed so much that the rest of the speakers of reports would be asked to keep within ten minutes, which I tried to do—and I think kept within twenty. I handed in my written report later on.

I was followed by Adler, for Austria, who by no means imitated my brevity (nor did any one else). Volders reported for Belgium; Italy, Holland, and Poland also reported. After these national reports came the special reports—i.e., for associations, etc. Keir Hardie spoke for the Scotch miners; I missed his speech, and chiefly remember a speech of the delegate for the Waiters' Association—very straightforward and to the point, complaining of the irrational contempt in which these luckless slaves of the well-to-do are held even by their working brethren: and also a speech of Madame Zetkin, who represented the working women of Berlin. This last was in fact a very clear and closely reasoned essay on the relation between the industrial position of women and Socialism. When printed it will be valuable as clearly establishing the difference in view between the Socialist and the "Woman's Rights" women. It was received with as much applause as any other speech; more than any, I think, except Guesde's.

The fag-end of this sitting (a very long one) was devoted to short speeches by various delegates. Here Kitz, as a result of a great deal of pressing on my part, was allowed to read the text of a resolution condemning the privileged thieves of society for their brutal treatment of the "criminals" who have been first manufactured and then punished by our robber sham-society. We understood that he would have an opportunity of moving this resolution; but the opportunity did not turn up.

Two or three Anarchists spoke in this sitting, and spoke well,

though to my mind they did not put forward any distinctively Anarchist doctrines: they were well received by the mass of the delegates, who indeed throughout strongly applauded any revolutionary sentiments. The gibe of one Anarchist deserves to be noted. Apropos of palliation by legislation on labour, he said: "When I was a Collectivist I was taught the Iron Law so well by Marx and Liebnicht, that I cannot forget it now I am an Anarchist."

That evening (Friday) the Paris Municipality threw open the splendid public rooms of the Hotel de Ville to the delegates of both Congresses and their friends, and entertained them very handsomely after the generous "custom of the country." Also there was a friendly meeting held at our friend Maxime Lisbonne's Taverne du Bagne, which is got up to simulate a prison, with (in all senses) fearful pictures on the walls: waiters dressed as convicts, and where for the consideration of 1½ francs you can be solemnly ironed in public (I don't know what charge is made for taking off the irons). Here Louise Michel spoke, and there was much enthusiasm shown. I was not able to attend either of these entertainments, as I had to spend the night in writing out my report from my notes.

On Saturday morning we found Cunningham Graham in the chair, and we expected that Bebel's propositions would be formally put, debated on, and (certainly) carried by a large majority; but this was not duly done. I must explain here that for three days past I had handed in a resolution of a wide Socialist character, so that the Congress might pledge itself definitely to Socialism, which all our English comrades thought necessary to be done, if it were only to give our Congress a reason for existence in opposition to the Possibilist Congress. The organisers said that the preamble of Bebel's propositions practically carried with it the sense of my resolution. This was true; but I pleaded that a separate resolution ought to be put, as there were delegates present who would vote against Bebel's propositions who would assuredly vote for a Socialist resolution, and that moreover the resolution would not have the same force imbedded in a preamble which would not be noticed alongside of its "practical" deduction.

The organisers agreed therefore to the putting of a distinct resolution, and on this Saturday morning I spent some time in Conference with our French and German friends (including Bebel), and arranged for the modification of my resolution by the introduction of matter from the French and German preambles, which, however, did not alter the sense of the original resolution.

Coming back to the Congress Hall again nothing serious seemed doing, and knowing that the vast majority of the delegates were in favour of Bebel's propositions, believing also that nothing serious would be put forward in opposition, I left for Rouen after the morning session along with Kitz and Tarleton, and was therefore not a witness of the lamentable scene that followed; therefore, what I say of it is subject to correction by those of our comrades who were there.

It was clear that no discussion of the propositions was to be allowed, and the clôture was voted. Thereupon, our friend Merlino rose to protest against this proceeding, but was howled down; he was attacked in words by a delegate and accused of carrying on organised interruption, and his expulsion was ordered by the chairman. This was carried out with much brutal violence, against which the League delegates attempted to protect him. After his expulsion, Mrs. Schack and Tochatti rose also to protest, and then all our delegates present left and handed in a written protest against the violence and the smothering of the discussion.

Now surely, short as the time for discussion was, time could have been found for two speakers at least to put forward the contrary to the very propositions which from the first we had been called together to discuss; and since the Congress (though undoubtedly in the main composed of Social Democrats) had distinctly invited Socialists of *all kinds*, it must be said to have stultified itself in refusing to listen to opinions which everybody knew were held by some of the delegates; and the intolerance of the majority must remain a serious blot on what was otherwise a successful demonstration at least.

On the Sunday morning, the delegates went to Pere la Chaise to hang a wreath on the Mur des Federés, the death-place of so many of the murdered men of the Commune. Cunningham Graham and Tochatti spoke there amongst others, and so came to an end this great gathering.

Looking back on it, it seems clear that if the Congress had gone on with its business instead of trying to stand well with the public by discussing the possibility of a fusion, which almost all of us knew was impossible, we should have gained at least one whole day for debating the pros and cons on Bebel's propositions; and if, in addition, the reports of the different nations had been taken as read (since they are all to be printed) we should have had time enough for a debate which would have satisfied everybody, and sent the delegates of all shades away contented. Because in the course of that debate everything could have been said that was necessary about the movement generally.

Finally, the impression made on me by attendance at this International Congress is that such gatherings are not favourable for the dispatch of business, and their real use is as *demonstrations*, and that it would be better to organise them as such. I mean that two or three great public meetings should be held (after the due formalities of verification, etc., have been gone through), that opportunities should be given for the delegates to meet each other in social and conversational meetings, and that there should be no voting, no "playing at Parliament." This is my wisdom after the event; but I think it is worth considering, as no doubt there will soon be another International Socialist Congress.

WILLIAM MORRIS.



## IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE National Greenback party, which everybody believed to be dead and buried some considerable time, all at once has come to life again. Probably the interest now taken again in so many crotchets has induced this corpse to resurrection. But the life of this latter-day Rip van Winkle, who looks on the present labour movement through the spectacles of twenty years ago, can only be a short one; however, let us hope it will be happy. Mr. G. O. Jones, the chairman of the party, has issued an invitation requesting all persons who desire to aid in reorganising the National Greenback party, to meet in their respective States and Congressional districts on or before Sept. 4th next, and appoint one delegate to attend the National Greenback Convention called to meet on Sept. 12th in Cincinnati, Ohio. The invitation is extended to

"Those who favour a distinct American policy regarding its finances, who believe that full legal tender notes, greenbacks, issued by the government for value received, in promoting the general welfare, constitute the money which marks our advancing civilisation, make the best money the world ever saw, and should become the permanent circulating medium of the American people, the life of whose free government they saved, and that a party bearing their name should be perpetuated to keep these great truths constantly before the people. Those who believe, with the prophet of old, that 'money answereth all things,' and that no other reform can be wisely considered nor honestly determined until the great economic wrongs brought about by bad legislation have been corrected, and the money question for ever settled in the interest of the whole people, and who are willing to act in accordance with the spirit of the resolution passed by the Continental Congress in 1773, viz.: Not to eat, drink, wear, nor use anything manufactured in Great Britain; nor after one year trade with anyone who deals in goods brought here under the British flag."

The call says "that the reorganised party will also advocate the payment of public debts according to the original contract under which they were issued; the encouragement of the American merchant marine and of home industries; the limitation of the debts of corporations to the amount of stock actually paid up; the restriction of dividends of corporations to a fair return on the investment, and the restriction of private ownership of land." It is quite impossible to conceive of a more fossilian programme.

The Executive Board of the Knights of Labour organisation met on July 16th in Chicago city, General Master Workman T. V. Powderly presiding. The principal business was the selection of the time and place for the next general assembly. It was decided that the general assembly should be held at Atlanta, Ga., on the second Tuesday of next November. The board then examined complaints, petitions, and reports in relation to the Order in the North-west. The principal strength of the organisation is now concentrated in these regions. In the East the Knights have lost all their prestige, and the eastern assemblies are mostly defunct or count but few members. Talking to a reporter, Powderly stated:

"The charter of the first assembly of France was prepared this morning, and started on its way to the old country. It was given to Mrs. Barry, the general director and instructor in woman's work. The first assembly has been organised for some time, but we have held back the charter, preferring to send it by special messenger."

As a result of a meeting of the respective leaders of different labour organisations in February last at Philadelphia, Pa., an address to workmen has been published, signed by T. V. Powderly and J. W. Hayes, on behalf of the Knights of Labour; Samuel Gompers and P. J. McGuire, American Federation of Trades; Eugene V. Debs and W. N. Sargent, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen; W. S. Sinnott, Brotherhood of Brakemen; and George S. Baily, Switchmen's Union. With the exception of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, these are numerically the strongest labour organisations in the States. The principal argument of the address is that

"If through zealous efforts in behalf of their separate organisations, the officers of the same have appeared to differ with each other, the fact stands that there has never been any real cause for any serious divergence of opinion."

"That the future may witness no repetition of past misunderstandings, we have assembled to counsel with each other, and to demonstrate by our presence at this gathering that between official heads of the organisations of labour there exists no difference of opinion or feeling which will stand in the way of the future welfare of labour generally."

"We therefore call—First, upon all organisations of labour to put forth renewed efforts to strengthen and solidify their ranks, and to leave nothing undone to make each society the power that it is intended to be; Second, upon all unorganised working-men to study the principles upon which organisation is based, to meet and consult with members of labour societies in their various localities, with the object in view of ultimately bringing within the folds of organised labour every worthy man and woman who toils in America."

"Thus far have we gone at our preliminary meeting. We hope that the example may be followed in every place where a labour society exists; that the advice we give may be acted upon, and when we meet again in the near future we may be prepared to report that the groundwork has been laid for a plan upon which all societies may become allies in defending the rights of each other."

One thing these trades-unionists of all shades and degrees seem never to take into consideration, and that is, that the old object of unionism—to reduce the hours of labour and to raise the wages—is about played out by now. The principal duty, therefore, of real leaders should not so much consist in calling upon the workers to unite, but in evolving a programme scientifically correct and in agreement with the historical economic evolution. Unionism based upon antediluvian principles is worse than rat-ism.

The 4th of July has clearly demonstrated that the new eight-hour movement is a complete failure. Here, in the East, hardly anybody takes any interest in it. The workers know that it is absurd to believe that the capitalists will introduce the eight hours' day for humanitarian reasons, and they also know that the present state of the labour market absolutely forbids even the idea of forcing the "bosses" to grant this principle. In consequence the movement is as dead as Queen Anne for all practical purposes. Chicago city had the biggest eight-hour demonstration. About 35,000 men attended the meeting. Mayor Creiger, Carter Harrison's henchman, was among the speakers. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, delivered the principal address. Meetings were also held in Philadelphia, Pa., Lynn, Mass., Vicksburg, Miss. Here in Boston a meeting was to be held in Franklin Park, but the authorities declining to "grant" the use of the park, which is a waste, for such meetings, the idea of holding a demonstration was abandoned. As a protest against this arbitrary action of the city officials a meeting will be held in the historic Faneuil Hall.

The Social Democrats, recognised everywhere as indefatigable voters for a cause they believe in, have mostly withdrawn from the eight-hour

movement. They have discovered that the whole movement is nothing but a farce. In New York city only about 800 persons attended the demonstration in favour of eight hours, but rain is given as the cause for this apparent lack of interest on the part of the workers in the movement. In Jersey city and Brooklyn the people interested did not show up stronger than in New York. In San Francisco the movement cannot get on, it is said, because the women will not join.

Boston, Mass., July 15, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 10, 1889.

4	Sun.	1789. National Assembly abolishes feudal privileges. 1792. P. B. Shelley born. 1804. E. T. Craig, founder of Ralahine, born at Manchester. 1817. Trial of Roger O'Connor. 1839. Chartist demonstration in Stevenson Square, Manchester. 1842. "Alarming disturbances" break out in manufacturing districts. 1883. Execution of Carey.
5	Mon.	1642. Portsmouth surrenders to the Parliament. 1839. Foundation-stone laid of the Manchester Hall of Science, with an address by Robert Owen; ceremony followed by a dinner and social festival. 1885. Miners' riots at Ilkeston. 1887. Midland Railway strike (midnight 4—5).
6	Tues.	1775. Daniel O'Connell born. 1836. First number of the <i>Reformer</i> , Liverpool, 2d. weekly. 1838. "People's Charter" agreed to and adopted at Holloway Head (Birmingham) demonstration. 1839. Lovett and Collins imprisoned for Chartism. 1887. Antonio Carra died.
7	Wed.	1830. The Bourbons finally deposed from the throne of France. 1834. Watson arrested for selling unstamped papers. 1837. 14,000 weavers unemployed in Paisley. 1847. "Father" (George) Rapp died. 1860. C. Southwell died.
8	Thur.	1788. Royal edict that States-General shall assemble next May. 1815. Napoleon banished to St. Helena. 1839. Sentences on Chartists: Jeremiah Howell, Francis Roberts, and John Jones, death (commuted to imprisonment for life); William Lovett and John Collins imprisoned for 12 months. 1855. Riot in Hyde Park. 1877. W. Lovett died.
9	Fri.	1853. Michael Schwab born. 1882. Thomas Walsh sentenced to 7 years for treason-felony.
10	Sat.	1643. Siege of Gloucester, causing the march of London tradebands and forming of Cromwell's Ironsides. 1646. John Lilburne sent to Newgate for libelling the Cromwellians. 1782. Trial of David Tyrie for high treason. 1792. Attack on the Tuileries at midnight and flight of the king, who, with his family, takes refuge with the National Assembly, where they remain till August 13. National Convention decreed. Foundation of the Commune of Paris and the French Republic. 1825. Riot of seamen at Sunderland and fight with the military.

## THE COMMON WEAL.

WE Socialists are often told we must get all people to be of the same mind, in fact, to think alike on whatever pertains to their sublunary existence in order to give practical effect to our doctrines. Granting that this is a *sine qua non* for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth of the peoples of the world on a lasting basis, I do not see that the task is impossible. Every school of thought doing any propaganda, has for its main object the conversion of as many as possible to that phase of thought which it inculcates, and therefore of necessity the conversion of all mankind if possible. Such being the case, I fail to see wherein we differ in this respect from any other school of thought.

Let us consider the causes of the divergence of thought in different individuals, i.e., why people do not think alike. We know that unanimity of opinion prevails on all known facts; that when any hypothesis is advanced, by a consensus of opinion judgment is suspended until the hypothesis can be demonstrated to be a fact; and, therefore, that in the region of the known all people (who know) do think alike. Hence it follows that difference of opinion on all matters that pertain to actual knowledge can exist only in the unknown, i.e., the speculative. In the irrational system under which we live we find that divergence of opinion frequently arises in the consideration of a subject, not from the absolute good or evil to the community at large embodied in the subject, but to the relative effect produced upon certain individuals or classes of individuals, since the society of to-day is made up of conflicting interests. Therefore, conflicting interests produce a divergence of opinion. We contend that under Communism, people having an identity of interest, i.e., the common weal, a general consensus of opinion on anything which concerns the well-being of each and all will be no hard matter to obtain, and therefore in a rational society with identity of interests people will think alike.

A. BROOKES.

A comrade out of employment would be glad to address circulars, etc., or do any other writing work.—Address T. C., 69, Fernhead Road Harrow Road, N.W.

DIEMSHIETZ'S RELEASE.—On Wednesday, at an early hour, members of the Patriotic and International Clubs waited outside Pentonville Gaol to welcome Louis Diemshietz upon his release, on the completion of his sentence. Some friends of the patriot's were present as early as five o'clock. The prisoner was not released until nine, when a good muster of comrades were present, who gave our comrade a hearty welcome. In the evening, at the Patriotic Club, a public welcome was given to our comrade Diemshietz. Addresses were delivered by several comrades, and the evening passed pleasantly with songs, music, and readings. Our comrade in the course of a reply to the welcome given, declared his unshaken determination to work for the realisation of Socialism. His ill-treatment and imprisonment had only strengthened his hostility to the present system. The Defence Committee will meet shortly for the settlement of affairs. All friends having subscription sheets are requested to return them. Any further subscriptions towards the Compensation Fund should be sent in at once to F. Kitz, Secretary Defence Committee.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON.

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. S. H.—“The British Workman’s Rallying Song,” to which you allude, is a religious teetotal hymn, and has nothing to do with labour.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 31.

ENGLAND	Investigator	BELGIUM
Brotherhood	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Ghent—Vooruit
Justice	Baecker Zeitung	Antwerp—De Werker
Labour Elector	Vorbote	Liege—L’Avenir
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SWITZERLAND
London—Freie Presse	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Arbeiterstimme
Norwich—Daylight	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	PORTUGAL
Railway Review	Pacific Union	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Sozial Demokrat	FRANCE	GERMANY
Seafaring	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker’s Friend	Le Proletariat	AUSTRIA
NEW SOUTH WALES	La Revolte	Brunn—Volksfreund
Hamilton—Radical	Le Radical	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
UNITED STATES	L’Attaque	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	Lyon—L’Action Sociale	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	SWEDEN
Volkzeitung	HOLLAND	Malmo—Arbetet
Jewish Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Workmen’s Advocate	ITALY	WEST INDIES
United Irishman	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Cuba—El Productor
Nationalist	SPAIN	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Boston—Woman’s Journal	Seville—La Solidaridad	Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
Liberty	Madrid—El Socialista	
The Dawn		

“BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION.”

(Concluded from p. 235.)

BUT it is in national and municipal contracts that corruption is always said to be most rampant, and there is no doubt than an immense amount of it does exist in connection with these. For one thing, it begins at an earlier stage—namely, with the letting of the work. In the majority of even the largest firms all important contracts come before the owners or directors for decision, and they are personally interested in getting the work done as well and as cheaply as possible. But in national and municipal affairs many large contracts are let by individuals, paid managers of departments, who have not the same personal interest as a board of directors or the owner. The class of contracts I now allude to are those for supplies to the army, navy, and police, and such-like. Here it is very common for the contractor to bribe more or less directly the official who has the letting of them. I know a corn-merchant who has given up trying for government contracts at all, the amount of bribery necessary to give him a chance of success being more than he could stand. The corruption of government departments is frequently pointed to as a most potent argument against Socialism. “See what bribery exists in the departments of industry now managed by the Government and the municipalities! And yet you propose to put all industry under similar control! Preposterous!” So very often say our opponents. But there are a few considerations which make it less preposterous than our friend appears to think. If he will consider the instances given above, and many others, some of which probably have come under his own notice, I think he will be constrained to admit that

the first cause of this corruption lies in the competition of many firms each eager to get the contracts, whose very existence, in fact, depends on their securing a number of these orders, and who are therefore driven to every means that will help them, either to quote a lower price than their opponents, or to induce the purchaser to give them a preference. Arising out of this is the second cause, namely, the opposition of interest between the various parties; as, for instance, it is the interest of the contractor to supply as poor an article as will pass the inspection, and it is the interest of the purchaser to get out of him as good a quality and as large a quantity as he possibly can. I am well aware that there are other considerations for the contractor; he must consider his reputation, and the chance of future orders; but such considerations as these, however much they may modify the result, do not alter the main direction in which the two interests are working. The sportsman is restrained by considerations for future sport from killing all the birds on his estate, but no one would maintain that this proved his interest and the birds’ to be the same! The sportsman’s interest is to kill as many as consideration for future sport will allow. So the contractor’s interest is to supply as poor a quality as considerations of reputation and future orders will allow! Now in any state of Socialism that may be imagined these two causes of corruption will not exist. So that, although there may be more men in the position of managers of capital in which they have not a large personal stake, there will, on the other hand, be no men whose interest it will be to corrupt them. By far the most effectual way to stop corruption is to take away the temptation: something may be done, no doubt, towards securing men who will resist it, but if it can be taken away the thing is done at once. That is just what Socialism does. It may not, perhaps, place its managers in posts where it would be more difficult to corrupt them, but, by taking away competition amongst contractors, it leaves no one whose interest it would be to try and corrupt a manager. One often hears of a contractor for supplying corn, boots, or swords bribing an official to give him the order; but whoever heard of the manager of Woolwich Arsenal bribing the Admiralty officials to place orders for guns at his factory! Still less likely would the Postmaster-General be to bribe the chairman of the London School Board to buy their stamps and envelopes from his department! Well, the relations between the various productive and distributive departments under Socialism would be much the same as between any two of the present departments. The exceptional corruption said to exist in government departments at present arises from their contact with the competitive market around, and is due almost entirely to the conditions of that market; as soon as one national department comes to deal with another or with a municipal department, the corruption vanishes; and as soon as all industries are made national, municipal, or communal departments, as the case may be, all cause for bribing and corruption in their dealings with each other will have vanished too. Another charge which is often brought against national and municipal establishments is that of extravagance, and while we are on the subject a word or two on this may not be out of place. To begin with, this charge is only partly true, and relates chiefly to the war departments, which are so different from any ordinary industry as hardly to count as an example. The Post Office is not usually charged with extravagance, and its dealings are much more comparable with ordinary industry; its officials, too, are more a class of trained men, many of whom, if not most, have worked their way up in the service. In the war departments, on the other hand, too many places are filled by untrained sons of powerful army and navy men, who are in want of an income without working much for it. In municipal affairs, too, the charge is by no means always true, as is proved by the successful way in which many towns work their gas and water supply, not only selling at a lower rate to the consumer, but making a handsome income for the municipality. But granting there may be a certain amount of extra waste and extravagance in many of these departments, the waste of competition, which would be done away with by the introduction of communal management of industries, would swallow it up many times over. Besides, part of the so-called extravagance of governments is due to a cause which we should be only too glad to see extended. As a rule, wages and salaries are higher in national and municipal industries, and very often a pension is allowed after so many years of service. Then as a rule the men can work more leisurely; they are not bullied quite so much. This of course applies with greater force to the higher branches, in which are employed the sons of swells, but still it runs through all grades more or less; and so far as the so-called extravagance is due to this it is good, and we need not fear to see a little more of such “waste.” It must not be imagined that because I have been comparing competitive industries to our present government departments, that these departments are our ideal of what industries should be; far from it. But they are the only instances we have where competition is absent; and even these, based as they are to so large an extent on old caste distinctions, on party government, on old-fashioned notions about interfering with private enterprise, and similar absurdities, show very distinctly the advantages to be derived from the abolition of a competitive industry, not the least of which will be the sweeping away of the huge system of bribery and corruption which is distinctly due to the keen competition which Socialism will abolish.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

Wanted, a Lodging for a Single Man, in or near Clerkenwell; a Socialist home preferred.—Apply W., care of Secretary of Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

## ROYAL GRANTS, AND OTHER BURDENS.

THE question of royal grants is once more agitating the public mind. We hear a great deal of the duty of the democracy to oppose these grants, and we hear a great deal of the duty of the British democracy to remain loyal to the Crown. We also read of the sovereign right of her majesty to claim whatever she deems necessary to the comfort and dignity of every member of the royal family, even to the third or fourth generation. All this is very amusing at the close of the nineteenth century. But royalty is only a part of the present plundering system, though it is of course the centre around which all the plundering classes flutter. There are also many matters in connection with royalty to-day that require deep consideration. We have in the country a strong section whose aim is and has been for at least a generation to strengthen, as it is termed, the royal prerogative. We are told to-day that the Queen must maintain her sovereignty, her supremacy. Austin ('Province of Jurisprudence') lays it down as a principle "that a limited monarchy is an absurdity. Either the Crown or the Parliament must be supreme." During the debate (1876) on the Empress of India Bill, Disraeli claimed that supremacy for the Crown. He boldly declared: "The fact is that Parliament exists by the prerogative of the Crown. It is the royal prerogative that enables this house to be elected and assembled." In 1878 we got a step further. During the debate (May 21) on the Indian troops being brought to Malta, the Attorney-General said: "It is the prerogative of the Crown not only to command and control the military forces, but to raise them and maintain them, both regular and irregular. The Bill of Rights (?) forbids the keeping of a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. That was confined to the United Kingdom; the Mutiny Act extended it to Ireland. Beyond the United Kingdom the case was different." Again: It was the prerogative of the sovereign to move these forces from India, where they were, to Malta, or anywhere else, leaving it to the imperial Parliament, when they got there, subsequently to sanction the step which had been taken by voting the necessary supplies ('Hansard,' pp. 373 to 383).

In all this a great principle is involved, which may ere long prove most dangerous to the people of England. Parliament exists by the royal prerogative. By the royal prerogative Parliament may be prorogued or even dissolved. By the same prerogative the sovereign can raise and maintain an immense army in India; can move that army to Malta, or anywhere else, without the sanction of Parliament—Parliament having nothing to do with the matter but subsequently to vote the supplies. Fonblanque ('The Crown, the Senate, and the People,' p. 12) says: "The person of the sovereign is sacred. She is above the law. No Act of Parliament can bind her, unless it contain express words to that effect." So that all the thousands of Acts passed during the last half-century apply only to the people, not to her majesty; she is above the law. But Schomberg carries the doctrine of absolutism still further. At p. 227 he says: "The monarch is the depository of the wealth, and power, and wisdom of the country." And at p. 231: "The monarch is absolute and is the Minister of God." We are evidently progressing in more directions than one.

During the debate on the question of the Royal Grants, July 25th, Mr. W. H. Smith even spoke of our sacred institutions, royalty of course being one of them; and this in the year of grace, 1889. And even Gladstone thought the Crown ought to be supported in splendour. The splendour of barbarism in the midst of a starving population. The Grand Old Man!

But royalty ever has been, and, as long as it remains, ever will be, a curse and a scourge to the human race. In all the States of Europe it is the emblem of brute-force. Morally dead in all the nations, it depends for its supremacy on the mercenary legions at its command. In principle and in practice, and in its effects on the populations, it is one of the monster evils of the nineteenth century. It is not the mere cost of the Crown, though that is enormous; it is the principle involved, and where it may yet lead us. During the fifty-two years of this reign, the cost, in direct money payments, has been far over £34,000,000 sterling, while it would be difficult to estimate the indirect cost. But in dealing with the cost of the Crown we must remember that every kind of income comes, direct or indirect, from labour. That every kind of wealth comes from labour. And that the million or more which royalty costs the nation comes, directly or indirectly, from those who produce the nation's wealth. We have, then, to divide, not only the cost of the Crown, but all the other great burdens, whether national or local, among those from whose labour every kind of income is derived.

In 1882 Mulhall gave the number of working-class families in the United Kingdom at 4,629,100. If we divide the total cost of royalty by that number, it gives as the cost to every family 6s. 7d. per annum. Not much, it may be said; but why should it be paid at all, and for the support of a family of useless creatures? Then there is the royal church, which amounts to £2 3s. 3d. for each working family. There is also the royal army (not including the royal navy), the yearly cost to each family being £3 17s. 6d. And then there is the royal debt, the total annual burden of which is £6 7s. 6d. to each working-class family. These four items amount to £12 14s. 10d. a-year.

But let us take another view of the matter. The general revenue of the country (1882) was £87,743,465, which amounted to £18 19s. per family. Add the local expenditure (1884), £66,670,000, equal to £14 8s. per family, or the two items were a tax on each family of £33 7s. It is useless to talk about what the non-producing classes pay; labour being the only source of wealth, from whatever source

income is directly derived—whether from the taxes or rates or tithes, or from rents or profits or dividends—all comes from labour, and from labour only, combined with the natural elements.

But we must go a step further. In 1882 the national income was stated to be £1,247,000,000, or rather over that—say £1,250,000,000. Now, taking the smaller sum, and dividing it between the 4,629,100 families comprised in the wealth-producing classes, and it amounts to £295 5s. to each family. Nearly £6 per week for each family. Place the wage of the skilled workman—his 30s. or 35s., or even his 40s. per week—by the side of this £6, and how small his wage looks! But how with those who get their 10s. or 12s. per week!

But who got this mass of wealth? where did it go? As those who produced it never received it, who got it, and how? Let us take four items only—

Landlordism (including ground-rents, which increase every year) takes at least £200,000,000, equal to each working-class family of ...	£42 19 0
Usury, not less than £300,000,000; cost per family	64 8 6
The trading classes, £244,000,000; cost to each family	53 3 0
Superintendence, £180,000,000; cost to each family	38 12 0

Here went £924,000,000; or from each family ...	£199 2 6
Leaving only £323,000,000; or for each family ...	96 2 6

We thus see that it takes from every working-class family, every year, close on £200, or nearly four pounds per week, to support the present system. And yet we are content to go on.

Taking the higher classes of the community, what were their number? 223,500 families; a mere handful as compared with the workers, who form the mass of the population. Yet, in 1878, when the wealth of the country was estimated at £7,960,000,000, those 223,500 families held of that wealth no less than £5,727,000,000, while the 4,629,100 families possessed only £398,000,000 among them. Again, from 1878 to 1882 the wealth of the nation rose to £8,720,000,000. And in 1885 to £9,410,000,000, equal to £261 per head of the population, and if divided among the 4,629,100 families of workers would have given to each such family £2,032. Taking the ten years ending 1875, the wealth of the nation increased £2,400,000,000, or showing a yearly saving of £240,000,000. From 1876 to 1885, the yearly increase averaged £180,000,000, and taking the seven years ending 1886 it was £207,100,000 per annum. Where does it all go? Who produced it? The workers. Who got it? The non-producing classes.

But it will be said that population has increased since 1882, and that therefore the workers are more numerous to-day than at that period. And so has our national income increased, to a much greater extent than the increase of population.

Now, much as I detest the institution of royalty, with its church, its army, and its debt, I cannot forget the greater burdens of landlordism, of usury, of our profit-mongering system. While I would sweep away royalty with all its ever-attendant evils, I would also free the workers from the curse of landlordism and the still greater curse of usury, and would organise society on the only rational basis—that of free association.

Let us, then, while condemning royal grants, also condemn the institution of royalty—condemn it as the centre of the semi-barbarous, brutal system that still obtains among us. Let us condemn it in the name of equal liberty, of universal justice, of eternal right.

And let us not forget, in combating the evils of royalty, or even as an institution, that the same monstrous principle exists throughout the whole of society. That it is the principle that must be swept away, not only on the throne of the nation, not only in the institutions of the country, but in the family circle itself. This the social revolution alone can accomplish. And by the social revolution I mean the triumph of revolutionary Socialism; not of mere Socialistic opportunism, but revolutionary Socialism, that would sweep away at once and for ever royalty in all its forms and in all the relations of life: the curse of landlordism, with all its traditions; of usury, with all its evils; of our profit-mongering system, with all its degradations; and that would raise the worker to Liberty, Dignity, and Independence.

J. SKETCHLEY.

AMERICAN IRONWORKERS.—The 3,000 employés of the Reading Iron-works recently received notice that no member of any labour organisation will be employed in those works when they resume operations. In case the men desire employment they must sign an "agreement" to these conditions to secure it. A year ago the 25,000 men employed on the Reading system all belonged to labour organisations, besides the 20,000 miners working for the company. To-day not one of these 45,000 men belong to a labour organisation.—C.

LABOUR-TROUBLES IN THE STATES.—Bradstreet's reports the number of bankruptcies from the 1st of January to the last of June, 1889, to be 5,918, against 5,254 for the same period in 1888, and 5,072 in 1887. The same paper says 53 strikes have occurred in June this year, involving 18,148 men; from the 13th of July 22 strikes have been declared, involving 8,500 men. The total number of strikes from January 1st to June 30th this year is reported to be 349, involving 93,258 men, against 436 strikes and 172,432 strikers for the same period in 1888, and 554 strikes and 222,023 strikers in 1887. This shows a considerable decrease in the strikes as well as regards the men involved, but of course it must not be concluded from these figures that capital and labour have become more harmonised in the States. Contrariwise, the relations of the two are worse than ever, but the toilers have clearly recognised by now that strikes cannot remedy their troubles, and that this mode of warfare under the present conditions is even unable to advance their interests one point. In fact, strikes are now-a-days only resorted to to prevent a reduction in wages.—C.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### Strike of Nottingham Lace-makers.

For some time affairs have looked threatening, but they have now come to a crisis. As the masters have intimated their intention of reducing wages from 25 to 40 per cent. in certain branches of the trade, 2,500 men ceased work last Saturday, July 27th, and have announced their intention of not returning until the notices of a reduction in wages are withdrawn. As the men have the support of their fellows in the same trade, the struggle is likely to be both long and stubborn.

### The Strike in Somerset and Lancashire.

The secretary of Lancashire Miners' Federation has issued an appeal to the miners in that district to pay a levy of sixpence weekly to support the miners who are on strike in Lancashire and Somerset. He states with truth that should the Somerset men be beaten, the men will lose the advance in Bristol and Forest of Dean districts, and that will probably be followed by a general reduction in the Midlands, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. He therefore urges the men to stand together, as the whole wages movement is one, and cannot be broken. That is true, Mr. Secretary; and let us also remember that the cause of the workers throughout the world is also one, and cannot be broken.

### Managerial Tyranny in Derbyshire.

According to a correspondent of the *Labour Tribune*, Durham miners are not the only sufferers by the tyranny of a manager. At one colliery in Derbyshire the manager is doing his best to harass the men who have been most prominent in getting the advance for their fellows. A number of men have been riddled out of their stalls. Others have had their earnings reduced to next to nothing by the ordinary facilities for output being denied them. It is said also that a list is to be taken of all those who gave notice, and any fineable offence in their case is to be met with a double penalty. The men at the colliery are rather disorganised, or we might depend upon it the manager would not have sufficient courage to practise his tyranny. It only shows what tyrants the capitalists would be if the men were fools enough to let them.

### The Gas-Stokers.

A highly successful demonstration was held in Hyde Park by the London gas-stokers last Sunday, to celebrate their victory over their employers in reducing their hours from twelve to eight. John Burns, Mrs. Besant, H. H. Champion, and William Thorne, the Secretary of the Gas-stokers' Union, addressed the meeting. Resolutions were carried calling upon the Government and the County Councils to support the eight-hours system in all their departments, and expressing sympathy with the 52 Silesian workmen who have been condemned to shamefully long terms of imprisonment for "rioting" when on strike for shorter hours and higher wages. In its march to the Park the gas-stokers' procession came within a very few yards of Trafalgar Square. In fact, it passed the spot where processions are usually broken up by police; but the police did not fancy attacking this procession, it looked too formidable. Half-starved men and boys are more in their line. They do not give hard knocks when there is chance of getting them back.

### The Durham Miners.

The Durham miners who work at the Hebburn Colliery are troubled with an unpopular and tyrannical manager. In consequence of his behaviour on 2nd of July in making a change in the manner of working, which was a breach of the terms under which the men were employed, a large number of them refused to work. And on the 8th of July there was another dispute. On the night of the 7th of July, as the shiftmen and stonemen were going to get the pit ready for stone-hewers, the door of a water-tub which was ascending got loose and was making a fearful noise. This naturally alarmed the men who were descending, and they shouted and stopped the cage. They hung in the mid air for some time, until someone went from the bank. The result was that the workmen refused to go to work till the shaft had been examined, so 313 of them were summoned at the South Shields Police Court for breach of contract. The miners made a picnic of the occasion, and marched to the court with a brass band and banners. In the end the court dismissed the charge for July 8th, and fined one of the culprits, J. Thompson, 5s. for the offence on the 2nd. The other charges were withdrawn for a month in order to allow an arrangement to be come to. That brass band and banner incident proves that the Durham miners have good stuff in them, and shows that the manager is exciting a dangerous feeling among the men.

**ADVANCE IN HOB-NAIL MAKERS' WAGES.**—The employers in the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire hob-nail trade decided on Wednesday the 24th to concede an advance in wages ranging from 10 to 15 per cent.

**WALSALL BIT FILERS AND FORGERS' STRIKE.**—This came to an end on Tuesday 23rd July, the men accepting the employers' offer of 10 per cent. advance and returning to work. The men are perfecting their organisation with a view of securing a further 10 per cent. in three months' time.

**THE TRAM STRIKE AT MANCHESTER.**—Our Manchester friends send us the following: On Friday morning the guards on the Harpurhey route of the Manchester Tramway Company turned out on strike in consequence of a notice which had been placed inside the cars, stating that fraud had been practised and that the company would pay £10 reward to anyone who would give information. Out of twenty-three men who ceased work only two returned, but the company had no difficulty in filling the places of the others with emergency-men. It was understood that the above notice, which the men considered an unnecessary aspersion on their honesty, would shortly be introduced throughout the company's service, only to disarm resistance it will be done piecemeal as it was begun. No society of any kind exists amongst the men, but they called a meeting of all servants of the company, which took place in the Lower Moseley Street Music Hall. About 600 guards, drivers, and other employés were present. A meek and submissive tone was taken by the few speakers amongst the men, who appeared to be more in fear of the "sack" than indignant at the informer-manufacturing notice. The Socialist League was represented by the secretary and another (Baillie and Strange), both of whom addressed the meeting advising the men to show a bold front and adopt a determined attitude, not only in the particular matter in question, but also the long hours and low

pay—17 hours a-day and wages from 15s. a-week for guards. The immediate formation of a union was the means pointed out as the only way at present by which they could hope of gaining the slightest concession from the capitalists by whom they were employed. Over 300 names were at once given in, and a committee appointed to take the matter in hand. The Socialist League Rooms were offered as a meeting place for the committee, and gladly accepted. This took place on Sunday morning, the men having to go on duty at 1.30. The original strikers are still out, and a general strike is threatened if the objectionable notice is placed on the other routes. A collection was made at the above meeting for the benefit of the guards who are out, and a public subscription is about to be opened. None amongst the reptile press here take up the cause of these miserably paid slaves of capitalistic greed.

D. N.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### GERMANY.

The German Nupkinses do their very best to drive into despair, and then naturally enough into revolutionary resistance, the oppressed workers of Bismarck's accursed fatherland. Last week the trial of thirty-three miners of the Waldenburg coal district on the charge of "riotous conduct" during the last strikes in Silesia was concluded. After the hearing of an unusual great number of police folk, who swore all sorts of falsehoods, the jury returned a verdict of "guilty" against all the accused but one, who was consequently released. The court sentenced our comrade Henkel, who had been a member of the strike committee ("the ringleader of the rioters," as the judges put it) to seven years' penal servitude, to be followed by seven years' deprivation of all civic rights. Nine of the accused were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from eighteen months' hard labour to five years' penal servitude, and twenty-two others to periods of imprisonment ranging from twelve months to four years. These shameful sentences have been inflicted upon prisoners who for the most part are youths of sixteen to twenty years of age, only twelve of their number being above twenty-one. During the trial the Court of Schweidnitz, where the Nupkinses sat, was guarded by a considerable number of soldiers, as well as police and gendarmes, because the judges went in fear of being "judged" too.

In addition to the cases disposed of last week, the same court of Schweidnitz sentenced fourteen more miners, who were found "guilty" on the same police evidence of having committed what is termed "excesses" during the strikes at Waldenburg, to terms of imprisonment varying from one year to four years' penal servitude. Such shameful sentences are more likely to foster the revolutionary movement than the best speeches in Parliament would do, and in that sense at any rate these scandalous magistrates are working for us, and we earnestly hope that they soon will get the reward their "work" deserves.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Our readers remember that *die Gleichheit*, the Austrian organ of the Social-Democratic party, edited by comrades Dr. Adler and Bretschneider, was suppressed by the authorities. A new organ has now been created, under the title of *Arbeiterzeitung* (Workers' Gazette), and is provisionally to appear twice a-month. The publishers are comrades Julius Popp and Rudolph Pokorny, and the responsible editor comrade L. A. Bretschneider. It is an eight-page paper of large folio size, to be entirely devoted to fostering the interests of the working classes, from the same point of view as *die Gleichheit*. All communications to the editor are to be sent to the following address: *Arbeiterzeitung*, VI, Gumpendorferstrasse 79, Vienna.

The third volume of the *Volksfreund-Bibliothek* (Library of the People's Friend), containing a selection of Socialist poems from various authors, has been confiscated by the police. A new edition, "expurgated" of course, has now appeared at Brünn.

The Austrian Government is again busy spoiling matters among the coal-miners on strike at Trifail in Styria. Last Sunday sixty-two miners were arrested under the pretext that they were attempting to storm the police barracks, and twenty-six others have been taken into custody for attempting to attack the fire-brigade. As the prison was not large enough to receive so many prisoners, most of them were moved to the neighbouring towns. The police is said to have acted with the utmost brutality, in the interests of law and order.

### SWITZERLAND.

"Free Helvetia" seems to be in a hurry to lay herself down at Bismarck's feet. The new "attorney-general" has not yet been chosen who is to receive German briefs for the prosecution of foreign Socialists, but the secretary of the justice department, M. Tachler, has already begun to do his work. He has been dispatched to Zürich in order to institute enquiries into the doings of the national committee of the Germans in Switzerland, and its relations to the London *Sozialdemokrat*, and to the propaganda in Germany. Comrades Courzett, editor of the *Arbeiterstimme*, and Manz have been heard in evidence, and at Basel comrade Willschlegel has also come forward as a witness, or rather as a possible "culprit." When comrade Courzett entered the inquisitorial room of the Federal Secretary he was not a little astonished to find there the notorious individual Attenhofer, the Swiss agent provocateur who for years past has been Bismarck's most useful tool in his campaign against Socialism in the "free republic." V. D.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 6, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp. *Commonweals* for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Oxford, to end of September. 1889: Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, August 6, at 8.30 p.m. Important business. All members of the League interested in the Propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the *Weal*.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Webb, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 1s. 6d.; C. Saunders, 3s.; M. M., 6d.; and H. H. S., 6d.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Held good meeting on Green on Sunday evening; speakers, S. Presburg, D. J. Nicoll, and G. Cores. While the meeting was proceeding, our protectors in blue told some of the audience who were listening to the Gospel of Discontent to clear off the pavement, taking no heed of the Gospel grinders opposite us who were preaching the Gospel of Content and completely blocking up the thoroughfare. This is "law-'n'-order" that the workers pay for by the sweat of their brow.—S. P.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting held at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, sen., Lyne, jun., Saint, Dean, and Tochatti; 38 *Commonweal* sold and 2s. 7d. collected. A poor meeting at William Street; speakers were Dean and Lyne, jun. Our comrades reconnoitred the position at Archer Street. The Methodists, thinking it all right, brought out their harmonium, but to their dismay these terrible Socialists appeared on the scene. The detectives and police then hurried them off, musical instrument and all, with black looks from the Christians. Our comrades adjourned to Cambridge Gardens and held a good meeting, although the Christians who followed us gave all the opposition they could; they sent five women. Speakers were Maughan, Lyne, sen., and Saint; 16 *Commonweal* sold and 10d. collected.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday, July 14th, Mrs. Lahr spoke to a large audience, taking for her subject "The Overthrow of the Bastille," and concluding with an earnest appeal to the workers to study the principles of Socialism. On Sunday, July 21st, we attended a meeting of gas stokers, where Thomas Mann gave us some idea of trade unionism. A good meeting last Sunday, when Kitz gave a report of the Paris Socialist Congress; good sale of *Commonweal*. At Streatham Fountain, a comrade from Bolton and F. Kitz spoke to a good audience.—S. G.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Meeting at Ossulston Street on Thursday was held by Nicoll and Cantwell; fair sale of *Commonweal*. A good meeting at Regent's Park on Sunday, addressed by the same speakers; 18 *Weal* sold. On Sunday afternoon at Hyde Park, meeting opened by Cantwell, followed by Brookes; fair sale of *Weal*.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—No report the last two weeks on account of organising secretary's absence. On Saturday night, Brookes addressed a meeting on Mile End Waste; *Weal* sold well. On Sunday morning at Leman Street, the meeting was addressed by Leech and Turner; Turner gave an account of the Paris Congress.—J. T.

**ABERDEEN.**—No indoor meeting held last week, Monday being the second of the tradesmen's holidays. Capital meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, Duncan, Aiken, and Leatham speaking. Large audience kept well together for near three hours; good-humoured questions at close. Literature sold out.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—Mid-day: Gilbert, T. Burgoyne and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square. In the evening, Gilbert and Joe Burgoyne spoke to large and attentive audience at Paisley Road. Owing to fair holidays no meeting held last Sunday.

**LEEDS.**—Last Sunday morning, at 11 a.m., a meeting was held in Vicars Croft to report progress of the Leeds labourers' strike. The speakers were Sweeny, Maguire, Paylor, and Hill. On Sunday afternoon a very large meeting was held in the same place. The Rev. J. J. Byrner (Congregationalist), member of the Leeds School Board, was in the chair. The speakers were R. B. Cunningham Graham, M.P., Mitchell (Bradford), Chippendale (Leeds), and others. Although rain fell very heavily the whole of the afternoon a large audience of between 3,000 and 4,000 stayed through the whole of the meeting, and when the following resolution was submitted it was carried unanimously:—"Since the private and competitive handling of the land and capital of this country has resulted in a small minority owning and enjoying the wealth produced by the toiling masses, and since the condition of the producers of wealth is growing more intolerable and precarious, we, the working men here assembled, are of opinion that it is at once desirable and expedient to organise ourselves for the purpose of establishing a more equitable state of society." Graham had a most enthusiastic reception. Many people came miles to hear him. Literature sold well.—F. C.

**LEICESTER.**—Good meetings on Sunday last. H. Snell (Fabian) of Nottingham, spoke on "The Royal Grants and their Relation to Socialism," at 11 a.m., and "Quack Remedies for Poverty," at 8 p.m. Rain fell all through the evening, but the large audience never flinched, and even the middle-class men hoisted their umbrellas and held their ground firmly. Sullivan occupied the chair. Collection 10s.; literature sold, 1s. 9d.—A. G.

**MANCHESTER.**—A meeting at New Cross was held on Friday night to call public attention to the grievances of the lower classes. On Saturday night Stockton and Barton spoke to a large audience at Middleton; 22 *Weal* sold. In Stevenson Square on Sunday Stockton, Ritson, and Bailie addressed a good meeting in the rain; 21 *Weal* sold. At Chester Road, at 8 p.m., Stockton spoke to a large meeting despite the downpour of rain. Stockton has only lately begun speaking, but promises to develop into a good speaker.

**NORWICH.**—During the past week meetings have been held at Thorpe, St. Mary's Plain, and Haymarket; one or two meetings not held owing to it being wet. Sunday afternoon a large meeting was held in the Market, opened by comrade W. Moore, and followed by McCormack; in the evening another good meeting held in the Market Place. At the Gordon Hall McCormack spoke upon the unemployed, Darley in the chair. Discussion followed; Poynts took part; a good audience present.

**YARMOUTH.**—Three good meetings held here on Sunday. The speakers were Annis, P. Reynolds in the morning; Ruffold and Reynolds afternoon and night. Brightwell and Ruffold held meeting at Bradwell in the morning.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in Sneinton Market on Sunday morning, Proctor and Peacock speaking on the lace maker's strike. In the evening in the Great Market, Rooke presided, while Peacock gathered a large audience by speaking on "The Royal Grants." Collections during the day for new premises realised 10s., and *Commonweal* sold well.—P.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Sunday evening, July 28th, we had a very good meeting at West Bar Green. Comrade Bullas opened the proceedings with a few suitable remarks, after which comrade Sketchley addressed the audience on Royal Grants and other current questions from a Socialist standpoint. Literature sold well.—S.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).  
**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 4, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday August 8, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 9, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.  
**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.  
**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All members please turn up.  
**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.  
**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.  
**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.  
**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.  
**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5, Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.  
**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday and Thursday, Hall open from 8 p.m.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 3.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Nicoll  
 8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Samuels  
 8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... The Branch

### SUNDAY 4.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lyne sen., Tochatti, and Dean  
 11 ..... North Kensington—William Street ... Maughan, Crouch, Saint, Lyne  
 11.30..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels and Presburg  
 11.30..... Eelbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
 11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mainwaring  
 11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street ..... Turner  
 11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Kitz  
 11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll  
 3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
 7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Brookes  
 7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
 7.5 ..... North Kensington—Cambridge Gardens ... North Kensington Branch  
 7.30..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels and Presburg  
 7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Kitz  
 7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

### TUESDAY 6.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch  
 8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Mowbray

### WEDNESDAY 7.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Samuels

### THURSDAY 8.

8 ..... Ossulston Street ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
 8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Mowbray

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.  
**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.  
**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: North Walsham, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Monday: Agricultural Hall Plain, at 8 p.m. Friday: St. Catharine's Plain, at 8.15.  
**Yarmouth.**—Priory Park, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

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**Dundee.**—Meets every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.  
**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.  
**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary.  
**Gallatown and Dysart (Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School.  
**A. Paterson,** 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary.  
**Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary.  
**West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**LIVERPOOL.**—Socialists willing to join a Branch of the S. L. in Liverpool should communicate with W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley Street.

**SOCIALISTS in Hull** willing to form a branch are requested to put themselves in communication with J. T. Smith, "Freiheit" Club, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row, Hull.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE** (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday August 4th, at 8.45, George Cox, "Readings from the Writings of Mrs. Inchbald (1796), a Socialist Novelist."

**SOCIALISTS IN THE MIDLANDS.**—On Monday August 5th, the annual picnic gathering of Socialists will take place at Ambergate, in Derbyshire, when an informal conference will be held to discuss how best we can help each other with the work by exchanging lecturers, etc. It is hoped that all who possibly can will attend. Bring your "Chants of Labour."—R. U.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### THE CHATEAUX IN FLAMES.

WE are now about to deal with a subject which middle-class historians generally skip over with a few sentences, and yet it is one which might form a profitable study to any one who really desires to understand the history of the revolution. This is the revolt of the peasants, which immediately followed the fall of the Bastille.

I have already described briefly the misery which the country people suffered, a state of wretchedness mainly caused by the taxes levied by the king's government, the rents exacted by the lords, and for the tithes of the church. Most of these taxes were farmed out, that is, a rich man would pay a certain sum to the king's government, the church, or the lords, and then, in order to make his own profit, extort by means of his underlings as much from the unfortunate people as they could be compelled to pay. To wring these taxes out of the people, an army of 200,000 tax-gatherers was needed. It was also necessary to have cruel laws with the galleys, the gibbet, and the rack to back them up. Beneath the devouring march of these locusts, the country became bare and desolate, the peasants deserted their villages, land went out of cultivation, and the amount of cultivated land was yearly decreasing when the revolution broke out. It must not be imagined that the peasant was in the same position as our farm labourers; he was more like the smaller Irish tenants of the present time, working on a small farm with the assistance of his family, but ground to earth by taxes, tithes, and feudal dues. Then, again, they were bound to serve their king, the church, or their lord in the most humiliating fashion. Under the system of the *corvée* (forced labour) they could be ordered out to work on the roads at certain periods. In those days the roads were in a frightful condition, a quagmire of ruts and holes, and they were often forced out to slave on them, in order that the carriage of the lord, the *cortège* of the king, or his majesty's troops might pass with ease. To accomplish these useful services they were often obliged to go miles away from their little farms in a wet season, just when there was a chance to save their crops, and so the crops were left to rot in the falling rain. Often, too, the peasant's beasts of burden were taken from him to drag the baggage of the army, or of the lord, or the king, and the animals were frequently kept for two or three days at this task and turned loose at night by these people, who never dreamt of feeding them. What were they but the property of the common dogs, the vermin, the canaille, whom the proud noble ground like dirt beneath his heel? The game of his lordship, his deer, his hares, his rabbits, and his pigeons feasted upon the crops of the peasant, and woe unto him if even in defence of his crops he shot one of them. He could be fined in 100 livres for the first offence, 200 for the second, and be whipped and banished for five years for the third.

At this moment I might relate a little anecdote illustrating how the peasant resented this. A peasant was once asked what he and his class specially wanted. He replied, "The suppression of pigeons, rabbits, and monks." His questioner was astonished at this strange medley, and asked him what he meant. "Oh, it is very simple," replied the peasant, "the first eat the grain, the second the herbs, and the third the sheaves."

It was among the feudal rights of the nobles to harness the peasant like a beast of burden to a cart; or keep him up all night beating the ponds or marshes amid the cold damp unwholesome mists, so that the croaking of the frogs should not disturb the lord's luxurious slumbers. The lord could and did take by force the fairest women of the peasants to feed his brutal lust; and what appeal was there against his tyranny when all administration of justice was in his hands, or that of some underling of his to whom he had let it out for a consideration? Such was the damnable tyranny under which the people groaned. To read of it must explain to the densest understanding why the people of the country and town hated the lords, and what caused the "atrocities" of the Terror and the revolt which I am about to relate.

It must not be supposed that the people always bore this tyranny with calm patience. No; it provoked, as tyranny always does provoke, repeated acts of revolt on the part of the boldest of them. Many thousands preferred a life in open defiance to law and authority, to labouring like dumb beasts of burden for their lords. Others find-

ing it useless to try to get a living upon the soil, or thrown out of work in times of crisis, wandered all over France in the troops of starving wretches with which every highway was full, gaining their bread by threats or pillage from the rich. These were frequently so numerous that the rulers of provinces declared that it was useless to arrest them, as they had no place to put them in. Thousands of poachers in bands of fifty and sixty frequented the forests and game preserves, fighting desperately if attacked by the gamekeepers or troops, and sometimes putting them to flight. The smugglers of salt, upon which there was a heavy duty, marched in strong bands, and often fought their way through the forces of the Crown who opposed their passage. Even among the peasants who still remained upon the soil, secret societies were formed known as the "Jacques." They were rude bodies of the simplest form of organisation, having no central directing body; but aided by the other insurgents they made merciless war upon the lord, destroying his crops and his game, and sometimes killing their cruel tyrant. His corpse being perhaps some morning found cold and dead in his chateau, a knife through the heart, and a piece of paper round the hilt bearing the inscription, "This is from Jacques." Or perhaps the corpse of a lord was dragged from the shrubs at the bottom of a ravine, and still in his pocket was found the tell-tale scroll, "This is from Jacques." It was the hands of these men which scattered revolutionary leaflets, pamphlets, and caricatures among the peasants, representing the king, the queen, their favourites, the farmers of the taxes, lords and ladies, as vampires and ghouls sucking the blood and devouring the flesh of the people. It was largely owing to the work of these obscure propagandists, of whom we know little or nothing, for being unlearned they wrote no memoirs, that revolutionary ideas were spread far and wide, and that the people, when riots and insurrection broke out, knew whom to attack as the cause of their misery.

Still, the more determined men, who revolted either in secret societies, or as poachers, smugglers, or brigands, as the wanderers were called, were in a decided minority. The mass of the people, as the mass of the people has always done, bore their sufferings with a stolid indifference, caring only, as one of the writers of the time declared, to eat and sleep. "The inhabitants of the country," wrote d'Argenson, "are merely poverty-stricken slaves, draft cattle under a yoke, moving on as they are goaded, caring for nothing and embarrassed by nothing, provided they can eat and sleep at regular hours." The Parisians were particularly noted for their tameness under tyranny, and our own Arthur Young, not a revolutionist by any means, remarked upon this. "I saw," says he, speaking of the furious driving of the nobles, "a poor child run over and probably killed, and have been myself many times blackened by the mud of their wheels. . . . If young noblemen in London were to drive their chaises in streets without footways, as their brethren do at Paris, they would speedily and justly get very well thrashed or rolled in the gutter." Mercier declares that a squad of police of the time could easily scatter "platoons of five or six hundred men, at first greatly excited, but melting away in a twinkling of an eye after the soldiery have distributed a few shots and handcuffed two or three of the ringleaders." We have seen within recent years something very much like this in London; but let us hope that our people will redeem their character even as the French did in the first years of their revolution.

But the suffering grew at last too keen even for these men to bear with patience. From 1725 to 1789 there is at first in every ten or twelve years a year of absolute starvation. Then a crisis comes in every five years, and from 1785 to 1789 the years of starvation become almost continuous. The misery in these hunger years can scarcely be imagined. Taine states, on the authority of official reports, that one town, Rennes, two-thirds of the inhabitants were in a state of destitution. In two districts in the wine country 35,000 people were living upon alms. In a remote canton the peasants cut the grain still green and dry it in the oven, because they are too hungry to wait. It was impossible for the meekest of mankind to bear such misery with patience. In these years the peasants collect in the market towns, and, reinforced by those outcasts of society the tramps and the poachers, they storm the granaries and carry off the wheat. These revolts are at

first local, but in 1788 and '89 they break out all over France. In every province in France the grain stores are sacked, the convoys of corn are stopped on the roads and pillaged. The forests and game preserves of the lords are invaded, the game shot, trees cut down and the wood sold in open day. At the same time, rich farmers and lords are obliged by threats of sword and fire to give involuntary contributions to the relief of the poor. In the small and large towns the barriers are burnt where they collect the tolls upon food, and the toll-collector, the tax gatherer, the corn monopolist flee for their lives before a crowd maddened with hunger and desperation, and armed with clubs, pitchforks, guns, and knives.

In the midst of the noise and tumult of these *emeutes*, which increase in fury when the news arrives of the fall of Necker, comes the joyful tidings of the fall of the Bastille and the overturning of the royal and feudal power. Up till now it has been the news of revolt in the provinces that has excited Paris; now the news from Paris adds fire to the fury of the provinces. In all the towns of France the news of the fall of Necker and the taking of the Bastille is accompanied by refusals on the part of the people to pay taxes. The young men sack the magazines of arms, and the troops, instead of defending law-'n'-order, join with the masses in the popular revolt. The same incidents accompany each insurrection. The burning of barriers, the driving away of monopolists and tax-gatherers, and other oppressors of the people; sometimes the fixing of the price of bread. At Chalellerault, in Poitou, the people fix the price of bread at 3 sols a-pound for themselves, but allow the bakers to charge the nobles 5 sols, as they can afford it better. Thus the revolution spreads throughout France.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be concluded).

## PARIS CONGRESS.

### A DELEGATE'S REPORT.

THE first proceeding after the verification of credentials was the calling over the list of delegates, most of whom answered the roll in French, German, and English. The only incident worthy of mention during this tedious process was the applause with which the names of Peter Lavroff (Russia), Cipriani (Italy), and that of Dr. Adler the Austrian delegate (now sentenced to four months' imprisonment, to be undergone upon his return), and the Danish delegation, were greeted. These last had been sent at the last moment, the Danish Social-Democrats having altered their previous intention not to participate in the Congress. Several fresh adhesions during the sittings brought up the total of delegates to 407. The English representation, consisting of 21 at the outset of the business, was increased to 24 by the arrival of J. and R. Turner and F. Charles subsequently. The proportions of the English delegation from the Socialist League were: Council of two delegates; and branches nine in all. It is worthy of remark that Greece, Norway, Bulgaria, Roumania, Finland, Portugal, and the Czechs were represented. Scotland may properly be said to have been represented by Messrs. Keir Hardie, Ayrshire Miners; Ogilvy, Scottish Labour Association; Cunninghame Graham and Halliday. These, in conjunction with our comrade Wess of the Berner Street Club, were the other elements in the delegation from Britain.

The best part of two days was wasted in a useless discussion promoted by the Italian and Flemish delegates in favour of a fusion with the other Congress, which ended as described in my fellow-delegate's (Morris's) report. The reports of various nations and trades consumed the time until Saturday morning, when the proposals in favour of international legislation, eight hours per day, regulation and inspection of factories, and other "stepping stones" were brought forward. The League delegates held a special meeting to discuss their attitude towards these proposals, and as there was a diversity of opinion as to the course we should pursue, it was left to the discretion of each delegate to vote as he pleased.

The position occupied by myself, and some others of the delegates, in regard to the question of seeking the aid of Parliament for the reduction of the hours of labour, was that it should be achieved by strikes, combination, and by custom, for the reasons given in Merlino's amendment:—

"Considering that it is dangerous to foster amongst the masses the great superstition of the century, which consists in pretending to solve the great social problems by the ballot box and Acts of Parliament; that it is on the contrary necessary to undermine and destroy the fetishes of legislation and legislators; and that the offer of labour legislation officially made by the governments has only one aim, that of rehabilitating in the eyes of the masses Parliamentaryism, now becoming utterly discredited, and to prolong its agonising life."

The reading of the reports occupied several hours, during which it was necessary to sit in a cramped position and listen to them in French and German before the English translation was reached. This made it a wearisome task, the irksomeness of which was increased by the several presidents and prominent members of the bureau, who took little or no trouble to secure order for the English translations. Many valuable portions of the reports and names of the speakers in several cases were inaudible to me on this account. Mrs. Aveling laboured hard and conscientiously at a very hard task, but had to solicit the aid of your delegates' lungs to assist her in obtaining anything like silence for her explanations. I must say, as against the French character for courtesy, that the local Parisian delegates were as a group the most discourteous in this particular, and were several times rebuked from the platform for it.

The portions of reports which I think most noteworthy are those of the Parisian Waiters, French Seamen, German Westphalian Miners, Berlin Women Workers, Swedish, Danish, and Austrian delegates. Comrade Clara Zetkin, of the Berlin Women Workers, roused the Congress to enthusiasm when she said that the capitalist had destroyed women's place at home and forced her into the market as a producer, only to widen her ideas and create another enemy who would strive with energy for the overthrow of capitalist domination. She said that little thanks were due to the men for women's awakening, for they have held that women's place was at home as a domestic slave. The women would never return to that condition; but, in opposition to the middle-class agitation for so-called Women's Rights, which simply means to put women in antagonism to men and use them as competitors in the wage-market against them, they women Socialists, disregarding the question of sex in economics, would work with men on a basis of equality for the social revolution.

Dr. Adler, Austria, in giving his report, stated that in Austria labour legislation was theoretically perfect. Regulation of factories and of child and female labour existed on paper, yet men, women, and children are overworked and the laws disregarded. In a speech full of satire he ridiculed this state of things, and said that for his participation in the tram strike of Vienna his paper, the *Gleichheit*, was suppressed and himself condemned to prison; that in all Austria there are only fifteen inspectors to see to the enforcement of labour laws.

The delegate of the Parisian Waiters' stated that they had to work from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m., and often longer; that they often had to pay the managers of the Bureau de Placement, or place farmers, 60 fr. to 100 fr. to secure a place, and then were frequently dismissed upon the smallest pretence, the employer and the bureau sharing in the plunder of the guarantee. They were obliged to be civil to all, and even when insulted to say "Thank you." Hitherto they had been counted as of no moment, but now that they are organised every other section of industry recognised them. They were heartily in sympathy with Socialism.

The delegate of the German Miners' recited how the miners had been treated by the authorities in their late revolt, and how many had been imprisoned for simply organising; of their interview with the German Emperor, whom, by the way, he designated "the devil"; and said, in conclusion, that the upheaval had been made without Socialist influence against intolerable conditions, but henceforward the miners would work with socialistic aims.

Sweden was obliged to seek a Swede resident in Paris as her representative, because just now there are four editors of Socialist papers in prison, and exceptional laws on the German and Austrian pattern are being passed against the Socialists.

Bohemian Socialists were also under the same difficulties; no combination was allowed, and just recently in one year 340 persons were arrested on suspicion, some condemned to one year of imprisonment for a paper that had ceased to exist, some to three or four months, and only 110 acquitted after being detained weeks without trial.

The delegate of the French Seamen detailed the hardships his constituents underwent, tied up by the hands to the rigging or placed in dark cells, and overworked and half starved. He appealed to the Congress for its sympathy and aid on their behalf.

Christensen, of Denmark, gave his report, and spoke of the rapid strides the movement was making in that country, and of the persecutions to which the Socialists were subjected.

Ferroul (Deputy) asked to be allowed to speak, and having obtained permission he delivered a powerful speech against Parliamentaryism.

The English report was given upon anti-Parliamentary lines by comrade Morris, and after a deal of pressure had been exercised upon the bureau.

Keir Hardie gave us a trades' union report, at the conclusion of which he went out of his way to declare that no person in England believed in other than peaceful methods to achieve amelioration of conditions, a statement that was protested against by myself and other delegates. Hardie's speech was carefully, very *carefully*, translated into German by Liebknecht, who in the course of it added comments of his own to demonstrate the difference between Morris and Keir Hardie.

The subsequent sittings of the Congress were devoted to the factory legislation before mentioned, and a resolution sent in on behalf of the League by Morris was added, I believe, to the preamble of the first resolution.

I then essayed my prentice hand in the belief that the wreckage caused by competition deserve as much attention as the organised workers, and therefore sent in the following resolution:—

"The Congress recognising that the monopoly of the means of life, viz., land and instruments of production, by landlords and capitalists is the cause of poverty and degradation amongst the masses, and seeing that the mass of unemployed caused by monopoly have only the choice of either starvation wages, brutal charity, theft, or rebellion, we view with disgust and horror the hypocrisy which establishes a code of morality and honesty, buttressed by religion, and yet condemns multitudes to pauperism, prostitution, and crime; the Congress having for its aim and object the extinction of poverty by the abolition of monopoly, declares that the monopolists who enforce judicially penal law are themselves the greatest criminals, and whilst extending our sympathy to prisoner, prostitute, and pauper, made so by injustice, we strengthen our resolve to overthrow at the earliest moment the fraud called Modern Society."

Considerable trouble had to be taken to get it read to the Congress, after which it was, I believe, consigned to limbo. No attempt was made to translate it for the convenience of the delegates, nor put it upon the order of the day.

In conclusion, I must say that the Congress was disappointing from a revolutionary standpoint, badly organised, and little more than a prelude to the Governmental one about to be held upon labour legislation. Discussion upon the anti-Parliamentary and Anarchical positions was barely tolerated, and ultimately, forcibly suppressed. Let me say that as a demonstration of Internationalism broadly, and not noticing details, the Congress was a success; but my advice to English Socialists is, in view of a convocation to another one to be held in the future, to insist upon organisation, such as the printing of the order of the day, proper translations, and above all, sound revolutionary doctrines in favour of ALL and not sections of the proletariat. F. KIRZ.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 17, 1889.

11	Sun.	1868. Students' demonstration at Paris.
12	Mon.	1530. Capitulation of the Florentine Republic. 1789. National Convention proclaimed; statues of the king pulled down. 1793. Peart and Belcher convicted of selling Paine. 1839. "National Holyday," beginning of "sacred month" resolved on by Chartist Convention; serious disturbances in many parts of the country; demonstration on Kennington Common.
13	Tues.	1792. Louis Capet (Louis XVI) and his family conveyed to the Temple. 1812. Food riot at Sheffield. 1845. Labour riot at Dunfermline. 1881. E. J. Trelawney died. 1882. W. S. Jevons drowned. 1888. Benjamin Flotte died.
14	Wed.	1794. Trial of Robert Watt for high treason. 1817. Public meeting at the London Tavern to consider Robert Owen's plan for relieving distress. 1839. Trial of Chartists at Chester: George Thompson, gunmaker, of Birmingham; Timothy Higgins, of Ashton; James Mitchell, beerseller, of Stockport; and Charles Davies, of Stockport, imprisoned for eighteen months. 1884. Nihilist explosion at Kazan. 1886. French workmen delegates in London.
15	Thur.	1787. "Exile" of the French Parlement to Troyes in Champagne. 1797. Trial of John Binns, labourer, at Warwick, for "seditious words" in a speech delivered at the "Swan," Swallow Street, Birmingham, March 11, 1796, as a delegate of the London Corresponding Society. 1799. Robert Owen enters into possession of New Lanark. 1839. Trial of Rev. J. R. Stephens for "inciting to riot" at a Chartist meeting at Hyde on 14th of previous November; eighteen months' imprisonment. 1842. Trial of George Jacob Holyoake for blasphemy. 1843. Great Repeal demonstration on the Hill of Tara. 1886. Socialist demonstration in Brussels.
16	Fri.	1678. Andrew Marvell died. 1788. Proclamation that Treasury payments be henceforth three-fifths in cash, two-fifths in paper—in other words, that the French Treasury is fallen insolvent. 1819. Peterloo massacre. 1839. McDonall sentenced to twelve months' and Bradley to eight months' imprisonment for seditious speeches at Chartist meetings. 1851. Lopez garrotted. 1878. Execution of Mezentzoff at St. Petersburg. 1886. Workmen's Party Congress at Mons.
17	Sat.	1816. Disturbances among the weavers at Preston caused by reduction of wages. 1842. "Seditious" placard issued by Chartists at Manchester.

## HOW SHALL WE EDUCATE THE RICH?

THE deplorable ignorance of the wealthy and well-to-do people on questions of social and political economy, and the condition of the masses surrounding them, calls for a remedy. How shall we educate the rich? is a question of quite as much importance as How shall we take care of the poor? It is suggested that the working classes shall organise missionary societies and publication societies for the purpose of working among the "better classes," and teaching them at least the rudiments of social science and attract their attention toward the condition of the masses. A series of tracts or publications on the labour problem that could be comprehended by undeveloped intellects, that would gradually prepare them to receive more comprehensive instruction; the preparation of lay preachers with a genius for imparting knowledge in the A B C of economics; the establishment of Sunday and evening schools, somewhat after the style of the "sun set" club or the economic conferences, where the ignorant rich might be gathered together to recite from a catechism of political economy and social science, or where the advanced students might give them instruction,—all of these methods could be adopted with more or less good effect, but it is exceedingly doubtful whether any of them would prove to be a remedy. It is difficult to inoculate individuals whose sole object for a quarter of a century has been money-getting, with no ideas except money-getting. A man whose brains is carried around in a pocket-book or deposited in a bank vault is not the right kind of material for a movement the foundation of which is intellectual development.

It is a fact that ought to be startling to the moneybags of the country that the working man is to-day better educated and much better qualified to discuss economic or political questions than the man who employs him, and that the only difficulty in the way of a peaceful solution of the labour question is the lamentable ignorance of the rich or capitalistic class.

Chicago Knights of Labour.

Miserable fallacy, that high morality and refined sentiment can grow out of harsh social relations, ignorance, and want.—George Eliot.

The policeman who in the late New York street-car strike shot and killed a striker has been given a medal by public admirers, Col. Elliott Shepard fastening it to his coat-lapel.

An editorial in the *Home Journal* opens thus: "The text of the little sermon we intend preaching is taken from the news column of a metropolitan journal and reads as follows: 'It was an open secret that some members of the congregation were desirous of having the pastor removed on account of his democratic disposition and inclination to be friendly with all classes, which was considered undignified.'"

## THE MARSEILLAISE.

Translated by J. A. ANDREWS.

CHILDREN of freedom, rouse to action!  
The day of glory now is here!  
Against us Tyranny's dark faction  
Their bloody battle-flag uprear!  
Mark, far and wide in every region,  
The raging of their furious bands—  
How loved ones, next your very hands,  
Fall slaughtered by their murderous legion!  
To arms against the wrong!  
Array your vengeful throng!  
March on! march on! till tyrants' blood  
Shall soak the fields along!

What cunning scheme are they propounding,  
These traitors, slaves, and kings forsworn!  
For whom these snares our steps surrounding?  
These fetters forged for many a morn?  
Comrades, for us! Oh! cursed knavery!  
What burning feelings it should bring!  
'Tis us these wretches dare to sing  
Of forcing back in bonds of slavery!  
To arms, etc.

What! shall we have the law dictated  
By strangers at our own fireside?  
And us, rebellious, decimated  
By hireling troops, for gold that ride?  
Great God! are hands in chains that languish  
Our necks beneath the yoke to bend?  
Shall these vile despots longer blend  
Our lives and destinies with anguish?  
To arms, etc.

Quake, tyrants! quake! Ye treachery-brewing,  
By friends and foes alike abhorred,  
Tremble! your works of foul misdoing  
At last shall have their due reward!  
Against you all men's hands grow strengthened—  
Ay! should our youngest heroes fall,  
The earth her dead to life would call,  
Your term of crimes should not be lengthened!  
To arms, etc.

Comrades, as generous warriors, harden  
Or spare, at need, your vengeful blows:  
These sorry victims deign to pardon  
Who dolefully our path oppose;  
But bloody despots gorged with plunder,  
And traitors who betray our force,  
These tigers who without remorse  
Would tear their mother's breasts in sunder.  
To arms, etc.

When our first-born of Freedom perish,  
We too shall be upon the plain!  
Their dust beneath us we shall cherish,  
And there their spirits will remain!  
More proud within the self-same hollow  
To sleep, than to escape their grave,  
We the sublimest joy shall have—  
To well avenge them, or to follow!  
To arms, etc.

O sacred love of home, inspire us!  
Guide and sustain our righteous zeal!  
Liberty, Liberty shall fire us,  
And fight among us for thy weal!  
Beneath our flag, see Victory glowing  
Where'er thy pleading accents call,  
And to thy foes, the while they fall,  
Thy triumph and our glory showing!  
To arms, etc.

THE EIGHT HOURS QUESTION.—The working classes—those at least who know what they do want—do not want a legal declaration of the time they are to be allowed to work for a master; they want absolute freedom to work for themselves independently of all masters. If with such freedom they can satisfy their needs by working three hours, they do not want to work five more hours for a master. Nothing short of this freedom will solve the labour problem, and all eight hour restrictions are political dodges and political tinkering. They are mostly appeals by designing politicians to the ignorant members of the working class, and those who can be blinded and pacified by such reforms as their masters in Parliament care to give them. Those who desire that wage-slavery shall follow chattel-slavery into oblivion will not be blinded by any such foolery, for they know that Factory Acts and Eight Hour Bills do not touch the real issue, that they leave the real cause of industrial slavery untouched.—*Australian Radical*.

FEDERATION OF YORKSHIRE SOCIALISTS.—A meeting of delegates of the Yorkshire Socialist societies was held at Leeds, after the demonstration at Vicars Croft on Sunday July 28, at which the following resolutions were carried: (1) That this meeting of Yorkshire Socialists considers that the time has arrived when a federation of Yorkshire Socialists is advisable." (2) "That a secretary be appointed to carry on the work of the Federation"; and that F. Corkwell be appointed secretary. (3) "That one penny per month per member be levied for the purpose of defraying expenses incidental to the work of the Federation." (4) "That a conference of Yorkshire Socialists be held half-yearly; and that the next conference be held at the Leeds Branch, date to be near Christmas." After the conference, a resolution was passed condemning the action of the German Government in regard to the Silesian miners; and also pledging those present to collect funds for the relief of the families of the miners. Cunningham Graham accepted the position of treasurer, to whom funds may be addressed at 13 Paternoster Row, London.—F. C.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 7.

ENGLAND	Volkszeitung	ITALY
Brotherhood	Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Church Reformer	Nationalist	
Justice	Twentieth Century	SPAIN
Labour Elector	Boston—Woman's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	Investigator	PORTUGAL
London—Freie Presse	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Lisbon—A Revolta
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	O Protesto Operario
Railway Review	Milwaukee—National Reformer	GERMANY
Sozial Demokrat	Die Wahrheit	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	HUNGARY
Unity	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
NEW SOUTH WALES	Pacific Union	DENMARK
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
INDIA	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Proletariat	SWEDEN
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolte	Malmö—Arbetet
UNITED STATES	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	BELGIUM	
Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	WEST INDIES
Truthseeker	Antwerp—De Werker	Cuba—El Productor

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Grand Old Parties are preparing already for their next great fight. On the one side and the other the war-drum is being vigorously beaten and all available forces are being drawn out in array. Two of the war-leaders of the younger braves have been "making palaver" during the past week, and encouraging their men for the coming battle. Prof. Stuart laid before the National Liberal Club the other night his own particular views upon the situation, and the programme which he and those who act with him have drawn up for their future guidance. Not a wildly revolutionary programme, looked at with Socialist eyes, but a very striking exemplification, nevertheless, of the way in which things are progressing.

All serious Socialists take heed—or should if they do not—of all the more important events in the political world, and have therefore, one would fain hope, already examined this speech for themselves. Also the one in which Lord Randolph Churchill, having stolen a good deal of the Liberal thunder, managed to let it off before its more legitimate owners got a chance of doing so. They do not need, therefore, that all the items of both programmes should be re-stated here; or that they should be reminded that the thunder, such as it is, came originally from a Socialist arsenal—though in the hands of its present operators it cannot be said to sound like it!

One thing, however, they may be profitably warned of, for it never fails to come upon people as a fresh surprise. That is, that as the General Election comes nearer and nearer, as the bulk of the people give themselves up to the electoral delirium, and the confusion heightens, the revolutionary movement will seem to die down amid the clamour, and remain comparatively dormant until after the elections are completed. Wholly unreal and transient as is this dying down of the movement, it has on each occasion of its recurrence been responsible

for the disheartening of many good workers, and the leading astray of many half-converted enquirers.

Yet it would not be difficult, one would think, for even a cursory examination to reveal that the movement is neither dead nor sleeping, but obscured, and partly hidden from sight and hearing, by the dust and noise of the parliamentary conflict. But there are some who are always laying themselves open to the rebuke: "O, ye of little faith!"

The worst among these weak ones are not those who are disquieted only when actual peril seems to be upon them, and their comrades appear to be dull and dilatory in the face of it. Far more mischievous are those who scent imaginary dangers afar off and who curse and wail in chorus over the probability of either Radical or Tory going in for "palliative measures" and so "retarding the Revolution." This ignorant and cowardly cry is now being raised over the "new Liberal" proposals, and the "new Tory" adaptation of them. One would think that the Revolution was a delicate mechanical construction on a special plan, which a profane hand might wreck or turn aside, instead of what it is, a mighty universal movement, undivided and resistless, taking a myriad shapes and working in a myriad ways, but all in one direction and to one end.

Last week the Deputy Coroner for Westminster held an enquiry into the death of a coach-painter, who had been found dead in bed:

"The doctor who made a post-mortem examination stated that the man died in a small back kitchen, amid the filthiest surroundings he had ever seen. The walls were wet, and in fact the place was utterly unfit for human habitation. Just outside the window, and within a space of about half the size of the table the jury were sitting round, were a water-closet, a dust-hole, and the water supply for drinking purposes. The room ought certainly never to have been occupied. The deceased's body and the apartment itself were in such a horribly neglected condition that witness's clothing was affected. The room, which measured 10 ft. or 12 ft., was so dark that when he entered he almost trod on the corpse."

That is one case out of—how many? There are thousands upon thousands of such cases which never come to light, not in London alone, but in every city in the civilised world. There is also the teeming misery that is only not quite so horrible in its degree, but is infinitely more terrible in its extent. The utmost effort of the good people who seek to palliate such a system as that which produces these things can achieve little of that which they aim at; but it can do much else of which some of them never dream.

Whatever is done or attempted to be done in any direction by any one on behalf of the proletariat is of good effect, though in a far other direction often times than that intended. It is for us to keep steadily on with our educational work, so that when anything shall be done by the proletariat on its own behalf it shall be done well and once for all. To fully carry out our work requires that we expose from time to time the futility of tinkering with a time-worn and outgrown system. It does not require that we regard those who disagree with us as deadly enemies, and waste our time and energy in opposition and abuse. Better work, our own work, has the first claim upon us, needs all our strength, and we can only neglect it at our peril.

That sinister organ of the bourgeoisie, the *Daily Telegraph*, in a recent article anent the closing of Millbank Prison, styled its inmates "felonious drones." Its columns have been filled for days with lists of the presents given and received by persons who have never done a day's useful work in their lives, the occasion being the marriage of a pair of drones from among what Lord John Russell once in a lucid moment termed the felonious classes.

The same journal has made the "Weeds of Whitechapel" the subject of an essay, wherein the poor are sternly censured for early marriages and the begetting of children they are unable to support. In its other portions it strongly supports the demand for additional royal grants, and thereby sustains the position taken up by Boycott Smith in the House—that the Prince of Wales is under no obligation to support his own family. So the semitic patriot of Fleet Street censures the "weeds" and applauds royalty for exactly the same thing, viz., casting their burdens upon the community. Levy should try, at least, to be consistent.

There is a movement on foot by Tory-Democrats to ameliorate, by shortening the hours of labour, housing of the poor, etc., the conditions of town workmen. Lord R. Churchill's speech is a straw in that direction. Like some people who wave the red flag, he would "house the people in great buildings suitable to the class who would inhabit them," somewhat on the principle that well-fed cattle provide the best meat. They would round off the acute corners of the present system and make it tolerable with a view to its preservation. Socialists who are not concerned about that may think that the people, instead of being herded in parish-built barracks, would be better settled as free Communists, say, for instance, upon the Marlborough or Salisbury estates. The quarrel between land-robber and capitalist dates from the rise of the middle class into power at the expense of the feudal aristocracy. Working folk who desire complete emancipation, and not to be slaves, however well fed, will, whilst taking all that may be thrown to them by the contending parties, not forget the cause of the quarrel, nor neglect to prosecute their object, the overthrow of both landlord and capitalist. When will the *Labour Elector* vary the monotony of its attacks upon Liberal capitalists by some facts and figures relating to the Tory landed aristocracy?

F. K.

## CHARITY.

It is a saying of Carlyle's, that no institution or custom can pass away from mankind until they have sucked from it all the experience, however sweet or bitter, it can yield. Is it not time, then, that Christian Charity be overhauled, its nature analysed, and all the lessons learnt that it can teach? When Socialism shall be established the noise of the singing of jingling hymns will cease; the smooth pictures labelled "Charity" in our galleries will have lost the sentiment that makes beholders say "How pretty!"; and future annotators of Shakespeare's plays, reading the line "Give me a little earth for charity," will make learned notes on the then forgotten custom of "eating dirt" before rich and charitable patrons, so prevalent in this great era of flunkeys.

Never were there such opportunities as now for the study of this virtue since the time of the Apostle Paul, who discovered it and catalogued its merits. Had he but lived in our day, how many a seeming paradox he might have explained away by examples drawn from the rich and noble among us! What class before has understood so well, and so well acted up to, the dictum that "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, it profiteth me nothing"? The wealthy, desiring above all things *profit*, seldom *give*, but prefer to *lend* their goods to the poor; thereby combining charity with five per cent., and winning the sweet consciousness of lending unto the Lord.

"Charity endureth all things," saith the apostle; and so in truth do the professors of Christian charity to-day. The poverty of the working classes, and all the misery and degradation that follow in its track in this world (not to mention the next),—this the wealthy know; yet, spite of their sorrow and lamentation, endure; doubtless because they find their acts of charity, like Epps's cocoa, "grateful and comforting" to their souls. For, "believing all things" (as St. Paul says charity does), they even believe that their state shall endure for ever, and that as there always have been, so there always will be, rich and poor, in order that the former may be charitable to the latter. And truly, were it otherwise, how could a rich man enter the kingdom of heaven? Happily, the presence of their poorer brethren enables the wealthy to solve that difficult problem; and not alone their occasional alms-giving, but much more their "kindness" (another attribute of charity) in allowing the poor to work for them, opens to them the gates of the golden city; and of the seed sown on the good ground of the proletariat, they reap an hundred-fold.

"Charity hopeth all things." "Charity covereth a multitude of sins." Yea, has it not, for the time, covered the sins of the greedy, grudging people, and led our gracious Queen herself to "hope" that her loyal Commons will bestow upon her royal grandchildren the wherewithal to practice this glorious virtue? Surely the loyal Commons will grant her request, knowing how much more blessed it is to give than to receive. And surely, too, will she "endure" with all long-suffering, if she but gain her desire, the attacks of those Radical journals, such as that halfpenny *Star*, who laugh and sneer, who call her children paupers, and print cartoons with scurrilous text, making her out to be herself an object of charity.

A few days ago I heard a pretty thing about a little bee, and as it may contain a valuable moral for such uncharitable persons, I will repeat it; the more gladly, since it does not for once introduce that unhappy simile about the working bees and the drones, wherein the discontented find so much delight. A good spinster lady was relating in my hearing a sermon she had heard, in which the preacher spoke of charity. In Rome, he said, there was a beautiful picture having the name of that virtue for its title. It represented a boy holding in his fingers a poor bee that had lost its wings, and this good child was trying to feed it with some honey. So touching an incident! For, of course, such a kind little boy could not be suspected of having first divested the poor insect of its wings. I grieve to say that I heard this possibility suggested, surely by some person who had forgotten that "charity believeth all things;" and a wicked Socialist who was present muttered (but under his breath) that, had the youth done so, the picture would have exactly represented the modern charity, which grips the worker tight, deprives him of the means of getting his own living, and then feeds him with the stolen produce of the labour of other workers. But he dared not say it aloud, and as the base suggestion of cruelty was repudiated the little tale retained its innocent charm; and I came to the conclusion that until the lesson of that beautiful picture is understood of the people, charity, even as St. Paul says, will indeed never fail, but will endure as a living custom to demonstrate the truth of Carlyle's philosophy. G. STURT.

**PATRIOTISM.**—The editor of the *Chicago Knights of Labour* comments as under on a matter referred in a recent note of ours:—

"We have received what purports to be a protest by the 'British American Association of Boston' against the appointment of Patrick Egan as Minister to Chili. We don't know anything about Mr. Egan, except that he is an enthusiastic Irishman. He may or may not be a fit person for the place, but we think if these British American, Irish American, German American, Scandinavian American, Canadian American, Hebrew American, and all other American Associations with a foreign prefix, were absorbed by a genuine United States American Association the country would be fully as well off. No man can serve two masters, and as long as the members of these various associations with foreign names acknowledge a fealty to foreign countries they have no right to ask for any of the privileges of American Citizenship."

We go further, and say that they have no right to be considered anything else than reactionary nincompoops. While they are quarrelling over who they are, the capitalist is settling what they are, and what they shall be, too, until they get a little more sense

## IN A CATHEDRAL.

SUBLIME yet simple, delicate yet vast,  
O flower of faith! what mastery had they  
That wrought this miracle! what power to pray  
Possessed the congregations of the past!  
Yet now, more dread than armed iconoclast,  
Or ever-gnawing tooth of slow decay,  
Despair and doubt like spectres here display  
A cold and empty sepulchre at last.

Will worshippers again be gathered here  
In that new world wherewith time travaileth?  
How will their hearts, grown strong and free from fear,  
Confront the mysteries of life and death?  
No man may prophesy; but this is clear—  
There must be union, and there must be faith.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## NOTES ON THE LEEDS LABOURERS' STRIKE.

THE builder's labourers in Leeds were getting 6d. an hour for their labour some few years ago. At that time they had a Union, which they foolishly allowed to collapse. No sooner had their Society ceased to exist than the masters struck a halfpenny per hour off the men's wages. This, however, failed to unite them together again, and in a little while another halfpenny deduction was effected.

About five weeks since some labourers, who met in Vicar's Croft, were discussing their grievances rather aimlessly when comrades Sweeney and Paylor, who happened to be present, took the matter up and urged the men to form a Union. It was then and there agreed to call a general meeting on the following Sunday. This was done, and our branch took the affair in hand. Our speakers exhorted the men to combine, and so favourably was the advice received that in the afternoon a meeting was held at our branch rooms, where a committee was elected, which had scarcely sat once when it decided to strike for a halfpenny per hour advance. A general meeting of the men was called, at which the committee's decision was unanimously and unhesitatingly agreed to.

The strike has now (Monday) reached the fifth week, and those still out are determined. Scarcely a day has passed since the commencement of the struggle without some employers sending in notes of surrender. A number of large contractors are holding out stubbornly, but no more stubbornly than are the men. Every day large numbers of the strikers meet at our rooms to arrange "pickets," and look to the general work of the Union. Occasionally a drove of black sheep (mostly strangers) are brought off a job to the great rejoicing of the faithful. The bearing of the men is excellent. Assiduous collecting and levies on those who have got the advance are working wonders. Last week £100 was paid to the strikers, and this week as much more will be needed. There are now about 150 men on strike, and we know that the few masters who have refused to give the advance must either give way soon or throw up their contracts.

Such is the present position of the strike. The resolute attitude of the men from the first, the comparative absence of "scabs," and the successful conducting of the struggle have won the admiration of skilled workmen, whose unions, though generations old, have never carried through so unanimous and uncompromising a strike.

Meantime, the builders of Leeds must be sitting on thorns and brambles. Leeds grows apace. Houses seem to shoot up like mushrooms, and one day (not a distant day) they will as suddenly tumble about the ears of their inhabitants if the big winds of the North are in anything like usual form. Labour is cheap, and materials too are cheap; cheap as dirt, for that is precisely what they are. The dredgings of the filthiest river in creation are used by these model builders for artisan's dwellings. Condemned hovels are reduced to a rubbish heap, and thrifty Jeremiah makes himself a profit by converting this unwholesome refuse into mortar for brick-sticking.

While these typhoid-traps have been elaborately and extensively laid out, rents have consistently maintained their high reputation. Property has sold well, and contracts for buildings are at present plentiful enough to keep the builders of Leeds busy for two years. The longer, therefore, these large contractors hold out against the men the worse it must be for them in the end. T. M.

**CHICAGO FACTORY-HANDS.**—A recent canvass by the factory inspectors of Chicago, Ills., showed that there are 28,077 concerns in that city employing 244,038 in industrial lines. Of these 199,100 are males, 44,938 females, 2,040 boys, and 762 girls.—C.

**THAT NEVER LET UP.**—While there are hundreds of passive labour reformers in each craft—men who give a tacit acquiescence to union principles, pay dues, and attend meetings—yet the active workers, those who keep the spirit of organisation alive, do the thinking and planning and hustling—these, as you know, can be counted with a very few figures. I suppose this is equally true of fraternal, benevolent, and other organisations; yet where a man's bread and butter is concerned one would naturally expect something different. Now, many of these active workers are less able to do what they are doing than many of their associates. Then, why do they give time and often money to a cause where they are reasonably certain to get more kicks than pennies, not only from the outside world, but from those they are trying to serve? To tell you frankly, I don't know, and I don't believe they know themselves. There are probably a hundred who contribute the motive power of the labour movement in Boston. I think I have heard five of them say, in effect, "I'm going to let up on this business. I can't afford it. Let somebody else do some work." But they never do let up. He has enlisted for life, and in spite of his grumbling you find him in harness year after year. His labour reform ideas have become, at least, a part of his religion, and he tugs away, caring less and less as time goes by what people say or think about it.—*Boston Labour Leader*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Tram Slaves.

The Union appears to be running on the lines it has chalked out for itself, the gaining of some slight concessions from the managers and directors of the various companies. Mr. Gayner, the manager of the West Metropolitan, has dropped his old practices. The men are no longer to have the secret spy dogging their footsteps as a prelude to their dismissal if they should happen to belong to the Union. Nay, in an interview with the secretary of the Union the other day, this worthy manager professed himself quite shocked to hear that there were some men who had worked for 14 hours a day without any relief; he was in no way opposed to the Union, had no objection to engaging Union men; he would see whether the hours of the men could be improved, and would consider the question of reinstating discharged men. Public exposure in the pillory of the *Star*, which has fought the battle of these men with vigour and courage, has evidently brought Mr. Gayner to his senses.

The men employed upon the Woolwich and South-Eastern Tramway Company have been given something better than promises. The drivers and conductors have gained an increase of 1s. 6d. a week each, and the horse-keepers 1s. a week.

### Reduced Dividends of Tramway Shareholders.

The shareholders of the London Street Tramway Co., noted for the usual bad treatment of its employees, are intensely dissatisfied at the lowness of their dividends. According to the *Star*, one gentleman wanted to know what they meant by the reduction of dividend from 9 and 10 per cent. to 5. Another hinted that the directors were providing their relations with comfortable little jobs in the company. We are glad to hear their dividends are going down; and if the public will only mark their sense of their treatment of their unfortunate men by leaving their cars severely alone, they may disappear altogether.

### Poor Mr. Shipton!

Mr. Shipton has come another cropper. The Leather Workers' Society at its quarterly general meeting, has repudiated and condemned the action of the Committee of the London Trades' Council in their attempt to bolster up Shipton over the Sugar Bounties question. Though the terms of the resolution were only directed at the Committee of the London Trades' Council, yet, as the seconder of the resolution was careful to explain, "it was Shipton that was really aimed at." The resolution was carried unanimously amid enthusiastic applause. In the course of the proceedings, a delegate asked why Mr. Shipton did not take proceedings against those that had impugned his honesty? The reply was that Mr. Shipton had said that he would consider the matter. "He'd better stick to considering!" was the rough and unkind response of another delegate. It is clear that Shipton, like Broadhurst, is doomed. The sad fate of these poor people should serve as an awful example to others who in future may be inclined to follow their example in exploiting the workers for those colossal frauds, the Liberal and Tory parties.

### The Eight Hours Question.

The writer of the notes which appeared in our political contemporary the *Labour Elector* should give himself pause, and reflect upon the old adage *re glass houses*. In a reference to the comments which appeared in the *Commonweal* of 27th July, he asks if the writer of the comments, D. J. Nicoll, ever worked as a factory hand for 9½ hours per day. It is quite true that I have not done so. Is it to be understood that no one who is not actually a factory worker is to be allowed to express opinions upon labour questions? If so, what position do Messrs. Champion and Maltman Barry occupy?

### Cowards and Traitors.

The *Labour Tribune* says: "There has been a dispute in the cogging mill of the Parkgate Steel Works, the furnace men refusing to work at the price given. They all gave notice, which terminated on Saturday last. I understand that two of the men, who are now unionists, offered to do the work of four men at the same price." Traitors like these who sell their own class should be made an example of. They want kicking, and kicking hard.

### Derbyshire Miners.

Although, as I said last week, the men are very disorganised in this district, yet the tyranny of the mine-owner is beginning to have the effect of driving the men into rebellion. They are finding out, that although they have to some extent shared in the advance gained by the Union miners, yet they are constantly being cheated out of their small advantages. The fine gentlemen managers refuse to treat with or recognise the Union. At the Swanwich (Monwood's) Collieries, the men received an advance of a ½d. a ton, owing to the Union secretary, Mr. Haslam, writing to the manager; but the manager never condescended to answer the letter. At the same collieries the men also assert that although the masters pretended to grant the advance demanded, yet it has never been put on anything but coal-getting. Another grievance is that the men are now compelled to make two refuge holes for the price paid for one previous to the New Mines Act, 1887. Similar complaints come from other collieries, and it is not surprising to hear that the spirit of revolt is spreading among these oppressed and downtrodden men.

### Slave-driving on the Channel Steamers.

On the Channel steamer "Brittany," plying between Newhaven and Dieppe, which recently sustained an accident and drifted for hours in mid-Channel, the seamen worked forty-six hours at a stretch. On the "Normandie" in the same service, twenty-one hours has been quite common, no extra remuneration being given. Quite naturally, the men, having so little use for their bunks, make a little by letting them to the third-class passengers. It was a pitiful sight to see the seamen striving to get a few moments' sleep as they sat or leaned about. The Seamen's Union should bestow some little attention on this portion of the coast.—F. K.

### Strike of Carters at Glasgow.

Three thousand Glasgow carters are out upon strike. Their wages have been at 24s. a week, and they ask that they shall be raised to 26s., demanding also that they shall be paid for overtime after six o'clock at night. While a meeting was being held on the Infirmary Square, the drivers of a number of lorries down the High Street were hooted, and in one or two cases attempts were made to loosen the harness. The fight promises to be a hot one.

THE DURHAM MINERS have decided by a majority of one to accept the masters' offer of 10 per cent. advance. The threatened strike is thus averted.

WAGES IN THE BUILDING TRADE.—These are said to be the "fair" wages of the different workmen employed in the London building trade: Bricklayers, 9½d. and 9d. per hour; carpenters, 9d.; scaffolders, 6½d. and 6d.; navvies, 6d.; bricklayers' labourers, 5½d. What are the "unfair"?

THE STRIKE IN SOMERSET.—The Somersetshire men have been well supported throughout England and Wales. This has rather astonished the employers, who have made an offer of an advance of 5 per cent. on the 2nd of September and a further advance of 5 per cent. when the price of coal goes up again.

STRIKE IN THE FLAX-SPINNING TRADE.—The machine-boys in the employment of Messrs. Robert Stewart and Son, flax-spinners, have struck for an increase of wage. 40 men engaged in the drawing department have thrown in their lot with the boys and as the trade is now brisk, it is expected that the demand of the strikers will be conceded.

BOYCOTTED BUTCHERS.—At Murton, a northern mining village, the butchers have been boycotted by the miners' wives. The women held a meeting, at which the rapacity of these dealers in flesh was strongly denounced, and it was generally resolved to boycott any butcher who wanted more than eightpence a pound for prime joints. The women have appointed pickets to wait upon the butchers' carts as they enter the place, and they have determined to boycott any woman who bought meat till prices were reduced. It is evident that butchers will have to cheapen their meat or lose popular custom. We recommend the example of the Murton women to their sisters in country or town. The poor could help themselves considerably in this way.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

*La Révolte* publishes a letter of Spanish Anarchist groups, dated Barcelona, July 19, in which an international Anarchist conference is proposed to be held at Paris, Salle Florel, on the first Sunday in September. The Anarchists of Paris have agreed to this proposal.

Comrade Tortelier was arrested in Paris just a day or two before the opening of both Congresses. He had been sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and the police chose this moment, of course, to hinder that Anarchist propaganda should be made at the Congresses. It need hardly be said that this was done, notwithstanding Tortelier's forced absence, by comrades Montant, Faure, Merlino, and others.

*Le Socialiste* of Montluçon is now replaced by a new paper, *Le Travailleur* (the Worker) published at Montluçon and Commentry since 14th July. This new "Republican Socialist" organ, as it is called, contains a curious mixture of opinions. Marxists and Blanquists are quoted as contributors. The leading article, signed by J. Guesde, concludes, "You are all . . . only a parliament of murderers," but the bulk of the rest of the paper is filled with a "Chronicle of Electioneering," "Our Candidates," etc.!

### SWITZERLAND.

This "free" country is degrading more and more, and although we resent the impudence of the oppression exercised on her by Germany and other countries, it is not possible to be in sympathy with a country which wants to paralyse the most reactionary assaults by acting still more reactionary quite on her own behalf. Thus again the French Anarchists Niquet, Philippot, Bordat, and several Russian refugees have been expelled from Geneva. The Government of Geneva is reported to have resolved to refuse the permission to reside at Geneva to all Russians who are not in possession of official passports, etc. Also the Federal Council of Berne is now considering a new extradition treaty with Austria, by which the extradition of political "criminals" would practically be handed over to the arbitrary of the Swiss authorities in every single case. We read of meetings of protest and of the intention to submit the question of the new Federal procuratorship to the direct vote of the people, but nobody expects any results from this.

### SWEDEN.

On June 29 J. M. Engstroem, one of the founders of the Stockholm Social-Democratic Club, and one of the first pioneers of Social-Democracy in Sweden, died at Stockholm.

It has been resolved recently that *Social-Demokraten* of Stockholm (formerly bi-weekly, now a weekly paper) shall be published daily from Dec. 1. Also *Arbetet* of Malmö (now published thrice a-week) prepares a daily edition. The Swedish movement is hardly ten years old; it has, however, scarcely left the limits of a suffrage agitation and of trades-unionism, which, together with the economic conditions as shown by the recent strikes, the Government prosecutions (the editors of all the four papers are now in prison), and the weak character of Social-Democracy there (see the resolutions of the Stockholm Conference of 1889), explains the rapid numerical growth of the party there. Daily Social-Democratic papers, by the way, are now published in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, and the United States.

### RUSSIA.

In *Arbetet* we read, without a reliable source being given, that Tchernyshevski has now been pardoned altogether and allowed to live at Saratow, where he chose to go to. If this is true at all, it opens a sad prospect as to the present state of this once so brilliant writer and Socialist; for nobody ever heard of any act of "grace" of the Czar, and thus we must assume that he has been so ruined during his twenty-five years' imprisonment and banishment that the Czar is no more afraid of him. Recently a report on a real butchery done to political prisoners in Takutsk, Siberia, was published in *Svobodnaja Rossija* of Geneva, and ought to be translated into English.



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 2, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Hoxton Church*—Thursday night a large meeting held, Cores and Mowbray speaking; 7 *Weal* sold. *Gibraltar Walk*—Friday night a good meeting, Cores and Mowbray speaking; 13 *Commonweal* sold. *Mile End Waste*—On Saturday, Mowbray, Cores, and Hicks addressed large meeting; 21 *Commonweal* sold. *Leman Street*—Sunday morning, Mowbray spoke to good meeting; 13 *Commonweal* sold.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Sunday evening on the Green, Mrs. Lahr, Cores, and Mowbray addressed good meeting; fairly good sale of *Commonweal*, and 1s. 11d. collected for propaganda.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday morning, F. Kitz addressed a good audience, giving illustrations of Paris life; 4s. 2d. collected for one of our comrades, who is now undergoing one month's hard labour for refusing to obey the order of an Irish policeman; good sale of *Commonweal*.—S. G.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Dean, Saint, Lyne, sen., and Lyne, jun.; 34 *Commonweal* sold. Our meeting was held at St. Ann's Road instead of William Street; speakers were Maughan and Dean; choir sang. A fine meeting was held at Cambridge Gardens; speakers were Dean, Maughan, Saint, Lyne, sen., and Crouch; 13 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 4d. collected. We sent a scouting party to Archer Street but the Methodists never turned out, and I may state that the answer given to Graham's question in the House of Commons by the Home Secretary was far from correct. It seems that any excuse is good enough for them.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meeting at Hyde Park on Saturday; speakers were Cantwell, Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, and Miss Robertson (S.D.F.); warm discussion was initiated by some members of the Irish National League concerning the action of Irish members on the royal grants. A fair meeting on Sunday morning at Regent's Park; Nicoll and Cantwell spoke. Also good meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, addressed by Nicoll, Cantwell, and Mrs. Lahr; *Weal* sold well.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 29th, Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young" was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, Duncan and Leatham addressed a fine meeting; questions at close and good sale of literature. On Sunday night same speakers addressed a meeting in same place.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 2 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier addressed a good audience on Green. At 5.30, Glasier and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road Toll to a large crowd. At the conclusion Glasier was "heckled" by two persons, both of whom professed sympathy with "some of our principles"; one objected to our comrade denouncing Christians and clerics as mostly hypocrites and thieves, and advised Socialists that the first thing to be done is to burn down all the publichouses! His companion objected to become a Socialist because of some bloodthirsty Anarchist speeches, which he said had recently been delivered in London. Our comrade's replies met with the approval of the audience. We omitted to state in our report of last week that comrade Andreas Scheu—who was here on business—met a number of our members in the committee room and gave a stirring address.

**LEEDS.**—Two fine meetings last Sunday in Vicar's Croft. In the morning at 11 a.m. we had a meeting to jubilate over the complete victory of the labourers lately on strike, and to advise the men to stick to their Union for the purpose of still further ameliorating their condition. In the evening another meeting was held in the same place, when Maguire gave an excellent address on the "Principles of Socialism," assisted by Paylor, Corkwell, Sweeny, and Hill.—F. C.

**LEICESTER.**—On Sunday morning, Barclay spoke on "Socialism: what, why, how?" In the evening, "Definitions of Socialism, and comments on them," Hyndman, Joynes, Prof. Ely, Annie Besant, and J. S. Mill, etc., were cited. There was a lengthy discussion; literature sold, 2s. 1d.—A. G.

**MANCHESTER.**—The tram strike, in which we were taking an active part, has for the present come to an end by the directors of the company granting the men's request. We had called a meeting for Sunday to urge the boycotting of the tram company unless the men were better treated. But as the movement has practically collapsed, we held in Stevenson Square on Sunday a large Socialist demonstration, Prince, Bailie, and Parkinson speaking to an enthusiastic meeting. 40 *Commonweal* sold, and 2s. 1d. collected. On Sunday night Strange and Stockton addressed a meeting on Chester Road. At Middleton on Saturday night Bailie and Stockton spoke to a fair audience; 20 *Commonweal* sold. We have been assisting the cap-makers—men, women, and girls—to form a union, which is very much needed in this industry, where sweating is the order of the day. Bailie and Strange have spoken at two meetings, urging on them the necessity of organisation and showing how to do so; the work is now progressing favourably.

**NORWICH.**—On Wednesday a large meeting was held at St. Faiths, where Poynts, McCormack, and Darley spoke. Saturday evening a good meeting held on the Haymarket; slight opposition from a religious friend. Sunday morning McCormack spoke at North Walsham; in the afternoon a large meeting was held in the Market Place; McCormack opened, followed by J. Turner (London), who delivered a capital address. In the evening another good meeting held in the Market; audience very attentive; good sale of literature.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—In Sneinton Market on Sunday morning Peacock and Proctor spoke; collection for Club funds realised 2s. 6d. In the evening, in Great Market, Rooke presided; Peacock, Whalley, and Proctor spoke to large audience; 3s. 11d. collected for School Board fund.—P.

**YARMOUTH AND CHELSEA.**—Reports arrived too late through misdirection. Please send them to Editor in future.

Joseph Waddington writes and complains, as the mover of the amendment at the demonstration at Stevenson, reported in our issue of July 20, that the report is incorrect re his amendment, as the amendment was never put by the chairman to the meeting.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (3-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday August 11, at 8.30, Members' meeting; important business. Members are earnestly requested to turn up, as our terms of occupation of this hall has expired.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 11, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday Aug. 15, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 16, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

All members please turn up.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday, Hall open from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

#### SATURDAY 10.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Nicoll  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Samuels  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... The Branch

#### SUNDAY 11.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Tochatti, Lyne jun., and Saint  
11.30..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels and Presburg  
11.30..... Belbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann Road ..... Maughan, Crouch, and Dean  
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street ..... Turner  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Branch  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Brookes  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels and Presburg  
7.30..... North Kensington—Cambridge Gardens ..... North Kensington Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Kitz  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

#### TUESDAY 13.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Mowbray

#### WEDNESDAY 14.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Samuels

#### THURSDAY 15.

8 ..... Ossulston Street ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Mowbray

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Friday: St. Catharine's Plain, at 8.15.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

### SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. *Gallatown and Dysart* (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A.

**Paterson,** 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**LIVERPOOL.**—Socialists willing to join a Branch of the S. L. in Liverpool should communicate with W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley Street.

A discussion on "Communist Anarchy" will be opened by J. Blackwell at the Britannia Coffee House, Prebend Street, Packington Street, Essex Road, on Friday August 17, at 8.30.

**DUBLIN.**—Progressive Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday August 10, at 8 p.m., J. O'Gorman (Dublin Socialist Club) will lecture on "The International Workers' Congress—What it Meant." Attendance of trades-unionists particularly requested.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE** (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday August 11, at 8.45, Mr. W. Townshend, "Babew's Conspiracy for Equality, and its daring attempt to uproot the great wrongs of mankind." Translated from the French, with notes, by Bronterre O'Brien.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### TRIAL BY JUDGE v. TRIAL BY JURY.

THE Maybrick case, of which we have been hearing so much, does not differ in essence from most other trials for murder. A man is killed; there is a certain amount of presumptive evidence against such and such a person; a coroner's jury find that this person is guilty of the murder. The presumptive evidence is after long delay brought before the Criminal Court; which delay, be it remarked, tends very much to increase the difficulty in getting at the truth, as lies and falsities have time to grow round the original kernel of fact, and make a regular problems for the solution of the professional dealers with other persons' misdoings—the lawyers and judge. In the Criminal Court the game begins. Each side has its theory for accounting for a series of events which are supposed to have taken place, and tries to establish that theory by the piecing together of details, the cross-examination of witnesses, and so on. It must be said that in this game the defence, which has to prove a negative, is necessarily very much weaker than the prosecution.

Next, the theory on either side being complete, it is in practice submitted to the judgment of *one man*, the judge, who is of course a thoroughly practised and skilful lawyer, drilled into a knowledge of what is called the "law of evidence"—i.e., a series of maxims, more or less arbitrary, as such theories must be, as to the credibility of statements of events more than half forgotten, misunderstood by the witnesses at the time they happened, confused by hearsay, corrupted by prejudice—in a word, mostly lies. This one man, the judge, may be a treasure of impartiality, though he is not likely to be, since he is a successful advocate, and therefore *must* have been in the habit of wrestling appearances towards the side that he was conventionally interested in, however they might have showed to his real self. But, however impartial he may be, it is not in the nature of man for a person not to take sides in a dispute which he is obliged to listen to, and considering his official position, the side that this person is most likely to take is the official one—i.e., that of the prosecution.

In theory, however (as we all know), it is the jury and not the judge who have to make the final decision of the case,—but in theory only. For the jury are of necessity men of average intelligence, taken from the middle class; and they are in consequence deeply imbued with the middle-class prejudices of the day. Now the present-day middle-class theory of the jury has mistaken the function of the jury, and assumes that its business is, not to judge the case, as it was originally meant to do, but to correct any gross mistakes or partiality in the judge; to be, in short, a kind of censorship on the judge, and therein to represent the public generally. This being the case, as a matter of fact the jury almost always take their verdict from the judge's summing-up, and it is rare indeed that those who are watching a case need trouble themselves about the jury's decision when they have heard or read the judge's summing-up—unless, indeed, he is really puzzled over the matter, in which case, having no opinion, he kindly allows the jury to have one.

And now in the midst of this intricate game which is being played for the life or death of a fellow citizen, there is one person who is out of it all, and can only watch what is going on; and that person is the one who is principally interested. The mouth of the accused is shut until the decision is given. Whatever misunderstandings, falsifications, or wrong deductions take place must pass without challenge from his personality, although it is obvious that often a few words from the accused might explain the matter, and give a new course to the evidence either for or against.

In short, in an English Criminal Court sides are taken for and against the silent onlooking accused (who, in spite of all theories to the contrary, is always looked on as guilty from the first). The judge decides which of those two sides has the preponderating weight of evidence, and the jury formally ratifies his decision, unless it is so monstrously

unfair that they are compelled to protest by expressing their own opinion. The "criminal" either "escapes" or is convicted and slaughtered; our "cultivated classes" bless their stars they are not living in days of violence, and those of the working classes who are not Socialists at heart echo their cant in various degrees of *un-cultivation*, however miserably they may be living.

For the rest, this is that "average" justice which is in complete harmony with the commercialism of the age, which declines to supply the public with anything choice; it is, like all machine-work, a make-shift. Such make-shifts people put up with without grumbling for a long time; but at last when some dramatic demonstration of their futility is given, when the shoe-sole comes off in the middle of a muddy road, or the hat melts in a heavy shower, they get angry, and express their anger—in a futile way indeed, because they are the slaves of the machine which they grumble at.

That we would fain hope, is the explanation of the popular ebullition of temper at Liverpool the other day; the people there were at last struck by the obvious unfairness of the whole proceeding, of the farce which thus trifles with the lives and liberties of the citizens. At all events they directed the expression of their anger rightly this time. The judge and his summing-up is the real centre of the whole iniquity. That is the head and front of the attack on Trial by Jury, which, as long as it was a reality, was a true defence of the liberties of the people.

That is the interest the Maybrick case has to us Socialists. The case itself was a wretched one, a mere exemplification of the unhappiness which springs from the corruption of a Society founded on robbery; an unhappiness which so often avenges the wrongs of the poor on those whose iniquitous position puts them beyond the reach of the special misery which they inflict on so many millions of people, as good as or better than themselves. Yet, indeed, it must be said once more that Mrs. Maybrick's "immorality" weighed heavily against her, helped the judge to get the conviction, and that if people are to be hanged for making mistakes in married life, there will be a large mortality amongst the upper and middle classes:

The remarks in the capitalistic papers on this case, a great part of which amount to a defence of the present system of dealing with circumstantial evidence in criminal cases, are curious, but are too numerous to go through. One, however, must be noticed, because it is the argument most often and most plausibly used. It is admitted, say these wiseacres, that this was a case of doubt; but in the teeth of the maxim that the jury should give the benefit of the doubt to the accused, if this were done, almost no criminal could be convicted, as all evidence is circumstantial, and in almost every case there is doubt

What does this amount to but this? That so beautifully constructed is the machine of criminal law, that it gives us two overwhelming risks, either of the escape of the guilty, or the condemnation of the innocent. Unhappily, it is not doubtful which risk our Society will take hardened as it is by the daily and hourly practice of wrong against so many people.

In effect, it is a ghastly thing to note so many respectable persons sitting safe at home in luxury so convinced of the necessity for hanging some one, either the right or the wrong person, if a "crime" is committed. How strange that persons not ill-natured, not specially stupid, should think it above all things necessary that a private murder should be remedied by a public one.

As to the Court of Appeal which is in every one's mouth at present, it would be a feeble protection against injustice; and if, as I suppose, it were to be a court of professional judges, it would tend to a further weakening of what is left of the jury system, and so do more harm than good.

WILLIAM MORRIS.



## THE CHATEAUX IN FLAMES.

(Concluded from p. 250.)

In the midst of a delirium of joyful excitement there is always a chance of sudden relapse into gloomy terror, all the heavier and more overwhelming on account of its lack of reason. Especially is this noticeable in times of great public excitement, such as a period of revolution must necessarily be. Men's imaginations are exalted. They have seen so many extraordinary things, that nothing which could happen will astonish them. We know during a disturbed period like that of the last few years how far rumour exceeds the reality. So it was in France in 1789. These riots, these revolts astonished the respectable middle-class person; he could not understand them at all. For the wild, starving people did not confine their attention to aristocrats, but attacked the houses and the stores of the rich in general. It was clear that these were not revolutionists of the middle-class pattern; these daring men—the poachers, the smugglers, and the vagrants who were foremost in the fray—were not likely to spare even middle-class property. So there is great fear in the hearts of the respectable. They dread the houseless wanderers who, with fierce faces, matted hair, and wild eyes, in which hope now gleams out, are marching along every highway in troops of twenty or twenty-five, and are gathering intent on pillage and destruction in every market place and every town. Rumour multiplies them from tens and twenties into thousands. Travellers gallop into every town, having caught a glimpse of them or heard of them, with intelligence that “the brigands are coming,” and straightway the whole town flies to arms. A middle-class militia, afterwards known as a National Guard, is formed. From the towns the rumour spreads to the country. The peasants seize what weapons they have; they tear over the highways in search of the mysterious insurgents who are declared to be advancing. Filled as they are with wild excitement, they are often mistaken by other bands of peasants for brigands, and with difficulty a conflict between them is prevented. This rumour travels to the remotest regions, and in a few days the whole of France flashes with bayonets.

But brigands not turning up, or, if they do, arriving in small numbers and proving friends rather than foes, the peasant begins to turn his attention to his real enemy, his old oppressor, the lord of his village in which he dwells. He hears wonderful tidings, that a Bastille has fallen, that the rule of the lord is abolished—nay, in some cases he is informed by his brigand friends that a patriot king has abolished all feudal dues and taxes of every kind, and has ordered his loyal country people to drive away the lord, destroy his title-deeds, which enslave the poor, and burn his chateau to the ground.

In the midst of this growing excitement an awful story arrives; not a rumour this time, but true in all its ghastly details. Memmay de Quincey, a lord of Franche Comté, when the news arrived of the fall of the Bastille, invited the rustics of the neighbourhood to a banquet. In the midst of the jovial merrymaking, chateau and merry-makers together are blown in air. The ground around is strewn with the bodies of men, women, and children, while the scoundrel who has contrived this dastardly treachery quietly escapes. He returns years after, when the revolution is over, and the middle-class authorities are in power. These are inclined to trouble very little about the death of a few peasants; so he has no difficulty in persuading them that it was all by accident!

The news of this horror in this time of furious excitement flies over France with lightning speed. The cry goes forth, “Down with the accursed race who murder under the guise of friendship and hospitality!” So we see outcasts gather in the night with the boldest men of the village; the church bell clangs out; the inhabitants of the villages fill the village street, and, joined with the people of the country round, they pour forward in a stream of haggard hungry faces, fierce with want and frenzy, while blazing torches held aloft throw the glare of a smoky light on sharp glittering axes, pikes, scythe-blades, firelocks, and every weapon that revolt can fashion for itself.

Ye noble lords, ye proud ones of the earth, who have trod the poor in the dust for so many years, who have treated them like dogs, even worse than dogs, they have been your asses, your mules, their portion starvation, heavy loads, and blows. See, they are coming, starved, brutalised, maddened by you, with torches and weapons in their hands, and the bitterest hatred of you in their hearts. Fly, worthy seigneur, fly! there is no mercy there; there may be mercy in the flaming torches, in the glittering weapons, but not in the hearts of the people whom you have ground down and embruted out of all semblance to humanity!

The lord does fly; he, his wife, and his little ones, half naked, under cover of the night; and as he gazes back his chateau blazes behind him, a savage crowd dancing around the flaming mansion the funeral pyre of all his honours, dignities, and wealth, the flame of which makes the black night still more black and hideous than before.

This was the scene that occurred in most villages in France; but sometimes perchance the village was lazy or cowardly. Then in the dead of the night emissaries from other districts where the revolutionary feeling was stronger would creep through the place and silently fire the chateau, which would send up another beacon flame of revolt throughout rebellious France. Everywhere bands of peasants and vagrants move through the country, burning as they move. Flame after flame springs up. “Seventy-two chateaus have flamed aloft in Maconais and Beaujolais alone. This seems the centre of the conflagration; but it has spread over Dauphiné Alsace, Lyonnaise; the whole south-east is in a blaze. All over the north, from Rouen to Metz, disorder is abroad: smug-

glers of salt go openly in armed bands; the barriers of towns are burnt; toll-gatherers, tax-gatherers, official persons are put to flight. “It was thought,” says Young, “the people, frequenting the streets, would revolt”; and we see they have done it.”<sup>1</sup> Every lord is not so fortunate as to escape even half-naked from the hands of the avengers. The lords who have ridden high upon their dignities, who have been merciless tyrants in the days of their triumph, are put to death by furious peasants. Among them is a gentleman who had distinguished himself by walling up the only fountain of the township, which he would only allow no peasant to use. Another man who seized on the common lands of a village meets a similar fate.

In many cases the outbreak is provoked by action of the lords. At several places these true representatives of property had fired upon the poor wretches who begged bread at their gates. At a chateau in Maconais a noble lord had hung several of his vassals who been driven by hunger to take the food they needed.

The fury excited by these stories which fly over France is terrible, and the vengeance that falls upon the lords, who have tortured, plundered, and oppressed the people, and now murder them, is what might be expected from a populace embruted and degraded by witnessing the cruel punishments which were common under the feudal system. Down to 1789 men had been broken on the wheel; and remember that the burnings, the quarterings, the hangings, whippings, and rackings had taught the peasants a sorry lesson, a lesson which they showed the lords they had learnt thoroughly. We know that feudal justice often forced from a culprit by means of torture the inmost secrets of his heart. What wonder, then, that the peasants also employed torture to gain their ends. Their great aim was to get hold of the title-deeds which gave their lords the right to plunder and oppress them. To force one lord to give up his deeds they hold a pistol to his throat for three hours, and he and his wife are then dragged from their carriage to be thrown in a pond. In Franche Comté, Madame de Bathilly is forced, an axe gleaming over her head, to give up her title-deeds. Another lady is also obliged to do the same by a pitchfork at her throat and her two daughters swooning at her feet. Another nobleman, Baron de Montjustin, is suspended for an hour in a well, listening to a discussion as to whether they shall drop him or not. The Chevalier d'Ambly is thrown on a dung-hill, while the wild men who have just torn out his hair and eyebrows dance like devils around him. In some cases the frenzy of hatred and fury brings death upon the oppressor. At Mans, M. de Montesson is shot after seeing his godfather's throat cut. In Languedoc M. de Barras is cut to pieces.

Such are the natural consequences of a long reign of wrong and tyranny, which reduces men and women to a state of slavish savagery. It is people like these that our present rulers are penning up by hundreds of thousands in the hideous slums of this most Christian city. If some day the barriers give way and the torrent of maddened men pour forth upon the mansions of the rich, it is not improbable that similar scenes might occur. Let the rich take warning, and stop their work of turning men and women into brutes by perpetuating a condition of society in which thousands cannot get enough bread to eat, even by the most wearisome and exhausting toil. Let them stop the cruel system by which rich men pile up their wealth out of the tears, the groans, the slavery and hunger of the poor. While this continues can we be surprised that crime increases, and that among the prostitutes, the thieves, and the ruffians—products of a vile debasing system—who fill the dens of Whitechapel, may be found the material for a new Jacquerie, which may fire the mansions of the tyrants and bloodsuckers of our own days? Only when that moment comes, gentlemen of the middle classes (to whose large fortunes, amassed by twenty per cent. dividends screwed out of slavery, misery, and prostitution of wretched men and women, may be traced most of the evils which afflict our present society), do not cry out, like the seigneurs of France, against the people whom you and yours have turned into devils, without ruth or pity, but reflect that these are the work of your hands, these are the beings that you have made.

Little more remains to be told. The fires of flaming chateaux lit up the whole of France, and with their destruction goes on a war against rent, tithes, and legal extortions of all kinds. The nobles and clergy in the National Assembly, finding that their feudal dues and tithes have vanished with their title-deeds in the glare of their burning chateaux, determine to renounce what they can no longer keep, and accordingly in a fit of forced enthusiasm they abolish all feudal and clerical dues on the famous night of the 4th of August. But however, they have an eye to themselves, and provide that some of these feudal rights shall be redeemed by a money payment on the part of the peasants. It is also decreed that tithes are abolished and the State in future must provide for the clergy, but in the meantime the tithe must still be levied. But the peasant refuses to pay. Revolt follows revolt during the four years of the revolution, and these insurrections do not cease till the National Convention, seeing that it is impossible to get any money out of the people, declare that the peasants shall no longer be forced to pay compensation for the abolished tithes and feudal dues.

Thus the peasant by his own action freed himself from the slavery which had ground him to earth for many centuries. It is a fact that for many years after the Revolution the French peasant was living in a state of comparative comfort and prosperity, which was mainly due to the work of the “brigands” and “incendiaries” of the stirring years of the first French Revolution.

D. J. NICOLL.

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle: ‘French Revolution.’

## A VISION OF FREEDOM.

I saw the sun reel down in sulphurous flame  
And fume to death upon the cold sea's brink;  
And every chain was loosened, link by link  
That bound the people to a nameless shame.  
Each man arose and called his fellow's name  
And, eye to eye that was too free to shrink,  
In the great name of Freedom bade him drink;  
And lo! the sea grew still and pure and tame.

The Spirit of Freedom with white wings outspread  
Shed benediction on them: all were free.  
And on the wind came sounds of minstrelsy,  
Proclaiming Freemen living and slaves dead;  
While o'er a re-arisen people's head  
Rang out the jubilation of the sea.

CHARLES KENNETT BURROW.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## HOLLAND.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, of the Netherlands, said at the Congress on July 20 (see the *Sozialdemokrat* of August 10) "that he expects nothing for the protection of the workers from parliamentarism. If the governments would only understand what their proper advantage is, they would immediately grant our demands (i.e., those of the Social Democrats on labour legislation), for thereby the Socialist movement would be killed at one blow. Fortunately for Socialism, the governments are not so clever. Labour legislation, like Malthusianism, etc., by which a few workers become individually a little better off, only contributes to reconcile the workers to a certain degree with their present position. The capitalists themselves will grant the eight hours working day at a given moment, for they will prefer to remain masters of the situation after some small sacrifices made. They will gild the chains of the workers to keep them the longer their slaves. The position of the workers can only be really bettered by abolishing private and introducing collective property." These perfectly sound remarks were of course at once contradicted by Liebknecht, who stuck to the orthodox dogmas of Social Democracy. We have to remember, it is true, that F. Domela Nieuwenhuis himself brought in a Bill, mostly relating to women's and children's labour, but also containing the eight hours day, in April last in the Dutch parliament, of which he is a member. On the other side, the report on the Paris Congress, published in *Recht voor Allen* of August 4, is the only fair report we have yet seen in a Social-Democratic paper, and denounces in much sharper terms than the English published reports the many blunders committed. The author failed to hear much of the "highly interesting debates" so much spoken of, considers the disunion of the congresses as the entire fault of the leaders of both parties, and urges upon the workers not to submit any longer to play the rôle of an army of either of the two coteries; blames the election of a permanent bureau from which workers were wellnigh excluded, considers the management to have been "bad and highly arbitrary," complains of the three days wasted in hearing reports which are to be printed and which were not at all subjects of the order of the day, reproves the arbitrary high-handed action of the bureau on Saturday afternoon, when those who wanted to speak were met by "the howlings and threatenings especially of Liebknecht's German guards," and, he goes on, "the Dutch delegates then refused (as did the Belgian delegates from the same reasons) by abstaining from voting, to take part in such a farce" (*comédie-vertonneuse*). "We call the manner shameful in which an Italian delegate was treated," etc., who was "simply thrown out by the help of the strongly disciplined Germans," who in his opinion bossed the Congress in an unbecoming manner. He then complains that the property-question is neglected in the resolutions, which contain nothing new, and he scoffs at the idea decided upon to enter into relations with the Swiss bourgeois conference. We give these extracts because this is a Social Democratic report, and to compare it with the reports in the other Social Democratic press. For instance, whilst it is reported from various parts of Germany that delegates on their return lost their employment, were subjected to various police molestations or even arrested, their chief paper, though of course grumbling over this, is endeavouring to show to the bourgeois the merits of the Congress by writing, "The practical character of the Congress, which, without veiling final aims, abstained from all utopian excursions into cloudland, and which cleared off quickly and energetically the Anarchist idiosyncrasy whose aim it is to discredit and to compromise the working class movement, has made an imposing impression in the widest circles" (of the bourgeois!). Also, as the Social Democratic papers record, Liebknecht has already had an interview with M. Clemenceau, the leader of the French Radicals who (the French elections being close at hand!) assured him of the utmost sympathy he always felt for the working classes in general and for labour legislation in particular, which indeed would save the State from revolution!

## DENMARK.

From Denmark, during the last years, we continually heard about the growing strength of the Social Democratic vote, which returned several of their members to Parliament, and about the splendid state of their paper, *Sozialdemokraten*, which has nearly 30,000 subscribers, more than any other paper of Copenhagen and of Denmark too. This country was often held up as a model country for Social-Democratic agitation. Only this year the real state of the movement has become apparent, and is now a matter of public discussion and agitation in Denmark. It appears that in the years 1883-5, when the opposition against the Estrup conservative ministry was the greatest, an alliance between Social Democrats and Radicals and Liberals was made, and from that time dates the large circulation of the paper, which now discusses questions of political opposition in the first rank, and relegates economic or Socialist questions to a back place. All Social Democrats returned to parliament were so only by means of compromises with the bourgeois parties, for whom the Socialists voted in their turn in other places. This year an opposition sprang up against this way in which the party is managed by a few persons; and although we have no sympathy for this opposition, led by Nicolai Petersen (because they simply do like the others do, go on electioneering, with a little more ostentation of Social-Democratic principles), we are indebted to it for an intelligence of the true state of the official Danish party. We read in *Sozialdemokraten*, for instance, "The Danish Social-Democratic party represents Reform Socialism, and consequently fights against Revolutionary Socialism, a standpoint also taken by the vast majority of Social Democrats"; or, "The chief fault of the Revolu-

tionary Socialists is to think that Socialism has in any way a greater connection with revolution than any other political standpoint. But just the contrary is the case. . . . Therefore we fight the real Revolutionary Socialists," etc. The keynote of the Danish elections is now militarism, and the Social-Democratic candidates simply say, "You have to choose between militarism and reforms," and on such grounds they are elected. All this shows plainly what is behind the big numbers of voters and subscribers—namely, the surrender of Socialism to bourgeois Liberalism. The opposition, as we see from *Arbejderen*, makes progress, but what can this result in? Not more than purifying the party for a short time, until a new bourgeois alliance offers itself.

## GERMANY.

There are now 34 trades-unionist papers published (23 on Jan. 1, 1886), circulation 90,000. Also (at the end of 1888) 28 political Social-Democratic papers (8 in Prussia, 10 in Bavaria, 3 in Hessen, 3 in Wurtemberg, 1 in Baden, Braunschweig, Hamburg, Bremen); circulation about 140,000. These are big figures, but it must not be forgotten that if any of these papers only once were to make a really Socialist remark, it would instantly be suppressed, as some are here and there. So these papers simply deal with the ordinary political news, trade matters and election propaganda. A reader of them may lose his belief in the old parties, but at the same time he must receive quite a wrong impression of Socialism from them, so that in reality they are one more hindrance to the progress of Socialism (not of Social Democracy) in that country.

\* \*

## MERLINO'S RESOLUTION.

THE following is the full text of comrade Merlino's resolution, which he wished to put before the Paris Congress:—

"Considering that international or even national labour legislation would not only be, if accepted by the workers, the confirmation of their slavery and the negation of the great principles of revolutionary Socialism, but is also an economic impossibility, that it is therefore deplorable that such a false hope should be dangled before the eyes of the workers.

"That the workmen in different trades, the domestic servant and the workshop slave, the artisan and the peasant, the hands of the great manufacturers and the almost independent producers in the home industries, would never submit to one and the same regime, and even less so would the workmen of different countries, races, and continents.

"Seeing the differences which exist between manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial countries, and the different degrees of economical development at which they have arrived, it would be unjust to attempt to equalise their conditions otherwise than by the spontaneous evolution of economical relations; as this attempt would only result in the sacrifice of the weaker to the stronger; which is inevitable in a social organisation so essentially antagonistic to every principle of Justice and Reason as is the present form of society.

"Considering, in addition to these economical impossibilities, that there are also political impossibilities in the way of this gigantic illusion of international labour legislation; the governments being always armed to the teeth against each other, and continually engaged in fomenting national hatreds. When they fail even in reconciling the interests of the capitalistic classes, which they represent, how could they succeed in agreeing together for the benefit of the workman, whose natural and irreconcilable enemies they are? The State being an enormous engine of destruction and violence, how can it be an instrument of concord and peace, not only amongst workmen who fraternise without its interference, but between the workmen and their masters; the latter being at the same time the masters of politics, diplomacy, and finance, nay, of the State itself?

"Considering that even apart from all these economical and political impossibilities which render perfectly utopian the idea of international labour legislation, the great moral principle of Freedom is incompatible with any regulations and measures which interfere with the free development of society, and would instead mould it to a procrustean bed. Freedom has become for civilised man not only a want but one of the most important.

"Further considering that it is dangerous to foster amongst the masses the great superstition of the century, which consists in pretending to solve the great social problems by the ballot box and Acts of Parliament; that it is on the contrary necessary to undermine and destroy the fetishes of legislation and legislators; and that the offer of labour legislation officially made by the governments has only one aim, that of rehabilitating in the eyes of the masses the Parliamentarism which is now becoming utterly discredited, and to prolong its agonising life.

"Considering that at the present state of development of socialistic principles, and after the conquest and defeats of the International Workingmen's Association, we should not retrace our steps to old expedients, but march onwards and push forward the great claims of the proletariat and attack the last ramparts of the bourgeoisie, monarchial and republican parliamentarism.

"Considering that the bodies of thousands of victims, and the whole race of the oppressed stand between us and our enemies, and that this abyss must be deepened more and more, and not bridged over by compromises which amount in fact to treason to the Cause.

"That together with private property, government, this monstrous centralised engine of fraud, corruption, oppression, and social discord, must be suppressed, and in its place must be substituted a society composed of free associations of workers settling their own affairs and organising their own work.

"In accordance with these considerations the congress:

"Declares its intention to remain true to the great principles of Revolutionary Socialism;

"Rejects as anti-socialistic, reactionary, and fallacious any proposals for labour legislation;

"Inscribes in its programme the abolition of the parliamentary and governmental system as an essential condition for the real abolition of the capitalistic system;

"Lastly, denying to any one the right to compromise our principles (the sole and inalienable patrimony of the proletarians of the world and their only hope) and denying also the right to reduce Socialism to the meaner proportion of a class legislation, recommends that the union between the revolutionary Socialists of the world be made on the basis of the great and inprescriptible human claims; because on any other ground no union would be founded amongst the workers, but discord, rivalry, ambition, and the tyranny of one privileged minority over the suffering masses."



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.*

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*Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. B. G. (Glasgow).—Scotch Notes came too late for insertion this week, so much pressing matter having already been set up. Will go in next number.  
D. C.—Articles of about one column in length are the most acceptable. They should each deal clearly with some one point in our principles or propaganda.

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ENGLAND	ITALY
Justice	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Elector	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	Seville—La Solidaridad
Railway Review	Madrid—El Socialista
Sozial Demokrat	Cadiz—El Socialismo
UNITED STATES	PORTUGAL
New York—Der Sozialist	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Freiheit	AUSTRIA
Truthseeker	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Volkzeitung	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Jewish Volkszeitung	DENMARK
Workmen's Advocate	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Twentieth Century	SWEDEN
Nationalist	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
United Irishman	WEST INDIES
Boston—Woman's Journal	Cuba—El Productor
Investigator	
Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	
FRANCE	GERMANY
Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Le Proletariat	
L'Attaque	
Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	
HOLLAND	
Hague—Recht voor Allen	
BELGIUM	
Ghent—Vooruit	
Liege—L'Avenir	
SWITZERLAND	
Arbeiterstimme	

No remittances for League purposes should be sent to any other persons than those specially appointed to receive them, and whose names are duly advertised in the "Commonweal," or to any other address than this Office. Readers, especially in the Provinces, are asked to beware of appeals emanating from any person other than the Treasurer of the League, the Secretary of the Propaganda Committee, or myself,

FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

### NOTES.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL is a smart young man; there is not the least doubt about it. His attempt to outbid the advanced Radicals is a masterpiece of genius, while his prophetic warning to ground landlords to set their houses in order for the day of retribution that is coming upon them, is the unkindest cut of all to these bulwarks of the Tory party. No wonder Randolph's leaders don't know what to do with this little puppy of Tory Democracy, whose teeth are growing and who knows how to bite.

But what are we to think of Randolph's speech, or of the rival performance of Professor Stuart at the Shoreditch Town Hall? They

remind me very much of the orations of two rival Cheap Jacks at a country fair, who are both in possession of a number of articles equally cheap and worthless, and who are each endeavouring to howl the other down. The patter is the same in both cases. "Ladies and gentlemen, yer pays yer money and yer takes yer choice. A fine new political programme. What d'ye lack? What d'ye lack? A bill for the better housing of the working-classes; an excellent article; I can recommend it, gentlemen, I can recommend it. Yer you hab, yer you hab, all very fine and large. Some new workmen's dwellings, lighted by electricity, furnished with hydraulic lifts, and filled with every comfort and convenience. Who bids? Who bids? Your vote and interest at the next general election is all I require. To be had at the same moderate price—the taxation of ground rents, an eight hours bill, the suppression of the liquor traffic, or anything else you want. Any article not in stock procured at the shortest notice." And so they go on, though the Liberal Cheap Jack pauses in the midst of his harangue to warn his audience that the person over the way is an impudent fraud, and hasn't got the articles in stock that he brags so much about.

To this pass has the steady propaganda of Socialism during the past few years brought both political parties. Those who have purchased articles of the ordinary cheap jacks, may judge of the value of goods these political ones vend. For my part I do not believe that either the programme of Randolph Churchill or Professor Stuart will touch the sources of the present misery. They will but make discontent wider and deeper; but they will once more prove the truth of the proverb, "That those who make half revolutions dig their own graves."

But there is another person whom Randolph's eloquence annoys more even than any member of the Liberal party, and that is Joseph Chamberlain. Joseph appears to regard Randolph's most recent deliverance as a direct invitation to the Birmingham electors to desert the standard of the Chamberlain family and rally round the Churchill flag; and no doubt he isn't far wrong.

Mr. Chamberlain appears to be of an opinion that Churchill has got his advanced opinions from the extreme men of all parties, and he is unkind enough to put poor Professor Stuart among his list of extremists. Surely a milder Jacobin was never known than the author of the Metropolitan Liberal programme. Before long we shall have Howell and Cremer put on Chamberlain's list of dangerous persons.

Then, Randolph is accused of borrowing his Socialism from Burns and Hyndman! This is hardly complimentary to those two prophets of Social Democracy, for the only measure of theirs he has borrowed is the eight hour bill, and every one knows that that is advocated in America and in our colonies by many people who would be very much insulted if you called them Socialists—save in Sir Vernon's Harcourt's sense of the word.

But I think there is a far more probable explanation of Randolph's advanced opinions than by throwing the blame of them upon Professor Stuart, or Hyndman and Burns. In the good old days of "ransom" and "natural rights," Joseph and Randolph were fast friends. In those days Mr. Chamberlain formed himself upon the model of "the sea-green incorruptible" Maximilian Robespierre. Already in his own vivid imagination he pictured himself as a Jacobin dictator, passing heads of dangerous aristocrats like Salisbury and Hartington under the guillotine. But that dream is over for the friend of lords and the pet of duchesses. In the old days the haughty aristocrats would have nothing to do with the little Brummagem snob, and he burned for vengeance on them. Is it not, therefore, probable that Randolph got his advanced opinions from the "incorruptible" Joseph, and now he proceeds to hoist the "incorruptible" with his own petard! Once more has the pupil beat his master.

D. N.

Montana, one of the four new States lately added to the Union, refuses to prescribe the reading and writing qualifications for her voters, customary in the older States. Delegate Maginnis, whose name bespeaks his paternity and probable creed, secured this result by pointing out that "the most dangerous classes in this country were not the illiterate, but the over-educated," and he instanced "several distinguished Anarchists who could read and write and talk several languages." Here, at last, is a congenial refuge for the atavistic reactionaries who are always denouncing education as a danger to the State. If only all the good orthodox, untroubled, and contented souls would migrate thither, and leave other people to wend their wicked way unhindered!

S.

Joseph R. Buchanan, formerly editor of the Chicago Labour Enquirer, now has charge of the labour department of the New York Sun.

ERRATUM.—W. Wess was delegated by the Manchester International Club, and not Berner Street, as appeared last week in Paris Congress report.

Ida M. Van Etten, Frances Morris, Marian Macdaniel, Florence K. Wischnewetzky, and Jane T. Gillespie have incorporated the "Working Woman's Society of the City of New York," to promote organisation among women engaged in industrial pursuits, and to furnish indemnity to the members of said society by payments of money collected by way of dues, against loss occasioned by sickness or lack of employment, and also in general to labour for improvement in the condition of all working women.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## COMMUNISM AND ANARCHISM.

I HAVE to excuse myself for being so long in answering our comrades. My journey to the Paris Congress, and business necessary to be done before and after that event, accounts for the greater part of the delay. I will now do what I can to answer our friends who have written to the *Commonweal*. I must premise, by the way, that I have let a typographical error of importance pass unnoticed: for "moral conscience" our friends should read "social conscience."

And now I find that one difficulty in dealing with the friends who are discussing the matter is that, in all probability, I differ very little in theory from what they think, but considerably from what they write—e.g., comrade Armsden appears to meet my commonplace "that you have a right to do as you like so long as you don't interfere with your neighbour's right to do as he likes" with a negative; which he cannot mean to do. Anyhow, I assert it again, and also assert that the social conscience, which being social is common to every man, will forbid such individual interference, and use coercion if other means fail: and also that without that there can be no society; and further, that man without society is not only impossible, but inconceivable. I may say that I perceive here that the unlucky misprint of *moral* for *social* has turned our friend's arguments beside the question.

Comrade H. Davis misunderstands my use of the word Communist in supposing me to use it as the Owenites did, as implying life in separate communities, whether those communities were mere scattered accidents amidst a capitalistic society or not; whereas I use it as a more accurate term for Socialism as implying equality of condition and consequently abolition of private property. In this sense, of course, you could not live Communistically until the present society of capitalism or contract is at an end. Equally of course, the living in small communities is not in theory an essential of this great change, though I have little doubt that it would bring about such a way of living and abolish big cities, which, equally with comrade Davis, I think much to be desired.

In his reference to Philip drunk and sober, comrade Davis does not of course really mean that any obnoxious person shall be allowed to tyrannize over the rest of the citizens without restraint from them; but that is what his words mean.

As to the matter of majority-rule, let us look at the matter again. All rule must be, as comrade Davis sees, majority-rule—i.e., of the effective majority. If at any time the minority rules, it is because they are better organised, better armed, less stupid, more energetic than the mere nose-counted majority: this effective majority therefore coerces the minority; and as long as it can coerce it, it will. The time may come, and I hope it will, when the social conscience will be so highly developed that coercion will be impossible, even on the part of the community: but then in those days the community will be composed of men who so thoroughly realise Communism that there will be no chance of any of them attacking his neighbour in any way. All reasonable men, whatever they may call themselves, would rejoice at such a change; and it is because I know that this cannot be brought about as long as private property exists, that I desire the abolition of private property, and am a Communist.

But I do not consider myself a pessimist because I am driven to admit that such a condition of things is a long way ahead. And what can we do in the meantime? I remember that the great traveller Dr. Wolff, travelling in the eastern wastes, inhabited a tent alone with a stalwart Greek servant of his, who habitually got drunk on the feast-days of his church, and when drunk, habitually beat poor Wolff. The latter objected, and said to his servant (I quote his own words), "You must either not get drunk, or when you get drunk you must not beat me." But the servant said to Wolff, "I shall get drunk, and when I am drunk I shall certainly beat you." Wolff being the weakest physically, had to submit; but if there had been two Wolffs, I will answer for it that they would have had recourse to coercion, and if they had allowed the drinking, they would certainly have put a stop to the beating. And really I think we should all of us have done in likewise, and considered it pedantic to allow one man to beat two of us: and surely it will always be so, as long as the individual acts unsocially: in that case he has no right against the society, which he himself has cast off.

I must repeat practically also what I said in my first article: however much the unit of association may be divided, people will have to associate in administration, and sometimes there will be differences of opinion as to what should be done. E.g., a community discuss the building of a bridge; some say Ay and some No, and persist in that opinion after all possible arguments have been exhausted: what is to be done? which party is to give way? Our Anarchist friends say it must not be carried by a majority; in that case, then, it must be carried by a minority. And Why? Is there any divine right in a minority? I fail to see it, although I admit that the opinion is held by the absolutists.

Or again, passing to matters of principle again. Supposing that a commune decides to re-introduce wage-slavery within its bounds. Is that to be allowed by the majority of communes? Are we not to deliver slaves from their masters? If not, why are we revolutionary Socialists to-day?

A friend under the signature of "Anarchist" stumbles, I think, over voluntary and involuntary association. Where all men are equal, I believe "the give and take" would have such influence over men's minds, that "the authority of compulsory representative institutions," or whatever took their place, would be so completely at one with the Social Conscience that there would be no dispute about it as to principle, and in detail, as above, the few would have to give way to the many; I should hope without any rancour. This correspondent does not seem to be able to think himself out of the present state of things, and yet at the same time imagines a possibility of free association as things now are; a quite illusory hope, since those of us who are unprivileged are at the beck and call of the privileged.

Comrade Blackwell suggests that since the majority is no more likely to be right than the minority (which I admit) they might as well toss a copper for it. I don't object; but then there might be a difference of opinion on that method also, and how are we to settle that? It is curious that comrade Blackwell in suggesting that the larger of the two differing parties in a matter of administration should throw the matter over, cannot see that this would mean victory for the noes; or, in other words, that in any question which must be answered aye or nay, any one obstructive could always prevent any business being done, and could in such matters thereby establish the most complete minority rule conceivable.

The other side of comrade Blackwell's remedy is a system of perpetual

compromise, which would be disastrous if it were possible, for it would so hinder all reasonable work or progress that it could not be submitted to.

Comrade Blackwell objects to my calling the "Anarchist-Socialists" "vague," but he himself furnishes a specimen of their vagueness in the platform of the Pittsburg Congress in 1883. He adds, "Now I believe most members of the Socialist League agree to every one of these planks." Exactly, and every other Socialist also; there is nothing distinctively Anarchist in them. And this I find is often the case with "Communist-Anarchists"; they cannot differentiate themselves from the Communists. Their Anarchism consists in a somewhat exaggerated fear of a possible re-growth of some of the tyrannical methods of the destroyed Society, and a consequent distrust of the new Society having any definite form. On the other hand, I have met with Anarchists who were not at all vague, and who definitely opposed Communism. They had, indeed, this in common with militant Socialism, that they wished to abolish *organised* monopoly; but they supported unorganised monopoly, or the rule of the strongest individual, taking for their motto "To each one according to his deeds," which means the upholding of private property with no association to uphold it, a position impossible and inconceivable.

Our friends who have been discussing this subject do not, I know, agree with this view, but intend to be Communists though they find stumbling-blocks by the way. As for me, I can only say that whatever will give us equality, with whatever drawbacks, will content me, and I find that at bottom this is the ideal of all Socialists. So I think the fewer party-names and distinctions we can have the better, leaving plenty of scope for the inevitable differences between persons of different temperaments, so that various opinions may not make serious quarrels.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## PARIS CONGRESS—A DISCLAIMER.

SIR,—In your number of the 10th of this month, Mr. F. Kitz pays me the compliment of having "carefully, very carefully translated into German Keir Hardie's speech." Mr. Kitz is right. I did it "carefully, very carefully," as I am *always* wont to do my duty. Since Mr. Kitz has omitted to mention it, I may add that I have translated Mr. Morris's speech with exactly the same care and love; and if Mr. Kitz had made a speech as interesting and as instructive as those of his two countrymen, I should have rendered him the same service.—Truly yours,

W. LIEBKNECHT.

Borsdorf, near Leipzig, August 11.

## SOCIALISM AT YARMOUTH.

OUR comrades at Yarmouth have been employing their time so profitably recently, that as their report went wrong last week we think it only fair to put it in now. "We began our campaign on Monday evening, July 29th, when Reynolds gave an address at Norton to a good audience. On Wednesday, July 31st, Reynolds and Barber took advantage of the fair to hold a meeting on the Green at Martham. We were quite a feature of the fair. The boxing men wanted to know what the devil the Socialists wanted here spoiling their audiences; and another big show boss tried to spoil our meeting, but Barber knew his character too well as a sweeper of the worst type, and he had to make a hasty retreat. Then we got wrong with the toll-collector, because we told the stall men that the lord of the manor was a fraud and advised them not to pay the 1s. toll. We sold 1s. 3d. worth of literature. In Yarmouth, on Friday evening (2nd inst.), Mrs. Tochatti and Reynolds held a meeting near Colman's Granary. We opened and finished with singing, and little Tochatti, not yet 8, gave a neat little socialistic speech. On Saturday evening, Reynolds, Mrs. Tochatti, and A. Barker held a meeting in the Market Place. We pitched close to where the Blue Ribbonists stand, but when we placed our platform they were not there; but just before we began the captain and one other made their appearance, read our placard but said nothing. But as soon as we began they started to sing. Well, we let them, but as soon as they left off singing we began, and those godly people sent for their drum (which the authorities had forbid), and for more than an hour they shouted and banged, but Reynolds stood his ground, and took advantage of any lull to tell the people that the teetotallers were advertising the Socialist demonstration for the next day. The captain fetched a constable in uniform, who told Reynolds to desist, but we told him we should do nothing of the kind and he could carry out any instructions he had received. Then a detective came and tried to get us out of it by saying he had told the others to drop it, but it was no use, we held on. At last, from sheer exhaustion, the drum and Gospel-grinding water-drinkers had to go. Reynolds moved a vote of thanks to the captain for the advertisement and the collection we had gained through their efforts, and our comrade wanted to shake hands, but the captain indignantly declined. By this time there were several hundred people collected; Mrs. Tochatti sang, and Reynolds kept the meeting up till nearly 10 p.m. Well, wonders never cease, we were so elated over our meeting, that we adjourned to Reynolds's house and sang till three in the morning, when we went to meet Tochatti and Turner, who did not arrive by the train we expected. So we adjourned to South Town station to meet the next train, and we sang the *Marseillaise* from station to station. When we got to the station up came a detective and says, 'Now, then, don't you know better making this row?' He asked comrade Thomas (of Ipswich) his address, and before our comrade could scarcely answer him he took him to the station; but our comrade soon made his appearance again, his name and address being taken. On Sunday we had three splendid meetings, Turner giving a capital address in the morning; Tochatti followed with an earnest and telling address. Tochatti spoke again in the afternoon and evening. The speeches of our comrades have made a good impression; sold 54 *Commonweal* and collected 10s."

C. R.

## Sailors' Strike.

The *Coast Seamen's Journal* (San Francisco) takes the Glasgow Socialists to task for interfering in the sailors' strike, and alleges that their action caused a split amongst the men. It appears that our Glasgow comrades went amongst the sailors distributing literature, and some of the union leaders abused them; that the men resented this and supported the Socialists, who held a successful meeting in consequence. To introduce, says the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, scientific theories, i.e., Socialism, "would defeat the object of the sailors, who are fighting for better wages and the principle of unionism." Socialism would abolish the system which breeds strikes and lock-outs, and replace it with free fraternal co-operation. Militant Socialists could not find a better field for operations than the scene of a strike; and whilst they neither desire to, or do, hinder trade union construction, they exercise both a right and a duty when they point to the object-lesson of strikes and lock-outs as showing the rottenness of wages-slavery. The same journal has also some pertinent comments upon the action of the *Commonweal*, re the printing of *Seafaring* (England) by non-unionists. Have not the leading officials of the Seamen's Union got over that yet? Is it sulks or press of business which prevents an answer being sent to a letter addressed to the General Secretary of the Seamen's Union anent the overworked men on the Channel steamers, and the opportunity for extending their union?—F. K.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Tram Slaves.

The London Tramways Company have added three more victims to their list of men discharged for joining the Union. Mr. Wylie, the manager of this Company, was the first manager to begin this tyranny, and he seems the last to leave off. Last week Robert Anderson, a driver, was dismissed upon the trivial excuse that he had been speaking to his conductor. Alexander Innes has also been sacked because, according to Col. Davidson, "his conduct had been very irregular," though what constituted the irregularity, except joining the Union, the gallant Colonel did not condescend to say. But the worst case of all is that of conductor Cane. This conductor, it appears, slipped on his car and hurt himself, and in consequence was absent from duty for a few days, sending word that he was ill. When he returned he was ordered up to the head office, and was told by the omnipotent Wylie that he had better take his papers and look for another job. Some time ago the night inspector (Daniels) asked if he belonged to the Union; Cane returned an evasive answer, and Daniels, in return, recommended him, if he respected the job he had got, "to leave the Union alone." Volumes could not say more; but what can the men expect, so long as they submit patiently to these tyrants?

### Revolt of the Compositors.

The London Trades Council is receiving kicks in the rear from every side. The London Society of Compositors is the last to go for it; this revolt is, perhaps, the most important of all, as it means the rebellion of one of the largest and the most intelligent bodies of workmen in London. Well, they have decided at their quarterly delegate meeting to sever their connection altogether with the London Trades Council, which appears, upon the statement of Mr. Newstead, one of the Society's delegates to it, to be a bogus affair; he said that "only the adhesion of the compositors gave it any standing. The carpenters and joiners would have nothing to do with it, nor the other large and real trade unions of London. It was comprised of little tinpot societies. Societies were entitled to one delegate for every hundred, or fraction of a hundred, of their members, and the result of this was that the compositors' delegates were out-numbered by delegates who only represented little societies that numbered five-and-twenty." After passing their resolution, severing their connection with the Trades Council, it was almost unanimously passed that "the two representatives sent to the Dundee Trade Union Congress shall vote against the election of Messrs. C. Shipton and H. Broadhurst, M.P., on the Parliamentary Committee." How are the mighty fallen! But what will become of the Parliamentary Committee when its two chief pillars are withdrawn? That august body will not be able to hinder and obstruct the international union of workers. It will be taught for the future a useful lesson of humility.

### Mr. Shipton Again.

The committee of the Hanover Square Branch of the Amalgamated Society of House Decorators and Painters, of which Mr. Shipton is a member, has summoned that worthy gentleman before it, to answer for violating the rules of the society by making false and libellous statements against the members of his branch. They have decided that if Mr. Shipton does not issue a correct statement about what occurred at the Hanover Square Branch on February 22, 1889, and apologise to all the branches for "the lying report he made at the Paddington Branch on March 9," he shall be expelled the society. Never mind, Shipton! no doubt Peters and Kelly will find you a job in the "sugar business."

### The Somersetshire Miners.

The men have decided to refuse the miserable terms offered by the employers last week of a 5 per cent. advance at once and another 5 per cent. when trade shall improve. The men have decided to take nothing but the 10 per cent. they have demanded. Great enthusiasm is shown among the men, and at the meeting where the master's terms were refused original songs on the subject of the strike were sung by the miners. The conflict is a lively one, and several men, women, and boys have been summoned for intimidation. A certain animal of the rat species, Walter Bowns, who had received non-union pay (5s.) on Wednesday and meanly went to work on Thursday, met with "a slight accident," and summoned three men, one woman, and two boys for intimidating him. Penalty, £5 in each of five cases, or two months. The people are making an example of the scabs in another way; they have boycotted them. In several chapels last Sunday (says the correspondent of the *Labour Tribune*) the audience rose almost *en masse* when certain people went to preach, and in one instance not only the congregation stayed away, but the choir and the organist. The advice to let these people alone was given because the neighbours dared not speak to them, and it was dangerous even to look at them, for fear of being prosecuted for intimidation. The writer goes on to say that "even this does not please the owners." No, and if all other workmen showed the same pluck as the Somerset men it would please "the owners" still less.

### The Strike in the Fur Trade.

A very interesting strike is now in progress in the East of London. For some time our good comrades of the International Club in Berner Street have been very busy in forming trade unions among the sweated workers, and the strike in question is one of the first battles of one of their newly-formed trades unions. H. Koenigsberg, fur-manufacturer and cap-maker, of 25 Commercial Street, is one of the employers who has a reputation in the East-end for making the most of those he employs. According to the appeal issued by the workers, who are now on strike, "One hundred and fifty-four workpeople employed by the above firm have been expected to work from eight in the morning till ten at night. The girls have had to remain at the place from eight to eight on some days, and on others from eight to ten. As invariably happens, these terrible long hours have had their corollary in reductions of wages. A couple of months ago the men combined in demanding shorter hours and got an hour knocked off their daily slavery. In the basement of the building, where a number of men worked, was a black hole. He refused to make it better, so Mr. Lakeman, the factory inspector, called on the proprietor to make some necessary alterations. They were not made as directed, and the consequence was that Mr. Lakeman had the alterations

made and charged the firm with the costs. Mr. Koenigsberg then refused work to the men who had signed the document by which shorter hours were demanded. But in the meantime a union had been formed, and the men successfully resisted this piece of tyranny. They next resisted an unjust and altogether illegal deduction of a penny a-week from their wages. The master retaliated by refusing work to three of his men except at a further reduction in price. Then the whole shop went out on strike on Bank Holiday morning. The men demand fair distribution of the work; they decline to pay penny fines; they ask that the workmen who in the course of the dispute have left shall be taken back; and they demand a revision of the scale of prices." We are glad to hear that English girls employed by the firm have joined with the Jewish men in the struggle. Any subscriptions to aid the strikers may be sent to S. Levy, Secretary of the Strike Committee, 106 Sclater Street, Bethnal Green, E.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 24, 1889.

18	Sun.	1746. Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock beheaded for rebellion. 1789. Declaration of Rights of Man at Versailles. 1839. Chartist church parades at London, Norwich, and Manchester. 1848. John Martin sentenced to ten years' transportation.
19	Mon.	1780. Beranger born. 1876. Fenians, escaped from Western Australia, arrive in New York.
20	Tues.	1854. Schelling died.
21	Wed.	1798. Michelet born. 1844. Monument begun at Edinburgh to Muir and others. 1849. Kossuth, Bem, Andrássy, and other Hungarians, escape into Turkey. 1867. George Druitt, M. Lawrence, and John Anderson sentenced for picketing during tailors' strike.
22	Thur.	1642. Great Civil War begins. 1861. Richard Oastler died. 1867. Thirteen more tailors sentenced for picketing during strike.
23	Fri.	1305. William Wallace murdered. 1789. National Assembly decrees toleration for all religions. 1793. Proclamation of the levy in mass; "France risen against tyrants."
24	Sat.	1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. 1774. Turgot made Controller of Finances, France. 1788. Necker recalled from Switzerland to be "saviour of France." 1789. Liberty of French press decreed. 1849. Henry Hetherington died. 1887. National League proclaimed.

### ARE LABOURERS FREE MEN?

THE editor of *Belfast Brotherhood*, visiting recently an Irish town where his paper has a pretty extensive circulation, found his way to the meeting-place of a newly-formed society, having for its object the strengthening of the position of all working people (unskilled as well as skilled) in relation to their employers. He introduced himself to the secretary, who was as courteous as could be, gave him full information about the principles of the society, and told him that it had already nearly 400 members. But the secretary and other members besought him that he would publish no particulars in his paper, nor communicate any to other papers, concerning the society. The editor naturally asked, Why not? would not some publicity help the society on? must not the mass of workers be informed of the existence of the society before they could be drawn into its membership? And this was the drift of the answer he got—"We should all get the sack." These men were afraid that if their employers came to hear of this infant organisation they would strangle it at once by dismissing all who joined it. They dreaded lest publicity should result in their being deprived of their means of subsistence—in their being brought with their wives and their children to utter destitution and starvation. And so the society must be kept secret until such time as it gains sufficient strength to resist an organised attack on the part of employers of labour.

Now, are working-men free?—especially working-men of the class to which the bulk of the members of this union belong; labourers, as distinguished from tradesmen? They are slaves, and they will be such until they combine in a mass—until they secure the strength that is in union. The whip that the landlords and capitalists—the rich classes—wield to bring the poor to submission is the power to starve them, to shut them out from all opportunities of earning their bread. They control the means of production. This whip must be wrested from their hands if the workers are to be free. Justice demands it. Combination can do it.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 2, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, and St. Georges East, to end of June. Manchester, to end of July. Leicester, to end of August.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, August 20, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the *Weal*.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 6d.; M. Rose, 1s.; B. W., 1s.; Webb, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; J. Turner, 1s.; R. Turner, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; Saunders, 1s.; M. M., 1s.; H. H. S., 1s.; W. W., 1s.; and Seglie, 6d.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Hoxton Church*—On Thursday, Mowbray and Kitz addressed very large meeting; 13 *Commonweal* sold. *Mile End Waste*—On Tuesday, Cores, Harding (Peaceful Anarchist), and Turner spoke; *Weal* sold out; on Saturday, Cores and Hicks were the speakers; 12 *Weal* sold. *Leman Street*—Sunday morning, Cores and Turner addressed the meeting; *Commonweal* sold well. *Battersea*—A fine gathering addressed near the "Prince's Head"; *Commonweal* sold out, and five names given towards a branch.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Maughan, Crouch, and W. Morris; 40 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 3d. collected. A fair meeting held at St. Ann's Road; speakers were Crouch, Lyne, jun., and Maughan; choir sang; 8 *Weal* sold. A good meeting at 8 p.m. at Cambridge Gardens; speakers were Dean, Crouch, and Maughan; 9 *Weal* sold and 8d. collected.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meetings held at our usual stations by Cantwell, Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, and Miss Robertson; 81 *Weals* sold.

**STREATHAM.**—On Sunday evening, August 3, Gregory and Moore spoke to a large audience at the Fountain. On the 11th, Gregory and Kitz conducted a good meeting; 30 *Commonweal* sold. Friends and sympathisers in this neighbourhood will please note that we meet until further notice at the Leigham Arms, Wellfield Road, every Wednesday, for the enrolment of members.—J. C.

**ABERDEEN.**—On Sunday, August 4th, while Leatham was addressing a meeting in Castle Street, the superintendent of police, accompanied by a squad of his men, walked up and ordered him to stop. Our comrade gave way, but determined to fight the question on another occasion. A perfect storm was raised in the local newspapers against the police, and when we turned up at the place of meeting on the following Sunday an immense crowd was there. The Rev. Alexander Webster first addressed his usual weekly meeting for Unitarian propaganda, speaking on "The Socialism of Jesus." When he had finished, our platform was brought out, and Leatham addressed a crowd of some three or four thousand people; many more looked on from a distance. A hearty reception was accorded to our comrade, who spoke for some considerable time; questions were invited at the close, in order to give the police a more complete opportunity to "work their will." Comrade Duncan concluded the meeting with a short speech. The meeting passed off quietly, the police being thoroughly defeated.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 2 o'clock Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square. At 5 o'clock Gilbert, Joe and Tim Burgoyne addressed a large audience at Paisley Road Toll. At the same hour Glasier addressed the Young Ireland Society, where his denunciation of the reactionary tactics of the Irish Parliamentary party, and his advocacy of an international union of the workers to achieve Socialism met with hearty approval.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday last F. Charles arrived very opportunely, and gave a stirring address in Russell Square. In the evening Charles commenced an address on "The Labour Question" in Humberstone Gate; good audience. Charles addressed meetings again in Russell Square on Tuesday evening, and at Ansty, a village five miles from Leicester, on Thursday. 5s. 2½d. collected. Literature sold, 2s. 6d.—A. G.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday morning at 11 o'clock a meeting was held in Vicars Croft. Our speakers, Maguire, Sweeny, Corkwell, Paylor, Braithwaite and Hill had a very attentive hearing from a large audience. No meeting at night, owing to weather.—F. C.

**MANCHESTER.**—We visited Heywood on Sunday night. A meeting was held, and addressed by Stockton and Bailie. Twenty-four *Weals* sold. In Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon Leonard Hall, Prince and Barton spoke to a fair audience; twenty-four *Weals* sold, and 1s. 8d. collected. In Chester Road, at night, a large meeting was addressed by Parkinson, Marshall and Barton. Some opposition was evoked by a "Christian," who said we should first find Jesus. Marshall ably replied to him. *Weals* sold out.

**NORWICH.**—Saturday last a good meeting was held on the Haymarket, addressed by McCormack and Mowbray (London). Sunday morning a large meeting was held in Market Place, notwithstanding an opposition meeting by the temperance party. Sunday afternoon a very large meeting was held in the Market; speakers were McCormack and Mowbray, who made an able reply to the recent attack on us in the columns of *Daylight*, delivering a long and severe criticism upon the article, and was frequently applauded by the audience. In the evening another good meeting was held; Mowbray and McCormack both spoke; good collections and sale of literature.

**YARMOUTH.**—A good meeting was held on the beach on Monday afternoon, addressed by Turner and McCormack. On Tuesday evening Tochatti gave a good address. Several songs were sung by Mrs. Tochatti. Literature sold well. Tuesday evening Barker, of London, Mrs. Tochatti, Thomas, of Ipswich, and Reynolds held a good meeting at Belton; Mrs. Tochatti sang several songs. Friday evening meeting at Colman's Granary. Saturday night good meeting in Market Place; our Blue Ribbon friends were there with the harmonium, but we got their audience, the people joined heartily in our songs. Sunday morning Reynolds addressed the meeting, and in the evening Annis opened, followed by Tochatti, who spoke on Objections to Socialism. Literature sold well. Good collection.—C. R.

**SALFORD.**—On Sunday Leonard Hall addressed a splendid meeting in Oldfield Road at night. Subsequent organisation of Salford gasworks men.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Proctor presided in Sneinton Market on Sunday morning, Peacock and Snell speaking. In the evening good meeting, Rooke presiding; Peacock and Proctor spoke. Collections of the day realised 4s. 10d.—P.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, August 10, J. O'Gorman, who had attended the Possibilist Congress, in Paris, as the delegate of the Dublin Branch of the International Glass Bottle Blowers, lectured on the "International Congress," giving an account of its proceedings day by day. An interesting discussion took place, the speakers being Toomey, Cree, and Hamilton.

**MIDLAND SOCIALISTS.**—On August 5 the annual trip took place to Ambergate. Some fifty comrades turned up, chiefly from Sheffield, Chesterfield, Leeds and Leicester. The morning was very wet, obliging us to take shelter in a chapel schoolroom. An informal conference was held, at which it was decided to hold the next gathering in Nottingham, on the last Sunday in June next year, by which time it is hoped we may be in a position to form some federation for the Midlands. We were able to have an enjoyable walk in the afternoon, the sun having been coaxed out by our singing.—R. U.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday August 18, at 8.30, A. Brookes will lecture on "Discord, Monotony, and Harmony."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 18, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday Aug. 22, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 23, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All members please turn up. There will be no outdoor meeting at Cambridge Road Sunday at 8 p.m., owing to members of Branch paying the Merton Branch a visit.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 17.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Nicoll  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Sparling and Kitz  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Mowbray and Cores

### SUNDAY 18.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lyne sen., Tochatti, and Maughan  
11.30..... Eelbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mrs. Lahr  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann Road ..... Crouch, Saint, Lyne jun., Dean  
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street ..... Nicoll  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Branch  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Mowbray  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Mowbray  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Mrs. Lahr  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Cantwell  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

### TUESDAY 20.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Turner

### WEDNESDAY 21.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Samuels

### THURSDAY 22.

8 ..... Ossulston Street ..... Mowbray  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Kitz and Nicoll

### FRIDAY 23.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mowbray, Cores, and Kitz

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: North Walsham, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Friday: St. Catharine's Plain, at 8.15.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

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**Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. **D.**

**Paterson,** 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every

alternate Tuesday. **H. M'Gill,** 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—

**Robert Lindsay,** West Calder, Secretary.

**LIVERPOOL.**—Socialists willing to join a Branch of the S. L. in Liverpool should communicate with W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley Street.

A discussion will be opened by Mrs. Wilson on "Names and Opinions," at the Britannia Coffee House, Prebend Street, Packington Street, Essex Road, Islington, on Friday August 23, at 8.30.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE** (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday August 18, at 8.45, Mr. W. Townshend, "Baby's Conspiracy for Equality, and its daring attempt to uproot the great wrongs of mankind." Translated from the French, with notes, by Brontarre O'Brien. Second lecture. Ladies admitted.



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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE *Daily News*, after a considerable amount of shilly-shally in the matter of the Maybrick case, has set itself to publishing a lot of meaningless politeness towards Mr. Matthews and the white-washing of Mr. Justice Stephen's "conscientiousness." This is all very well, and we don't want to go into people's "motives" like some judicial persons do; deeds that we *do* see must be taken as interpreting motives that we *don't* see; and the sentence on Harrison is the measure for us of Mr. Justice Stephen's "carefulness and conscientiousness." Nor can we forget that he was one of the first to set a-going the modern doctrine of the "superior pusson," and that in his published writings he has practically declared himself an enemy of the people. It is frightful to think of such a man wielding that abuse of our criminal procedure, the judge's summing-up.

The dock labourers' strike is one of the signs of the times, so fruitful of strikes of late, and at last of strikes among the unskilled. It must not be forgotten, however, that this kind of strike if successful (and, of course, every honest man must wish these poor fellows success) owes its success to the fact that public opinion is powerful in great centres of population, and that public opinion cannot help being on the side of these poor men, whose oppression touches even the sluggish imagination of the ordinary middle-class man. In places or under circumstances where overwhelming public opinion cannot be brought to bear, such strikes are doomed to certain failure; as, indeed, are most strikes.

Since then we are amidst such a period of strikes, and since whatever may be the effect of such strikes it is clear that they are inevitable, is it not the time to press on the workers general combination in this matter of the regulation of wages? Strikes, once more, are generally defeated now because the strikers are only acting in a scattered and skirmishing way, and can be crushed in detail. But suppose the inert and languishing body of trades' unionism revived by a "plan of campaign," which would mean the whole mass standing shoulder to shoulder in all strikes (and much increased in numbers as it certainly would be), surely that would be worth a heap of parliamentary legislation, and armies of paid and lukewarm inspectors! Every strike, I say, should have the whole weight of the organised workers at the back of it.

Again, if we have found strikes useful towards the revolutionary propaganda, it has been because in these days of widespread Socialist agitation they tend to enlighten the workers on their real relation to the masters, and to show them that the position of antagonism between the two taken up at a time of strike, is not an accident to the system of capital and labour, but an essential of it; that the masters as a body, and whatever may be the good will of any individual, are at enmity to the men; and that that enmity must take an obvious and practical form as soon as any group of the workers attempt to be anything more than mere passive tools in the hands of their employers.

Now surely, if the labour struggle were carried on by the workers organised in combination, this fact of the necessary opposition of the interests of master and men would no longer be hidden from the slowest capacity; and it would be understood that whatever gains the workers made could only be made at the expense of the masters, and when that was understood surely the step would not be long to the clear understanding that the masters are (at best) a mere useless clog on the workers, to be got rid of as soon as possible; and under these circumstances it would very soon be possible to get rid of them.

W. M.

Over the muzzling of dogs the first real conflict between the London County Council and the Government has arisen; so far it has gone entirely in favour of the Council. The Council was made responsible for superintending the execution of the dog-muzzling orders of the Government, and was requested to draw up regulations for the police

to carry out. Not having any control over the police, they refused to do so; it was none of their business, they said, to "regulate" where they could not control. As representatives of the people of London they would assume no responsibility for expenses, the incurring of which they were not competent to check or over-see. Now the Government has appointed an officer to fulminate and enforce the necessary edict "by and at the expense of the London County Council." It remains to be seen what the latter will do, for the matter is by no means closed as yet, but if they have the hearts of hares or half the prowess of guinea-pigs, they will resist payment of the obnoxious impost until actual compulsion has wrung it out of them. Strength to their elbows and straightness to their backs!

A few nights ago, in the *Pall Mall* there appeared a column of extracts from the school-inspectors' reports for 1888, which was well worth reading for side-lights on modern "education." One examiner says of the pupil-teachers' examinations that "the papers seemed to be done more by the light of nature than of study"—a statement which in one sense of it is entirely borne out by a definition, quoted as bad, but which is assuredly a stroke of true inspiration—that of the candidate who described "stocks" as being "money borrowed by a Government which it never means to repay."

A shoemaker, last week, made of himself the thirtieth suicide from Clifton Suspension Bridge. Only twenty-four years old, he had found life a failure, and leaped into the unknown. The jury called it "temporary insanity." Plain people called it another name as they read of the wretched starveling desperately tramping on a miserable search for the work that was not for him, and how the sordid horror of it all closed in upon his path, until there was but one outlet. A vulgar tragedy, attracting no particular attention amid the rush and hurry of great affairs, but yet one of those things that need every now and again to be forced into people's notice as a sign of what goes on around them.

Where is the "platform" that will touch these things? Or the politician who will take them up? They are exploited by charity-mongers and professional philanthropists, and by others passed by in stony silence. Without remedy, and without remorse, the politician puts them aside as insoluble mysteries, dispensations of providence, or what not. And the people, with a patience that endures all things, endures this also, though to some of us it seems as though it could not be for much longer. S.

There is a long criticism in the shape of an article in the *Daily News* of last Saturday upon a recent novel, 'Captain Lobe,' which is supposed to deal with the work of the Salvation Army in the East-end, and has for its hero a captain in that valuable force. But as the writer of the article expains, it deals more with the condition of the inhabitants in the East-end slums than with the religious theories and practice put forth by the disciples of General Booth.

The writer appears to have, as far as an outsider can tell, some notion of the work of Salvationists, of which of course, as the book is written by a pious person and issued by a religious publishing firm, it gives a highly idealised picture; but it must be admitted that he is rather out of it when he proceeds to make an attempt to deal with the Socialist agitation in the East-end.

The book is among other things, according to the writer of the article, "a cry against the Socialists for their petty jealousies and the emptiness of their agitation." As to the emptiness of the agitation, we could agree with the author if it were true that Socialist speakers were in the habit of stunning their audiences with such words as "environment." I have spoken in the East-end for some years, and have heard others speak, and have never yet heard any Socialist orator make use of such a word. No, no, Mr. Author, with very few exceptions, Socialist speakers endeavour, like other popular orators, to render their words in as plain and simple fashion as they can to an audience that needs simplicity.

With regard to the emptiness of our agitation, I suppose by that the author means to bring up the old taunt of our want of practicality. But he agrees with other critics of East-end life in regard to the sluggishness and want of life in the East-end population. "The only things in which East-end people take much interest are murders and funerals. Their lives are so dull, nothing else sets their sluggish blood in motion. . . . The thing that strikes me most about East-end life is its soddenness; one is inclined to think that hunger and drink will in time produce a race of sensationless idiots." Is it not clear that the first thing to do with these people is to induce them to take an interest in something else than funerals and murders, and cannot the emptiness of our agitation spring from the fact that it has been mainly limited to making these people feel discontented with their lot? We are not sure, after all, that this agitation is so empty as talking to the people about a heaven and a god, which they cannot understand, or writing articles and novels which are simply a despairing cry for help to the middle and upper classes.

In spite, however, of our "petty jealousies" (which first fault I am not sure that Salvationists and other Christian bodies are so free from that their advocates can afford to cast stones at other people) and the "emptiness" of our agitation, Socialism is beginning to move even the East-end. The strike of the matchmakers a year ago, which was started by a Socialist, and which was supported by help from all sections of the Socialist party, has not been barren or empty in its results, for what does the fermentation, the revolts of the most downtrodden of the workers spring from but the plucky action of Bryant and May's girls? The gas-stokers, the tram men, the dock-labourers are following suit, and we do not find Salvationists or the writers of novels addressed to the middle classes, aiding in any way the workers even in these slight attempts to better their condition. Their work seems limited to crying Peace! peace! to the poor and soliciting charitable contributions from the rich. If the energy which is wasted in these futile attempts to stave off the rising storm were used to stir the people to revolt against their unjust misery, the East-end would not long cry for help in vain.

D. N.

### FELIX PYAT.

THE veteran revolutionist, who has just been buried at the Pere la Chaise cemetery, has told us how he, the son of a Legitimist, became an ardent and devoted friend of the people. When, at the age of seventeen, he left college, before going to Paris for his degree, he spent his holiday with his family. On a certain Saturday, a market-day and a day of consultation for his father, who was an advocate, he found himself in his father's cabinet when an old man entered. He had white hair, a cotton cap, wooden shoes, a cotton blouse, although it was the end of October. He told his story as well as he could; the year had been a hard one, he said, and he had not been able to pay his rent, and his landlord, a new landlord, did not want to renew his lease. Pyat's father, who was honest, after having listened to him attentively, made him read and re-read his agreement, and then advised him not to go into court as the clauses were clear and plain against him. The old peasant, who had his own ideas concerning property, objected eloquently that it was unjust, that he had improved the farm, that he had made the land what it was, that he had grown old on that very soil, that one ought not, because he was in arrears for one year, to take his farm from him, much less to take it without any indemnity whatever. The advocate replied to him that indeed it was not right but it was the law. He repeated to him that it would simply be money thrown away to bring the case into court, and asked him at last his lowest fee, *five francs* for the consultation. "Five francs!" exclaimed the poor old man, with a cry never to be forgotten. "Five francs for four words, and only to tell him that he was ruined! Five francs to tell him that he was a dead man! Did they not know that he was forced to work and to pinch to get five francs?" And at every word his trembling voice pronounced, he complied, undoing the twisted string of his skin purse. And for every *sou* that he took from his purse a drop of sweat rolled down his forehead, as if he had taken that *sou* from his heart. It was pitiable to see and to listen. After having counted and re-counted it piece by piece, and given a long look for the last sight at the five piles of his poor money, Jacques Bonhomme went out staggering as if he had now been emptied and stunned in the process. The advocate had resumed his law-book. Pyat's mother, who was good, and who had come in for her market money, took up the coppers of the poor old man. Then she ran after him, making a sign for young Pyat to follow her. When all three were in the ante-chamber, she said to her son, "You see this poor man, it is *his* money that nourishes thee, it is his black bread that provides thee with white, his blouse pays for thy dress coat, his cap for thy hat, his wooden shoes for thy shoes! Here, give him *ten francs* back, and remember!"<sup>1</sup> Félix Pyat has well remembered! From that day he was upon the side of the people, and he has died a friend of the people. He has remained true to himself and to them to his last moment, and after all he has shown more revolutionary spirit than all those taken together who are so fond of merely peddling with petty economic questions, and who blame him now as they do—Pyat the Revolutionist!

Félix Pyat was born at Vierzon, in the Cher Department, October 4th, 1810, of parents who were influential in the Legitimist party.

His successes at the Bourges college were most brilliant. He then went to Paris to study jurisprudence, but did not feel inclined to go to the bar. Yet a student, he became mixed up in the republican and democratic movement, which, at that period, involved the *élite* of the French nation in a vigorous war against the execrated government of Charles X. After the revolution of 1830, which had only succeeded in replacing one king by another, Pyat entered upon a journalistic career and displayed a most strenuous literary activity. He contributed to the *Charivari*, the *Revue de Paris*, the *Artiste*, the *Revue Démocratique*, the *National* (1835, 1841), the *Revue Britannique*, of which he became the chief editor, the *Europe Littéraire*, and the *Réforme*. It was during this period that he wrote one of the most exquisite episodes in French literature, the "Daughters of Séjan," which is to be found in *Barnave* (by Jules Janin), the "Hangman" in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (the French pictured by themselves), the "Revolutionary Telemachus," a very curious piece of criticism, the "Ring," the "Secret of Dominique," etc. Most of these writings attracted much attention, but his name became chiefly known and most popular as a dramatic author. After 1832, he wrote many plays mostly bearing upon social and political matters, some of which created very vivid impressions in the minds of the people. He was at all times a splendid master of language, using in turns the fierce invective, the bitter irony, and the burning denunciation of a prophet, or the corroding satire of a Juvenal; capable also of the profoundest pathos, when laying down the maxims of his clear, sober, and severe philosophy. Above all, he had, like the poets and the dramatists whose creations are revolutionary deeds and acts of propaganda, a serene faith that saw beyond the stormy clouds and the troubled darkness of the day into the events of a happier time to come. His *début* in the drama was "A Revolution of Yore: or, the Romans at Home," which was so full of political allusions that it provoked at once the wrath of the government and was suppressed. Then came "A Conjururation of Yore," "The Brigand and the Philosopher" (Feb. 22, 1834, Porte St. Martin Theatre); "Ango" (June 29, 1835, Ambigu); "Arabella" (1838), wherein he revealed the supposed authors of the murder of the Prince of Condé; "The Two Locksmiths" (May 25, 1841, Porte St. Martin); "Cedric the Norwegian" (1842, Odeon); "Mathilde" (1842); "Diogenes" (1846); and "The Ragpicker of Paris" (1847), which has often been reckoned amongst the symptoms preceding the great popular outbreak in the Revolution of 1848.

Here begins a new period in Pyat's life. The Provisional Government sent him as their general commissioner to the Cher Department. A month afterwards he was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly, where, as well as in the succeeding Legislative Chamber, he sided with the most advanced democrats, the Montagnards. On June 11, 1849, he is said by all the historians to have signed the appeal to arms drawn up by Ledru-Rollin, on the occasion of the infamous expedition of the French Republic (*recte* Napoleon) against the Roman Republic, and to have been, on the 13th, to the Academy of Arts and Crafts (Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers), where the conspiracy had its headquarters, and to have fled from there when the troops entered that establishment. For this plot he was tried and sentenced to transportation for life. Pyat chose to transport himself to Switzerland, and afterwards<sup>1</sup> explained that neither Ledru-Rollin, nor Considérant, nor himself had drawn up the famous appeal, and that he had not been at all at the Conservatoire, but that his colleague Pfleger, whom he met at some distance of that spot in the Rue des Fossés-Montmartre, told him that all was over, the conspirators having been dispersed by the troops. Félix Pyat nevertheless went into exile, an exile that lasted twenty years.

VICTOR DAVE.

(To be concluded.)

The Irish delegates, Dillon and Esmonde (Deasy being absent), spoke at Newcastle, N.S.W., on May 18th, 1889, to a very large audience; they briefly touched upon the position of the Irish peasants in Ireland, and illustrated some diabolical acts perpetrated by the authority of Landlord Balfour. In the course of Esmonde's speech that gentleman came out very strongly. He said among the many things he had been charged with was that he had been called an Anarchist by way of reproach, but if it was to resist the tyranny and coercion of governments then he was an Anarchist and should remain so. The majority in attendance no doubt could not understand this, while some well-dressed land-sharks and boodlers in the Home Rule disguise sitting on the platform could not appreciate Esmonde's Anarchism, and gave some alarming looks at the speaker, and wondered what was coming next!—R. S., Australia.

We have received No. 1 of *The Sower*, "the organ of the New Fellowship," which is to be published quarterly at one penny, and is to be had from W. Reeves (Fleet Street). In its "Editorial Preface," it says: "The truth is that the basal fact underlying all the wretchedness around us is the absence of real freedom—of a freedom that is rooted in equality and manifested in brotherhood. Time was when not only the land and capital of the country, but also the labourers themselves were the possessions of a dominant class; and when the profoundest philosophers could conceive of no better condition as either possible or desirable for the masses of men. The heroic struggles of centuries have resulted in setting the slaves at liberty, and the ownership of man in man is abolished. But the freedom so hardly won turns out to be only a partial deliverance; and the majority of men find themselves but too often as truly thralls as ever. For the land and capital necessary to labour being retained by the few, he who has but his labour to depend on must pay toll to their owners or starve. Thus it comes about that the free man is forced to sell himself again for the right to live, not wholesale as of old, but by dribbles; by the day or the week. Formerly the absolute possession of his master, whom, as his live stock, it was his interest to keep in health and vigour, the worker has now become his tool, out of which he may get the most work, may use up, and fling away."

<sup>1</sup> Lettre aux Etudiants par Félix Pyat. Londres, 1866.

<sup>1</sup> Lettres d'un Proscrit, 1851. 2nd volume, page 103.



## AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

THE Commonage, a tract of land situated close to Newcastle, and consisting of about 3,000 acres, has been the free abode of a large number of people for many years. In the early days of this colony (N.S.W.) it was used for cattle waiting shipment at Newcastle. After, when coal was found there, capitalistic companies opened out mines, and the people who were employed at the mines were allowed by the "authorities" to settle on the Commonage on account of it being convenient for their work; and the "gentlemen" in the "House" at that time, seeing also that the land was swampy and not at all valuable when in such a state, did a good thing for many hundreds of people by giving them the free use of it.

I maintain that they had a right to it—free; that, naturally, there should have been no authority about it. Anyhow, the people manufactured their own bricks, or else procured wood and built their humble abodes; they fenced in what land they needed—an amount which their individual labour could look after. Workers coming to the country found a natural benefit in settling on free land; there was no grasping as in most cases, or as our land monopolists do generally; the free land was not blest with beer or spirit houses. As time went on the Commonage began to have a different aspect! The inhabitants greatly improved the land by carefully draining it, and they heartily enjoyed this freedom. But a change came!

Later politicians had their eyes on this "Social System"; they found that working people did not bother about buying land surrounding the Commonage—mainly monopolised by themselves and other brother land-sharks—when they could freely settle down there; so the time has arrived when they are resolving to break down such a system and make the people pay cash for the land they hold, or else quit! The commoners have made the land rather valuable in the eyes of the grabbers by their improvements, and no doubt that will be used against them. The money, they say, that is derived from the sale of the land has to go into the coffers of the State; otherwise the pockets of the politicians, who seek to ruin these poor commoners. No doubt the monopolists in the "House" will see that the former do not purchase their little patches of land— $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre—for "next-to-nothing"!

The valuator—tools of the exploiters—will no doubt put on a price which the people will be unable to pay, as the majority of them being miners have been working very little for a long time, and are still doing so; the recent long "strike" robbed a great many of what little money they had saved up, so no doubt they will be at the mercy of their foes. They have only one way in which to pay the government, and that is by obtaining a "loan" from the usurers with interest, but they must give them the deeds of the land, and perhaps their houses, as a security. Out of the frying-pan into the fire! No doubt the people will be unable to accomplish their ends, and thus will their natural property float from their grasp into the hands of the monied class; and they will be destitute of free homes!

But then, if the commoners had been of the same way of thinking as the people who print the *Australian Radical* (the latter are commoners, and the paper is printed on free land), they would naturally rebel and stand up for their rights, as the commoners number 3,000; but then few of them are Socialists, and they wish to be humbugged and robbed by political tricksters. They are evidently not advanced enough to perceive where injustice comes in; but it is to be hoped that our bright little paper, the *Radical*, will arouse them before long.

Propaganda work seems to be going ahead in Melbourne. J. A. Andrews, J. W. Fleming, L. D. Petrie, and a few others regularly speak on the wharves every Sunday, and influence large audiences. They persistently push the *Radical*, and their hearts are in the work; the authorities have given them much trouble by trying to suppress free speech, and the propagandists have had to put up with some very hard knocks—the government inciting "roughs" to belabour and drive them from the wharves at different times. J. W. Fleming has suffered imprisonment for advocating our principles, but he will not be stopped, and defies law-'n'-order!

The unemployed are numbering more and more every day. The streets of Melbourne and Sydney are thick with them; they are constantly going to the government for work at any price to buy food to keep life in, but Premiers Gillies and Parkes dismiss them with the answer, "See us some other time!" Great misery is prevalent among the poor people. One case is recorded in the *Radical* to this effect: "Only last week a poor human creature, haggard, worn, and emaciated, was found sleeping in the Melbourne Treasury Gardens, and for being found at night crouched in the public way he was dragged before the city magistrate. The man explained to Mr. Call, P.M., in a feeble voice, that being without work or money he had no choice but to be without shelter. 'Without shelter!' replied the magistrate with a cruel sneer, 'then we will give you a month's shelter in the gaol.'" Kind-hearted man!

A man, Ernest Buttner by name, was sentenced to death by the law for committing an alleged outrage on a young woman named Jessie Lennox some time back in Sydney. The story of the woman briefly was that she had just arrived from Brisbane and had put up at the prisoner's restaurant, that he had outraged her, and by her endeavours to make an alarm at the window she was able to bring some policemen to her help. The evidence of the latter was quite sufficient to prove the man guilty, so the above penalty was thought properly fit for him. But *presto!* A man living in Queensland happened to read about the affair, wrote to the New South Wales authorities and turned things as they were upside down. He conclusively proved that the said Jessie Lennox was a prostitute, and was well known as one among the important towns of Queensland. Upon this, further investigations were made, and it was found that no rape had been committed, and the woman finally confessed that she had been a consenting party and that Buttner was innocent and greatly wronged. The police evidence had been got up afterwards. He was released from prison the very day that he was to have been hanged! His little business is ruined, as it had to be sold to pay his Court expenses. The government have now offered him the sum of £50 to clear out of the country by way of "compensation"!

ROBERT STUART.

Broadmeadow, Hamilton, N.S.W., Australia, June 15th, 1889.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

The *Révolution* has just published a small pamphlet, "Les deux congrès impossibles: compte-rendu d'un délégué," a reprint from the *Révolution*, with Merlino's resolution appended.

The *Père Peinard* also contains a fair article on the Congress, reprinted in the *Drapeau Noir* of Brussels, the Belgian Anarchist paper, which from a fortnightly has now become a weekly paper.

The proposed International Anarchist meetings at Paris are announced to take place on the first two Sundays in September. A preparatory meeting of the Paris groups was held on August 10th. No order of the day will be fixed beforehand, each speaker bringing forward any subject he likes. Discussions on the following questions are already announced: What is Anarchy?—Can an Anarchist society last?—What are the best means of bringing about the revolution?—How shall expropriation be carried out?—What shall become of art and science in an Anarchist society?—What have Anarchists to do in wartime?—Revolutionary tactics in towns and agricultural districts—Theft in the interest of propaganda—Individual theft (for subsistence)—Theft through misery—Means of establishing communication between the Anarchists of various countries.

## HOLLAND.

In 1887, as will be remembered, Socialist meeting-places in Leyden and other towns were attacked by drunken mobs amidst patriotic cries, the furniture of the halls was destroyed, several were wounded, etc. It has now been made public, through the revelations of a former police agent, that the police themselves distributed the money on which the mob got drunk. By bribing several persons, however, these exposures have been again hushed up and suppressed for the present.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The three editors of the new *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Vienna have been fined £4 each for publishing their paper on Thursday night with the date of Friday printed on it, which is and long has been the custom with every weekly paper there. Pokorny, one of the editors, was sentenced to five days' imprisonment because he went disguised as a tramcar-driver to a tramcar-men's meeting and made a Socialist speech there.

The preamble of the Paris resolution on labour legislation has been confiscated at Brünn, although a fortnight ago it was published at Vienna without interference.

## RUSSIA.

A large number of arrests are reported to have taken place lately in Odessa and its neighbourhood.

Dembksi, who with the late Brinstein, took part some months ago in the chemical experiment near Zürich which formed the pretext for the imprisonment and expulsion of so many Russians in Zürich, and who was severely wounded then, has now recovered, and, being expelled, has been forced to leave Zürich for France.

## AMERICA.

We have received the first number of *Der Anarchist*, an Anarchist-Communist organ, published in German at St. Louis, Mo. (August 1), and edited by Claus Timmermann. The new paper will follow upon the lines of the *Anarchist*, published monthly in 1886 at Chicago by Fischer, Engel, and others, and suppressed, like the *Alarm*, in May 1886. It proposes to abstain from all personal gossiping and quarrelling, which is by no means an unnecessary promise for a St. Louis paper, as the space of the *Parole* of that city was almost entirely wasted upon such purposes.

\* \*

## PORTUGAL.

A *Revolução Social* (Oporto) laments frankly, in the leading article of the current number, that Portugal lags behind in the revolutionary movement that stirs in Europe nowadays; that she is a land of indolence, a society putrid to the core, corrupt and corrupting. "No man is a hero to his valet," the proverb says; and it seems to me that we all make the same complaint of indolence and corruption of our respective countries, while the movement works, the idea goes on, almost unseen and in spite of ourselves. Some countries of necessity lag behind, by reason of slower development, occasioned by geographical position, temperament, and so forth; but their time will come with the rest, and what matters the day later or earlier? I read in the same number and in other papers of strikes in Lisbon and Oporto, and more or less successful attempts at association of the workers in self-defence against their exploiters. This is, after all, pretty much what other countries do, only on a smaller scale. The revolutionary movement lies beneath the industrial agitation.

## ITALY.

The editors of Mazzini's works have published on the last anniversary of his birth (June 22) vol. 17 of the complete edition of his writings. The volume consists of a collection of articles written in 1871-72 in the *Roma del Popolo* on social questions and especially on the old International and on the Paris Commune. The following are some of the headings: "The Commune of France," "The Manifesto of the Commune of Paris," "Historical Sketch of the International," "Documents," etc., etc.

We have received a Patriotic March, "dedicated to the Italian Democracy" by the author Filippo Mercuri. Glancing at it with an unmusical and therefore modest eye, I gather that it is scored for a band of brass, that it is of a lively nature, and that the ubiquitous Garibaldi *motiv* comes in in the trio, first in the minor then in the major tone. It should be popular with democratic bands. I confess that my eye was so attracted by the cover that I could scarcely turn to the contents. It is a picture wonderfully full of incident and allegory. A double eagle is nailed to a massive gallows, whence swing along a rope the letters of the patriot Oberdan's name, also the name of the march. A liberally rayed star shines above, the red flag waves, laurels twine; and in short, I recommend this spirited drawing to the attention of Mr. Walter Crane, who in England is our only master of allegorical covers.

M. M.

GONE BACK!—J. F. Busche, editor of the *Workmen's Advocate*, has returned to New York after attending the Paris Congress, and his paper has immediately resumed the habit of clipping from the *Commonweal* without acknowledgment, which it had dropped during his absence.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON.

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

HELD OVER TO NEXT WEEK—Article on Co-operative Festival at the Crystal Palace, and letter on Merlino's resolution.

PROVINCIAL NEWSAGENTS—Names and addresses of provincial newsagents who sell 'Weal' should be sent in at once to Manager, as a list of them is to appear in an early number.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 21.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY
Brotherhood	Vorbote	Stateman
Die Autonomie	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Freedom	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
Heywood Advertiser	Die Wahrheit	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	N. J. Freie Presse	PORTUGAL
Labour Elector	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Labour Tribune	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	A Revolta
London—Freie Presse	St Louis—Anarchist	GERMANY
Railway Review	Altruist	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend		AUSTRIA
INDIA	FRANCE	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	DENMARK
UNITED STATES	Le Proletariat	Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revolte	SWEDEN
Freiheit	La Revue Socialiste	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Volkszeitung	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Malmo—Arbetet
Jewish Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Twentieth Century	Hague—Recht voor Allen	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	BELGIUM	Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Liberty	Antwerp—De Werker	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Nationalist	Ghent—Vooruit	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Chicago—Knights of Labor	Liege—L'Avenir	

No remittances for League purposes should be sent to any other persons than those specially appointed to receive them, and whose names are duly advertised in the "Commonweal," or to any other address than this Office. Readers, especially in the Provinces, are asked to beware of appeals emanating from any person other than the Treasurer of the League, the Secretary of the Propaganda Committee, or myself,

FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

### SCOTTISH NOTES.

THE reception accorded to the Duke and Duchess of Portland on their "home coming" to Fullarton House, Ayrshire, was, as the Duke himself admitted, "most cordial and gratifying" to him. A holiday was proclaimed in the district, triumphal arches were erected, flags were stuck on haystacks and chimney-pots, and the entire population, in full demonstration array, marched forth to greet the newly-wedded ducal pair. There were trade societies and athletic clubs, Freemasons and Good Templars, Sunday-schools and police; there were clergymen and lawyers, publicans and magistrates, merchants solvent and bankrupt, and working-men from 12s. per week upwards and downwards: and they all professed to be as delighted at having the actual body and soul of the newly-married duke in the midst of them as if he had been the heavenly bridegroom and Prince of Peace whom they profess to worship in their churches on Sundays.

We must not, however—as I remarked on a former occasion of this kind—take such exhibitions as serious manifestations of Scottish popular sentiment. Probably not one man or woman who "demonstrated" really cared one straw either for the Duke or his wife. People will applaud almost any show—especially when it brings them a holiday; and the show of a newly-married couple, although common enough, is always uncommonly interesting. In so far as the people welcomed and cheered the Duke and Duchess because of their rank and riches, they were paying more respect to themselves and their own interests than to the titled couple. It is a regard for their own weal—which meanwhile is so largely dependent upon the patronage and favour of the Duke—that constrained them to make such an exhibition of themselves. They would cheer the "home coming" of the Mahdi or the King of the Cannibal Islands just as heartily if either of those individuals could do as much for or against them as the Duke of Portland; and when the Social Revolution comes, whether with "winds from heaven or blasts from hell," they will cheer it too. Some day they will see that the Duke of Portland is not a friend, but a foe—not a philanthropist, but a freebooter—and they won't cheer him then, I'll be bound. Some, probably most, of those who did cheer him think so now, but dare to avow their convictions. But the days are marching on: and the crowds who welcome and applaud the Duke of Portland to-day may yet hang him as thief and a robber in Fullarton Woods if he does not repent and be converted in time.

In July 1789 the populace of Paris welcomed their king with shouts of delirious joy and strewed roses on his path; and in January 1793—only three and a half years afterwards—they chopped his sacred head off and threw it in a basket, amid a storm of derision and curses.

The Glasgow carters who went on strike a fortnight ago did not show half the fight that was expected of them. The Caledonian Railway carters caved in on the third day: the sight of a number of scabs preparing to yoke their horses and take their places was more than their sordid souls could endure, and they rushed forward and begged back their jobs. By the end of the week all the railway hands had surrendered, the masters merely promising that individual claims for an advance would be considered each on its own merits. A number of general contractors acceded to the men's demand for 2s. extra per week—i.e., 26s. and payment for overtime. On Monday week all the strikers then out returned to work on the old terms, the president of the Carters' Society, who had the week before declared that "they would never surrender," etc., etc., himself leading a batch of carters back to his own employer and asking them to start work. The strike therefore only lasted a week.

But the tame "law and order" spirit of the men was sorrowful to behold. I witnessed a procession of some 1,200 men pass through the principal streets, and despite the fine physical appearance of the majority, their demeanour was most unimpressive. They had no "go" in them. The half-hearted cheers with which they greeted their friends were even more melancholy than the fitful attempts which they made to "boo" their enemies. They had more the appearance of a band of gravediggers going to the scene of some terrible railway disaster than a regiment of soldiers marching to fight for freedom.

Not a song was sung—not even "Scots wha hae": and I cannot help thinking that a procession of working men who don't sing, won't fight. It is true they do not know any labour songs; but when their souls are really stirred with enthusiasm for their own emancipation, they will find songs, and, if necessary, make them.

It is sixteen years since the carters were last out on strike, and since then they have been organising themselves—i.e., paying salaries to officials, etc.—and this is all the show of battle they could make! It is but fair, however, to state that, for some reason or other, the mass of the men had no confidence in the fight being really an earnest one; and this may in a measure account for their lack of pluck.

The carters' wives were far more enthusiastic in the struggle than their husbands, and far more hearty in their demonstrations of opinion. It is unsafe, however, to judge general sentiment from single instances. While the carters' procession was passing I heard a woman cry, "Stick tae yer colours, Jock, and though ye should eat naething but peasemeal brose for a month, dinna gie in!" Immediately afterwards I overheard a woman counselling a carter who evidently had not joined the strike: "That's richt, Tam! Dinna leave yer job tae gang and mak' a fule o' yersel' wi' these puir misguided cratures; a bird in the hand's worth twa in the bush, ye ken!"

The base conception of duty which our money-mongering civilisation engenders is well exemplified by an appeal, which a correspondent in the Glasgow Daily Mail made last week, to reward the volunteer search party which found the body of the tourist Rose who was murdered on the Arran hills. The notion that men ought to be rewarded with money for performing so slight a service in the interests of humanity is as revolting as the murder itself.

Beware of the man who prefaces an argument by saying "I am as much a Socialist as you are, but—". You will generally find that there is much more of the "but" than the Socialist in him. I encountered an individual of this stamp in the form of a divinity student on a recent holiday. In the course of a conversation he expostulated,

"I am probably as much, if not more, a Socialist than you are, but—" ; and the "but" included the following inventory of old rag-store Toryism : That it would be robbery to take the land without compensating landlords ; that the Land League and Home Rule are utterly wicked things ; that it is reasonable, humane, and Christian for our troops to butcher the Dervishes and Arabs in the interest of civilisation ; and that there will always be rich and poor, and masters and servants !

And this interesting political prodigy carried two volumes of Swinburne in his satchel, and professed to be a great admirer of, and to have read all, William Morris's poetry ! He actually crowded out several passages from the 'Earthly Paradise.' It may be that there was more of Swinburne than Morris in him ; but anyhow it is evident that to some queer cases at least the 'Earthly Paradise' fails to be of more use as a moral agency than the Shorter Catechism or the Ten Commandments—(pace W. M. !).

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## DELESCLUZE.

("LEFT HIS LIFE GLORIOUSLY," 25TH MAY, 1871.)

[Lost yet again! Humanity will face  
Another time, perhaps another place:  
Yet soon the final triumph must appear,  
And our reward is to have brought it near.]

HEAR how he kept the solemn vow he made  
To live or die with those he loved and led—  
And hope was gone, yet words of hope he said ;  
Then pressing friendly hands that would have stayed  
His steadfast steps, he reached the barricade :  
With loose white locks against the sunset red  
He stood aloft a moment, and fell dead  
Amid the thunder of the cannonade.

After long years heroically passed  
In poverty, imprisonment, and pain,  
After the die of fortune boldly cast  
For visionary hopes the world calls vain,  
He calmly welcomes his reward at last—  
The swift sweet death, the bullet in the brain.  
REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### SAILORS AND SOCIALISTS.

Comrades,—In last week's number of *Commonweal*, notice was taken of a reference in the *Coast Seamen's Journal* to the action of the Glasgow Socialists in the recent strike of seamen and dock labourers. Let me say that the Glasgow Socialists did not ask to speak, and never were refused permission to speak to the Seamen's Union. The seamen's meetings were held in private, and being meetings confined so far as we knew exclusively to members of the union, we did not seek admission. Our action was confined to the dock labourers. Their meetings were held mostly in the open-air, and were addressed by several well-known disciples of Henry George, who were neither seamen nor dock labourers, and who advocated land restoration principles.

Despite this fact the Glasgow Socialists never made any request to speak upon the official platform of the union. What transpired was this:—A member of the dock labourers' committee, seeing a great mass of the men standing at the union office door, asked us if we would address the men, and we replied that we would. He then requested the men to go to the Queen's Dock, where they would hear addresses from Socialists. Upon this an official stood up and stated that he was authorised by the secretary and executive to say that they did not wish Socialists to speak to the men or have anything to do with the strike, and he requested the men to have nothing at all to do with the Socialists. I succeeded in gaining a hearing, and in a short speech explained our principles, and claimed the right to address any body of working-men whether their trades' officials wished it or not. The men received my address enthusiastically, and grumbled at the stupid prohibition of the union officials. We *did* distribute literature amongst the men, and what is more, collected money in public for them and spoke in their behalf at all our meetings—a thing no other political or trades' society did do. There was no split amongst the dock labourers owing to our action, for whatever our own opinions were concerning the officials and the management of the strike, we never expressed them during the strike. There was indeed a split between the dock labourers and the seamen, and that was owing to the fact that the seamen "went in" without the consent of the labourers, despite the fact (so the labourers alleged) that it had been stipulated that the two unions were to stand or fall together.

Let me say that we believe that the conduct of the officials of the Dock Labourers' Union in this matter was wretchedly partial and cowardly. The secretary was not a seaman or a dock labourer, but was known chiefly as an advocate of Henry Georgism. An individual who appeared to be chief boss of the strike was also neither a seaman nor dock labourer, and not even a member of the union ; he was a public exponent of Henry George's theories, and advocated those theories in his speeches to the men. I fail to see that Henry George's *unscientific* theories have any more to do with a strike of dock labourers than the "scientific" theories of Socialists. Socialists can indeed speak very pertinently to workmen on strike, but Henry Georgites cannot ; yet the Georgites were allowed to orate from the official platform, while the Socialists were forbidden to speak to the men on any platform at all !

It is comforting to us to know that if we had thought it our duty, we could have split the union on behalf of Socialism. Never in the presence of any mass of men have we felt such interest in or sympathy with our principles. Numbers of the men knew us personally as advocates of the rights of labour, and not a few of them were avowed Socialists. And I will only add this, that if we had been allowed to associate ourselves with

the executive—small in number as we are—we could have suggested things to be done, and could have done much that was left undone, besides imbuing the men with such a recognition of their rights and such a resolution to achieve them, that might have made the issue of the strike both for seamen and labourers in Glasgow more successful than it unfortunately was.—Yours fraternally,  
J. BRUCE GLASIER.

Glasgow, August 18, 1889.

### THE CASE OF SWEDEN.

#### A REPLY TO ANARCHIST CRITICISM.

Some of our Anarchistic friends like to speak worse of Socialistic leaders than of capitalists. "The working-men are good, but the leaders are bad" they say, and prove that even such a small morsel of authority as a Socialistic leader cannot avoid possessing and using must necessarily be corrupting, fatal to his finer, really Socialistic qualities. This is all true—so far as I can see. But it would be difficult to point out any occupation whatever which is *not* depraving under the present all-corrupting society. Even chewing over one's own Anarchist opinions for a length of time may be rather depraving. There is this much good which may be said about the leader, the propagandist—that he is active, that he is in contact with revolutionary life, with the Socialistic work as it is ; that he is really spending his energy and sacrificing many of his minor inclinations for the cause. *This* is certainly educating and ennobling. Therefore I do not think it contradictory to what I admitted above to say that the leader and the propagandist generally are the best men among us.

Look for a moment at Sweden. A population by half a million smaller than that of London is in that country rather evenly spread over a surface more than a third part larger than that of Great Britain, Ireland, and the isles all put together. There are no big cities, but more than a hundred very small ones, with a distance between them of generally more than a hundred, often more than two hundred miles. There are no big centres of industry, but the whole vast country is dotted all over with small factories and mines employing a few dozen workmen each ; and often these places are buried in virgin forests and sometimes fifty miles away from the nearest railway station. This is all very nice and picturesque to the tourist, whose nerves are ruined by the turmoil of London, Paris, or Berlin ; but it means hard work to the preacher of the coming social order. He must travel far, and be content to speak to a dozen hearers at a time. He finds all industrial and economical matters in a much more primitive stage of evolution than his co-worker in the great industrial countries. He stands often before the necessity of making special analyses upon the circumstances around him, while it is clear that the ordinary phrases would not hit the mark, and would leave Socialism to his hearers a dead, unintelligible sound. He meets in petty local tyrants an immense reactionary force, which is a thing of the past in big industrial centres.

In a very poor, very thinly populated country, the worker is a slave indeed—especially in the country, where there are twenty or thirty miles to the next master. If you can show him that he might liberate himself from his master and be all the better for that, there is a new difficulty to show him—the possibility of freedom from want, from incessant drudgery for his bread. The glorious and encouraging achievements of our modern industry are nearly unknown to him. You have to teach him that too. Such are the difficulties with which our brave Swedish comrades, and more especially the leaders and propagandists *ex professo*, have to struggle. They have been at work only some three or four years, but have already succeeded in making Socialism known in all the towns and many of the villages of the vast country ; they have made thousands of Swedish workers into friends of the Cause, and there is not a magistrate or police official in the country—from the minister of justice in Stockholm to the gendarme of the remotest village in the North—who does not feel uneasy and full of disagreeable emotions when he hears the word Socialism. The powers that be understand already, thanks to the agitation of a dozen devoted men, what an uncompromising enemy of the existing "order" Socialism is ; and that is a great achievement in a country like Sweden. Because the government plunges itself at once with a ludicrous *naivete* into the work of—Socialistic propaganda. Even to the last peasant of the last village come the news of what government is doing. He hears that they fight Socialism with a brutality, a regardlessness of old civil rights, and a prostitution of "justice" hitherto unheard of in the country ; and that sets him thinking what Socialism may be. The last great act of socialistic agitation by the Swedish government is the imprisonment of our four principal leaders. Of them and their fight with reaction I will tell next week under "International Notes."

STN.

The *Nationalist* (9, Hamilton Place, Boston, U.S., 10 cents. per number, 1 dol. per year) is a monthly magazine, well written, edited, and printed, but with a detestable sulphur-coloured cover. Its aims are sufficiently set forth in the following declaration of principles, which appears in each number:—

"The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

"The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

"Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realised.

"No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore those who seek the welfare of man must endeavour to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition, and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

"But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill considered changes ; we make no war upon individuals ; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

"The combinations, trusts, and syndicates of which the people at present complain, demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further, and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organised—the organic unity of the whole people.

"The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces ; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest ; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts."



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Great Strike at the Docks.

There was great excitement at the East-end of London on Thursday August 15, for on that day a strike broke out affecting over 7,000 dock-labourers. The usual pay of these men has been 5d. an hour; but when the work has been unusually hard and hazardous they have received 6d. They complain that under the present system they only obtain one or two hours' work, and have to wait hours at the dock gate in order to get that. This system of course prevents them from obtaining any other work during the day. They now demand that they shall not be engaged for less than four hours at a time, and that their pay shall be at the rate of sixpence an hour. With a view of splitting the organisation, the Company have offered an advance of sixpence to men in the wood and export departments; but this has been refused unless all the strikers are included in it. The demands of the men are very moderate, for the *Star* states that at present with their ordinary wages the outside men do not earn more than 1s. 3d. a-day. Every 5,000 tons of unloading that comes into the docks represents between £900 and £1,000 to the companies, out of which sum not quite £300 is spent for labour. Intense sympathy is felt for the strikers in the neighbourhood, and the poor working people literally fill collecting-boxes of the men on strike with coppers. It is certain that those who make a plucky stand against capitalistic tyranny are always sure of the sympathy and help of their fellows.

On Friday, the men marched in procession through the city, John Burns at their head. As they passed by Millwall Docks, 1,000 men threw up their work and joined the procession, though the masters offered them as much as 8d., 9d., or 1s. an hour to stop. A great meeting was afterwards held outside the London Docks to hear the report of the deputation they had sent into the masters. The deputation reported that the masters had agreed that the men should not be employed for less than four hours, but had refused to give a decided answer as to paying the men 6d. instead of 5d. an hour for their ordinary work and 8d. instead of 6d. for overtime. On hearing this report the men decided to remain out. Burns recommended the men to persevere in their decision, and to fight shoulder to shoulder like the gas stokers and match girls.

On Saturday, a very dramatic incident occurred. While Burns was addressing a meeting the dock gates were suddenly opened, and a number of men who were lounging about made a rush forward to get a job; Burns sprang between them and the gates, and asked them in tones of thunder if they were mean enough to take the bread out of the mouths of their fellow men. The men fell back abashed, and joined the ranks of the strikers.

On Sunday morning, a large meeting was held at the East India Dock Gates. Mr. Tillett, the secretary of the Union, mentioned that the company was short of workmen, and that the clerks and officials of the company had been engaged in doing the work of the dock labourers. These gentlemen will be able to appreciate the "blessings of honest labour." It is a pity they could not be put upon the diet of labourers, so that they might enjoy these blessings all at once. Tom Mann, and other speakers, also addressed the meeting, among whom was McCarthy, secretary of the Amalgamated Stevedores. He had an important announcement to make, i.e., that the stevedores, numbering some 3,500, had agreed to throw in their lot with the strikers. The lightermen and watermen have also announced their intention of helping the men all they can.

On Monday the strike spread tremendously. Stevedores, Tilbury dockmen, the lightermen, Victoria and London dockmen, all pouring out to swell the ranks of the strikers. A huge procession of ten thousand marched through the City. The East-end is going simply frantic with excitement. On Tuesday I went into the district. On approaching Limehouse I saw a dense column of men crossing the Commercial Road, and pouring into the narrow streets that border on the river. These I found were the strikers going round to interview the men who still remained in at some of the smaller wharves. At the Free Trade Wharf the procession halted, as there were some men on the premises who had not come out. The crowd cheered and called to them to join them. On their not complying, groans and execrations burst from the crowd, the women being the loudest. The band strikes up the "Dead March"; a man attempts to scale the gates, which have been closed, but is dragged back by the police, who are guarding the wharf. Matters look dangerous, when it is reported that the men are coming out, and the crowd cheer loudly and march on. John Burns has been working very hard; besides continually speaking, he has much of the organisation upon his shoulders. He arranged a clever piece of strategy at the Victoria Dock, bringing the men out by sending twenty men in, who assumed the rôle of rats for that occasion only. Altogether, the strike is going splendidly.

The Stevedores have issued the following manifesto, which is so important that we print it in full:

#### "TO THE TRADE UNIONISTS AND PEOPLE OF LONDON.

"Friends and fellow-workmen,—The dock-labourers are on strike, and are asking for an advance of wages—the wages they now receive being 5d. per hour daytime and 6d. overtime. They now ask 6d. per hour daytime and 8d. per hour overtime. The work is of the most precarious nature, three hours being the average amount per day obtained by the 'docker.' We, the Union Stevedores of London, knowing the condition of the dock-labourers, have determined to support their movement by every lawful means in our power. We have, therefore, refused to work because of the Dock Company employing scabs and black-legs, who are taking the places of the dock-labourers on strike. We do this not to inconvenience the brokers, shipowners, or master stevedores, as our quarrel is not with them, but we feel our duty is to support our poorer brothers. We are promised the help of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, and we now appeal with confidence to members of all trade unions for joint action with us, and especially those whose work is in connection with shipping, seagoing engineers and fitters, boilermakers, ship-carpenters, painters and decorators, shipwrights, iron-ship builders, caulkers, etc., etc.; and also the coal-heavers, ballast-men, lightermen and their watchmen. We also appeal to the public at large for contributions and support on behalf of the dock-labourers, which may be sent to Ben Tillett, Great Assembly Hall, Mile-end Road; and in doing this we feel sure that our efforts will be appreciated—not as disturbers nor peacebreakers, but as a demand from men determined to swerve not one inch from the attitude they have taken up, to succour the poor and lift up the down-trodden.—On behalf of the Amalgamated and United Stevedores, THOMAS MCCARTHY and T. M. WILLIAMS, Secs."

#### The Somersetshire Miners.

The men still hold out. In answer to their employers' offer, the following

resolution was passed at a crowded meeting of the men on Thursday 15th, at Radstock: That we cannot accept as a settlement 5 per cent. on Sept. 2 and a conditional 5 per cent. on October 4th next, but are willing to resume work, on condition that we receive an advance of 5 per cent. on the first pay day after resuming work; and an unconditional 5 per cent. on October 1st; and we hereby pledge ourselves not to resume work till these terms are conceded. The executive of the Rhondda Miners' Association has granted them the sum of twenty guineas, and promised to make further efforts to get support from members of their association, and the men on strike are receiving steady support from other districts in England and Wales.

#### Fellows in Suffering.

The admirable way in which the Welsh miners are supporting their brethren in Somerset is the more remarkable from the fact that some of them have very great difficulty in making both ends meet. At the meeting of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Colliery Workmen's Federation, at which a resolution was passed to help the Somerset miners, it was stated by the Ebbw Vale delegate that at one of the collieries he represented some 30 or 40 men were under notice in consequence of their inability to obtain a livelihood at existing prices. This, we are told, is a period of commercial prosperity, and yet men cannot get a living by the hardest daily slavery. If this can happen during a period of "prosperity," what must it be like when trade is bad? Is it not shameful that the miner, who risks his life in the gloom of the treacherous mine, amid all the perils of fire-damp and the onrush of black subterranean waters, should yet not be able, in a time of "exceptional prosperity," to get a livelihood for himself and his family? This alone is enough to condemn the present system.

#### The Strike in the Fur Trade.

Mr. Koenigsberg is losing his temper through the long-continued strike, and last week he applied at the police-court for warrants against three of the leaders who had, according to his solicitor, threatened to break the necks of some rats on the premises. We should have thought the extermination of vermin was not an indictable offence. The magistrate refused to give warrants but granted summonses. It is a curious thing that the people who are guilty of treason to their brethren are not "foreigners," but belong to that section of the valiant British race whose main objection to the cheap foreigner appears to be that on some occasions he is before them in turning an "honest penny" as a scab. A large meeting was held in support of the strikers in Victoria Park last Sunday afternoon, which was addressed by Newman, Annie Besant, Herbert Burrows, Turner, and Hicks. Great enthusiasm shown, and a good collection made on behalf of the strikers.

THE GLASGOW CARTERS have had to go in on the master's terms. The latter have promised to consider the wages question shortly, and some of the goods stations now close half an hour earlier than they used to.

NO BANK HOLIDAY FOR MINERS.—Twenty-two miners were summoned at Oldbury Police-court for being absent from work on Bank Holiday. The decision was against the men—it always is—two of whom had to pay 8s. for costs and damages, and the others 4s. It seems a shameful piece of tyranny for miners to be denied the holiday which nearly all other workmen enjoy. They say there is no slavery in England, yet men can be forced to work on a public holiday under legal pains and penalties. N.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 31, 1889.

25	Sun.	1651. Wigan Lane. 1776. David Hume died. 1791. Convention of Pilnitz begins. 1830. Outbreak at Brussels.
26	Mon.	1789. National Assembly decrees the Rights of Man. 1876. First number of <i>De Morgan's Monthly</i> , edited by John De Morgan.
27	Tues.	1770. Hegel born. 1791. Promulgation of result of Convention of Pilnitz; agreement of Emperor of Austria, King of Prussia, etc., to "resist French aggression," and "if need be" to "interfere" in France "by effectual methods." 1812. Ludite riot at Huddersfield. 1819. First number of <i>Carlyle's Republican</i> . 1846. Secession of "Young Ireland" from Repeal Association.
28	Wed.	1849. Venice taken by Austrians after heroic resistance. Outbreak in Cephalonia.
29	Thur.	1657. Col. John Lilburne died. 1883. James Carey executed. 1886. Free Speech demonstration in Trafalgar Square; present, 80,000 people, 2,373 police and detectives.
30	Fri.	1650. Isaac Ewer, regicide, died. 1793. Thomas Muir tried for taking part in the movement for Reform and circulating Paine's works. 1855. Feargus O'Connor died.
31	Sat.	1790. Massacre of Nanci. 1793. Brissot and twenty followers guillotined. 1803. Trial of Edward Kearney and Owen Kirwan at Dublin for their part in the late rising. 1884. Attack on Warsaw prison. 1886. Dinner to French Socialists in London.

Events, like the pendulum of a clock, have swung forward and backward, but after all, man, like the hands, has gone steadily on. Man is growing grander.—*Ingersoll*.

*Unity* is a lovely paper, but, but—well, a short time ago it said something about preferring the condition of a cleanly washerwoman in a tenement house to that of Dr. Leete in Edward Bellamy's book. Why? Because amid the splendours of Bellamy's povertyless and crimeless world Dr. Leete and Julian West drank a glass of wine together! Fancy defending the present state of things, because it is possible to conceive of a washerwoman in a tenement house who doesn't drink beer, and warning persons against a change because the washerwoman's grandson, the heir of a splendid civilisation, might become addicted to an occasional glass of wine! How happens it that many persons who have such sharp eyes for the horrors of Calvinism cannot see anything wrong in the social laws that foreordain so many millions to a present hell?—*Twentieth Century*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 2, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, and St. Georges East, to end of June. Manchester, to end of July. Leicester, to end of August.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Webb, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 5s.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; and FC.SS., 1s.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Chelsea*—Good meeting on the Embankment by Samuels and Beckett on Sunday morning; some opposition from a "Chartist"; sold 10 *Commonweal*. *Mile End Waste*—Good meeting on Tuesday addressed by Mowbray, Cores, and Harding; Cores spoke same place on Saturday. *Hoxton Church*—On Thursday, good meeting; speakers were Nicoll, Cores, and Kitz. *Gibraltar Walk*—On Friday, Mowbray, Cores, and Brooks spoke here; on Sunday morning, large meeting addressed by Graham and Cores; 61 *Commonweal* sold. *Streatham*—At the Fountain, Cantwell addressed a large audience; *Commonweal* sold out.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Good meeting on Green, Mrs. Lahr, Cores, and Mowbray were speakers; 7 *Commonweal* sold and 10d. collected. Brookes lectured at the hall on "Discord, Monotony, and Harmony"; interesting discussion followed; 1s. 3d. collected.—S. P.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Maughan, Lyne, jun., Crouch, and Tochatti. Good meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Crouch, and Dean; choir sang. The branch visited Merton, and held a good meeting on the Green.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday evening we had a visit from the North Kensington Branch; held a splendid meeting on the Fair Green. The Hammersmith choir sang "The Proletariat," "March of the Workers," and "England Arise." Speeches were delivered by Maughan, Saint, Lyne, sen., J. Davis, Dean, and Lyne, jun., who advised the laundry women of Mitcham to organise. The singing of the *Marseillaise* closed a most successful demonstration; 20 *Commonweal* sold.—S. G.

**NORTH LONDON.**—At Ossulston Street on Thursday evening, a fine meeting to hear comrade Mowbray. A very good meeting on Saturday evening in Hyde Park; speakers were Cantwell, Springfield, Nicoll, and Mrs. Lahr; some opposition offered re foreign labour, to which Nicoll replied. At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Mowbray addressed a large meeting, and was opposed by Mr. Whelan; Mowbray replied. Sunday afternoon at Hyde Park, good meeting held by Mowbray; total collections 8s. 6d., and 123 *Commonweal* and 1s. of other literature sold.—T. C.

**ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.**—Nicoll spoke at Leman Street; 7 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. collected for Banner Fund.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on Monday the 12th, a paper on "The Socialist Movement in Germany" was read and discussed; crowded meeting. On Tuesday night, Duncan and Leatham addressed meeting at Castle Street; good muster of choir. On Saturday night, Duncan, Aiken, and Leatham spoke at same place; 54 *Weal* and 2s. worth of literature sold.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—At mid-day T. and J. Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square. In the evening at Paisley Road, the speakers were J. and T. Burgoyne and a comrade of the S.D.F.—J. B.

**LEICESTER.**—Kitz addressed some large meetings here last Sunday, a full report of which, by comrade Barclay, will appear next week.

**MANCHESTER.**—Good meeting addressed by Barton, Hall, and Parkinson at Middleton on Saturday night; fair sale of *Commonweal*. In Stevenson Square on Sunday Stockton, Bailie, and Ritson addressed the meeting; 24 papers sold. At Chester Road, at 8 p.m., Stockton, Marshall, and Barton addressed the usual meeting.

**NORWICH.**—On Saturday, meeting held on the Haymarket; good audience. Sunday afternoon, usual meeting held in the Market Place; McCormack spoke. In the evening another meeting in the Market Place; same speaker; audience very attentive. Good sale of literature; fair collections.

**YARMOUTH.**—Thursday evening we held an open-air indignation meeting to protest against the action of the Poor Law Guardians towards a widow (Mrs. Kersey) and four children. A resolution was passed unanimously, and 12s. collected for the woman. Sunday morning a lively meeting, through the opposition of some teetotalers. In the evening another good meeting, speakers Ruffold and Reynolds.—C. R.

**GOBORN RADICAL CLUB.**—J. Tochatti lectured at the above club on "Free Speech and Socialism." The Radicals were very pleased with the lecture, and they wanted our comrade to come again. Mrs. Tochatti sang the "Marseillaise."

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—In Sneinton Market on Sunday morning, Proctor and Charles delivered short addresses. In the evening in the Great Market, Rooke, Proctor, Charles, and Snell gave capital addresses. In the hall, Woodland Place, Parliament Street, the proposed Midland Socialist Federation was discussed.—P.

**SHEFFIELD.**—On Sunday last, Sketchley, Longden, Kerby, and Denary held a meeting at Attercliffe. The usual meeting at West Bar Green was well attended. Mr. J. Bullas occupied the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Sketchley, Ringham, Drury, and Sanders (of Walsall).—T. L.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION, LTD.**—A Special General Meeting of the members of the above Society will be held, in conjunction with the members of the Hygienic Co-operative Society, Ltd., to confirm the proposed amalgamation, already approved by a general meeting of each Society. The meeting will be held on Friday August 23rd, at 7.30 for 8 p.m., at the Hall of the Social Democratic Federation, 337 Strand.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Olerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). A Debate will take place, under auspices of above Branch, at Patriotic Club, on Sunday August 25th, between Herbert Burrows (S.D.F.) and J. Turner (S.L.)—"Social-Democracy v. Anarchist-Socialism." To begin at 8.15 p.m.

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 25, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday Aug. 29, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 30, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

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### PROVINCES.

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**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. William Morris will lecture in the Corn Hall on Wednesday, August 28, at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 24.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church .....Kitz and Mowbray  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Mrs. Lahr and Mowbray

### SUNDAY 25.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Crouch, Dean, and Saint  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....Mowbray and Cores  
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment .....Samuels and Presburg  
11.30..... Eelbrook Common .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mrs. Lahr  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Tochatti, Lyne sen. and jun.  
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street .....Brookes  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....Kitz  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll and Parker  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Nicoll and Cantwell  
4.30..... Victoria Park .....Mrs. Lahr  
7 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall .....Samuels and Presburg  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....Mowbray and Cores  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... North Kensington—Cambridge Gardens .....North Kensington Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Kitz and Gregory  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....The Branch

### TUESDAY 27.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church .....The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste .....Mrs. Lahr

### WEDNESDAY 28.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment .....Kitz and Samuels

### THURSDAY 29.

8 ..... Ossulston Street .....Nicoll  
8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Graham and Mowbray

### FRIDAY 30.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....Mowbray and Kitz

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 190.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE *Labour Elector*, since John Burns and Cunninghame Graham have associated their names with it, has been so far redeemed from its former repute that it is possible to take note of it without quite so much sacrifice of self-respect as would have been demanded hitherto. In his last issue its ostensible editor has conferred upon the *Commonweal* the honour of an attack for its "inconsistency," a vice (or virtue) his worst enemy would fail to fasten upon himself since he entered upon his present pursuit, and utilised the envenomed stiletto of his pen upon the backs of all those who refused to follow him. Taking an extract from a note by the present writer (page 230, No. 187, Aug. 10) and another from the resolution of comrade Merlino (page 259, No. 188, Aug. 17), he prints them side by side, thus prefacing them:—"Here are two cuttings from a recent issue, for the first of which"—i.e., Merlino's—"the present, and for the second, a past, Secretary of the Socialist League"—myself—"is responsible."

Passing by the calculated seeming carelessness with which the two cuttings are bracketed as alike editorial, and taken from one and the same number, it may be pointed out that comrade Merlino is not—nor ever has been—Secretary of the Socialist League, or, indeed, one of its members; is not, nor has been, connected in any way with the *Commonweal*. Whether we agree or disagree with his opinions, he alone is "responsible" for them. That this was known to the editor of the *Labour Elector* when he wrote as above, even he will scarce have the evil courage to deny; most certainly is it known to very nearly every one who is at all closely acquainted with the movement in England. Can it be that it was the consciousness of this which led him to depart from his usual practice of personal abuse, and to avoid all naming of names throughout the notes that are now under notice?

The *Commonweal* does not often care to deal with mere attacks upon its policy, or insults levelled at its conductors. It has always kept aloof from the pitiful quarrels which occur in and discredit our—as every other—movement. It has never turned spiteful under criticism, nor made party controversies a cover for personal malignity, let those do so who would. It has held the Cause too highly to serve it after such fashion. But it may be as well that all should know that this is done of set purpose, and not from insensibility or cowardice; that though the need of criticism is recognised, the limits of its fair exercise liberally construed, and a warm welcome accorded to all friendly discussion of differing opinions, no immunity is extended to studied and gratuitous misrepresentation.

Some woman, having more wealth, she confesses, than she knows what to do with, has sent ten thousand-pound bank notes to the Prince of Wales, whose late exercise upon the hereditary begging-dish had excited her pity. This woman is no doubt one of those who grind the faces of the poor, and exact their "due" to the uttermost farthing. She has not even the saving grace, small as that may be, of those who, as old Burton says, "when, by fraud and rapine, they have extorted all their lives, oppressed whole provinces, societies, etc., give something to pious uses, build a satisfactory almshouse, school, or bridge, etc., at their last end, or before perhaps, which is no otherwise than to steal a goose and stick down a feather, rob a thousand to relieve ten." But she is no doubt a good Christian of the common type, and holds with all her heart as a divine ordinance that "unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance, but from him that hath not shall be taken away, even that which he hath."

Alfonso XIII., King of Spain, and all the rest of it, took his first sea-bath one day last week. Another, and a slightly older sovereign, Ranavallo III., of Madagascar, had taken her annual dip a little while before. Both events were duly chronicled in all the dignity of the daily newspaper for the benefit of a wondering world. There was somewhat of interest in either event after all; for Alphonso, being by a long way the youngest king alive, is in so far the best, though "oft waxes wolf in youngling." And it might have been noted as a sign of

progress that the water wherewith Ranavallo sprinkled the crowd in sign of blessing had been dipped from her bath before, instead of after, as hitherto, her royal body had been laved therein. How sad to see, even in simple, far-off Madagascar, how folk are losing faith in the inherent virtue of the uncleannesses of kings!

Tantia Bheel has been taken once more, and this time it looks as though English locks and bayonets would safely hold the celebrated brigand. The tales of his adventurous life, which are the delight of Indian story-tellers, will now have another added to their number, and it may be with a tragic ending; though it is to be hoped his unexhausted ingenuity and fertility of resource may get him out of trouble again, to be for years to come a friend of the poor and a terror to the rich. A biting satire upon modern morality, to see a band of robbers by the strong hand, the English in India, upholding law and order!—hunting to death a poor brigand, who does them no harm, because he has not learnt their civilised methods, and prefers the hill-side and the highway to the market-place and the law court. Of them can the Indian say, almost in Tyndale's words: "The money-lender sheareth, the judge shaveth, the soldier polleth, the lawyer scrapeth, and the policeman pareth; we lack but a butcher to pull off the skin." While Tantia Bheel took only from the rich, and that when they could specially well spare it, the civilised law-'n'-order machine goes on for ever, and presses hardest on the poor, on whom it does not even confer an occasional passing benefit, as Tantia Bheel is known to have often done.

The printing trade in Victoria is agitating for "a rectification of postal anomalies." In the adjoining colony of New South Wales, papers and periodicals are transmitted free through the post, and the consequence is that a large amount of printing has been taken away from Melbourne to Sydney. One firm actually saves £1,000 a year by printing and publishing in Sydney. It would seem to an outsider that the best thing for the Victorians to do would be to imitate the New South Welsh plan and adjust matters in that way, rather than get the plan put aside where it is already at work. As the affair stands now it affords the material for a good deal of reflection upon the misorganisation of industry, which is the special mark of the present system.

Who was the daring strategist to whom was due the Royal visit to Wales? A right skilful move in the political game, and one by no means easy to effectively return; while every day that elapses before some effort at retaliation is made only enhances the difficulty. For a long, long while past the Liberals have loudly boasted of their hold on "gallant little Wales"; none elsewhere was like the Welshman; sturdy disestablishers, neck-or-nothing Gladstonians, with every other Liberal virtue, and no vice, the people of "the Principality" were eulogised on every Liberal platform in the kingdom. If it were possible to find an even more pure and perfect civic hero than the ordinary Welshman (always providing that he voted Liberal), it was that Welshman's spiritual pastor and master of the Nonconformist pattern. "Mabon's" Jubilee delirium, and that of a thousand others to the contrary notwithstanding, the pleasing fiction has been kept alive; at the cost, it is true, of a disproportionate amount of trouble.

But lo! and look ye! Into the midst of the serried ranks of the rebels—in a polite and constitutional way—goes Victoria, like a late and vulgarised version of the ride of Richard II. at Smithfield, with very nearly the same result. The ranks break up. One manly remnant keeps fast hold upon its flag, closes up around it, and warns every one of the trick. But alas for the constancy of all but the sternest democrats! The large body of Welsh Liberalism is on its belly in the mud, only too happy to be hand-shaken, smiled on, spat upon—anything from Royal hands or Royal lips—while the units who compose it are shrieking curses upon their late comrades, who have retained some amount of insight as well as self-respect, for their discourtesy, their this, their that, and the other! And the loudest shriekers are Nonconformist parsons. Among them may perchance be found a worthy follower of Walworth, and the red dagger may yet be charged upon the coat of arms of a Cymric rival of the City.

Amid all the hubbub nobody seems to care a brass farthing for the working-class, or what their opinion of it all may be. Perhaps that is just as well for the peace of mind of the poor, perspiring Loyalists! S.

The dock labourers' strike is, in the opinion of many men who have witnessed some of the greatest labour struggles of the past, one of the grandest and most enthusiastic revolts of the workers against the domination of capital. Here I mean to consider it from a Socialist standpoint, for it certainly points out to the workers a new method of fighting their tyrants. It is evident that the workers are beginning to recognise the fact that their salvation lies in their own action.

One of the effects of our patient propaganda is seen in the notion of the men, that a general strike is the way to win a victory. The men in the immense processions which have traversed the East-end repeatedly called upon the clerks, the men, the women, and girls to come out and join them in the revolt of labour. This is a very encouraging sign.

We hear much now of obtaining palliative measures by Parliamentary and Governmental action. Why should not the workers gain all they want by a series of gigantic strikes, larger and more general than even the fight for a small instalment of justice by the dock labourers of the East-end? Would it not have far more effect than any amount of palaver inside Parliament or the County Council? D. N.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL.

CRYSTAL PALACE, AUGUST 17TH.

JUST this time last year, in noticing the Co-operators' show at the Crystal Palace, I had an opportunity of punctuating a few of the little peculiarities of the Co-operators, and their captious treatment of Socialists and their methods. In the twelve months which have passed since then there have been in the pages of the chief Co-operative organ repeated proofs of the jealousy with which the spread of Socialist ideas is watched by the bigwigs of the Co-operative movement. The *tu quoque* may not be effective argument; and although to note schisms among Co-operators does not extenuate schisms among Socialists, yet when it becomes possible to draw a serious moral from certain events, it becomes a duty to do so which cannot be flinched from by any faithful reporter. If any Socialists who read the following have any earnest hope in Co-operation as an aid to, or part of, Socialism, now is their opportunity; and at the risk of being charged with egotism, I would ask them to turn back to the *Commonweal* for September 1st and 8th last year and weigh up some remarks there made in the light of another year's teaching. Dealing with the Co-operative Congress of 1888, the *Pall Mall Gazette* said, "Slowly but surely the Co-operative movement in this country has come to a final parting of the ways, and according to the path now chosen will depend whether its future is for good or evil, . . . profit-sharing or profit-mongering. . . . The profit-mongering plan is that which has been gradually growing in favour; and if the process is continued, then the last state of the working classes will be no whit better than the first." "The longest heads in the Co-operative camp are all of one way of thinking in the matter." In the *Commonweal* of September 1, 1888, I remark that "these same long heads are responsible for the Festival, which is the evidence of a revolt against the growing domination of the consumer, represented in the main by the Co-operative Wholesale Society, the hydra-monopolist of the movement. It is quite in accordance with the eternal spirit of 'compromise' which runs through the English mind, that while the official handbook and catalogue gives a list of 'forty-two' Co-operative productive societies, the whole show was a sort of strike of 'forty-one' societies against the forty-second, the biggest and greediest."

That these words were not one whit too strong has been abundantly proved during the past twelve months; and the promoters of the Co-operative Festival might almost be excused if they echoed the words supposed by the poet to be addressed to the tyrant Ten:

"Our very hearts, that were so high, sink down beneath your will:  
Riches and land and pomp and state, ye have them, keep them still."

For, say the best that can be said for it, the Festival of 1889 must be reported as very small beer indeed; a result brought about by using all the methods usually adopted by a selfish, interested but rich and powerful section.

The organisers of the show would probably not care to admit that "failure" is the word to write against 1889, but judging by the ordinary rules applied to exhibitions, I cannot see what else to say of it. In 1888 there were represented forty-two societies; this year there are only thirty, and this in spite of the fact of there being three or four societies not in last year because not then in existence. Co-operators are fond of saying much to the progressiveness of their movement, but the claim seems somewhat discounted by this exhibition. Something has to be allowed for the fact that the executive this year have ruled out one or two societies as not accurately coming within the exact definition of a co-operative productive society, "that the workers participate in the produce and management of their own labour." But even making this allowance, the exhibition, as an attempt to impress the outside labourer with what Co-operation can do for him, can make but a very slight impression indeed.

In the Home Industries portion of the show, although perhaps the number of entries was larger, there seemed a decided falling off in the general standard of quality and interest, and the greater number was

much made up by the admission of exhibits which had the very remotest connection with the root idea of the Festival.

The Fruits, Flowers, and Vegetables portion occupied, as last year, almost the whole length of the nave of the Palace; but the Dean of Manchester, in his speech at the "great" Co-operative demonstration in the concert hall, protested against the amount of space taken up by the grapes of rich men. A very interesting feature of the first Co-operative Flower Show was the discussing of some short papers on cottage gardens, allotments, *petit culture*, etc., the idea being to foster love of outdoor work and enjoyment among workers. This feature seems to be now quite lost sight of, it forming no part of the last programme.

Last year the official handbook of the Festival contained an introduction giving roughly the position of the Productive section of the Co-operative movement. I should have much liked to have added to my last year's report a comparative statement of the position now, but the spirits of the compilers seem to have been quenched by twelve months' somewhat bitter opposition, and neither from handbook or speeches was a word to be learned as to what the last year has done towards putting labour on more level terms with capital.

If, failing to learn anything of twelve months' progress in bulk, the enquirer turns to the handbook, he has little reward for his labour in endeavouring to learn of progress by individual societies; for taking one, the Burnley Self-Help Society, founded 1887, we have offered to us precisely the figures and information of last year's book. The Coventry Watch-makers act in the same manner. Earls Barton Boot-makers gave a few figures last year, but none this. Hebden Bridge Fustian-cutters give fewer figures than last year; and the only thing that can be said, if the information given is to be accepted, is that from a labour point of view they simply mark time, for the number of sharing workpeople then and now is the same—200. This is the fashion of this handbook throughout; and keeping in mind that the Festival was intended as, and should be, a splendid bit of propaganda, it is not too much to say such compiling is simply idiotic, apart from being misleading.

Co-operators have for years been saying theirs is the message of hope for the toilers. As to distributionist Co-operation, most workers and all Socialists have given up any respect to that method of relief. Some have still a hope that in productive Co-operation there is yet a road to be found. If this be so it is imperative on the advanced Co-operators to prove it. Socialists who are Co-operators will be glad of any evidence that "true Co-operation" is progressing at something like the same rate as the need for it. There is much fear that this is not so.

A function such as that of August 17th should of all things show the progress and position year by year; it should encourage the hopeful to renewed effort and deter the many enemies of labour who, although Co-operators in name, are straining every nerve to keep labour subject.

Socialists who are at one with Co-operators have now an opportunity to prove the faith that is in them, for at the public meeting in the evening a step was taken to which, in view of its seriousness and possibilities, I now draw special attention. Last year the exhibition of Co-operative productions was made to bulk up largely by the admission of productions which in the true sense of the word were not Co-operative products. In the twelve months just past there has been an increased bitterness of feeling between the two schools of Co-operators, and it has been abundantly proved, as the *Daily News* says, noticing the show, "that often the worst enemies of Co-operation are those of its own household." The boycott, unwritten but effective, which has been put in force by the conservatives of the movement has now brought things to a head in the suggestion to legally found a new organisation for the active propaganda of Co-operation on the basis of "workers' rights" and no other. In view of the various organisations in the movement already, this is a serious step, but is fully warranted, because, in the words of E. V. Neale's presidential address, "in those parts of England where Co-operation has won her greatest triumphs, faith in the true Co-operative ideal has been choked by the enormous growth of the institutions that originally sprang out of itself," because of the engrossing worship of the great goddess "Divi."

There is a dry-rot at work in the Co-operative movement; brought about by stagnation of capital in the hands of a bastard plutocracy; a section who insist on the very extremity of their bond, as at Hebden Bridge, where recently a proposition to reduce interest to capital from 7½ to 5 was beaten by 137 votes against 73.

The Socialist Co-operative Federation and its sympathisers should now show some reason for existence by bringing "productive Co-operation to the front as the true embodiment of the Co-operative idea—the idea that has inspired the great prophets of social evolution."

I have said so much on the side issues arising out of the show that little room is left to say much of the meeting, beyond expressing the hope that in future it will be much better arranged. E. V. Neale and George Jacob Holyoake have done splendid work in the past, but it is now absolute cruelty to put them up to address a meeting in such a villainously constructed room; not fifty people could have heard the president. Also it will be better in future to find speakers with something more of real interest in the movement than can be in such men as Burdett Coutts, M.P., and W. F. Lawrence, M.P.; it is farcical to put such men up as having working-class interests at heart.

The attendance was 32,500; not an insignificant number, but short of what should have been with the extra effort made and the prestige of last year to help.

ANACHARSIS.

## HYMN FOR THE UNENFRANCHISED.

(FROM THE *Chartist Circular*, 1841.)

Who is the Patriot, who is he  
When slaves are struggling to be free,  
Freedom's best-beloved may claim  
To be her holiest Oriflame?

He who joineth hands with Power,  
When the anarchy would devour  
Trampled Right insurgent? He  
Is no friend of Liberty.

He who claimeth kin with Right  
Perfumed or in ermine dight,  
Knowing not the "rabble"? He  
Hateth Truth and Liberty.

Who "for Truth's sake" would embrace  
A Lie, who seeks fit time and place  
To traffic with his birthright? We  
Follow not expediency.

He who through distress and scorn  
Freedom's Cross hath grandly borne,  
The Uncompromising—he shall be  
The banner-man of Liberty!

Though he wear no title-brand,  
Though he own no stolen land,  
Prouder as an upright man  
Than to crawl in Fashion's van,  
Though his bearing be uncouth,  
Though his zeal be rude as truth,  
Though he lieth never,—He  
Shall lead the Bond to victory!

SPARTACU (W. J. Linton).

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## MERLINO'S RESOLUTION.

Comrade Merlino should have an *alias*, Micawber. He appears to be severely determined to wait until something turns up. While such Socialists as he—they are known to the vulgar as sentimental Socialists—are turning the air sulphurous with big words behind which there is no shadow of meaning, common men are plodding along with the practical business of the Revolution, receiving as thanks the Merlinoistic sneers and libels. These "out and outers" are out of range altogether. They have taken wing to cloudland, and until they feel their feet again on this solid round earth they are as distinctly lost to the Revolution as, say, Morris's Anarchists. After removing from Merlino's resolution a certain dilution of platitude and heightened talker-talkie, you have nothing left but reactionary utopianism. All that the party of action is doing is, to Merlino and Co., the wages of sin.

When he tells us that "labour legislation would be the confirmation of our slavery" (as though it required confirming!), and that "it would be unjust to attempt to equalise" the relations of the nations economically, however one may feel a sneaking doubt as to the economic soundness of some of the Parisian minutes, one nevertheless is not less inclined to scent in Merlino the Capitalist wolf under Socialist wool. Then we have an aggravatingly gaseous paragraph all about the glories of freedom, "a great moral principle," quotha, "incompatible with regulations and measures" such as those which the Socialist Labour Party sees to be inevitable—stepping-stones across the river. We all know as well as Merlino that we shall none the sooner get our whole loaf by begging and cringing for crusts and crumbs at a time. But is this swashbuckler so little familiar with the concrete facts of weekaday life as to imagine either that the obtaining of that whole in one lump is possible scientifically, or desirable as to expediency? It is awfully easy, and it sounds heroically "thorough," to scout as heresy the possibility of the ballot-box; but what sort of machinery would these light and airy impossibilists invent for us, untainted with the stamp of things modern? Is their Socialism still in the amateur fluidity of Catastrophe? As Shaw would say, do they intend to establish the Social Commonwealth by waving the red flag and howling the "Marseillaise"?

What does Merlino mean by "the offer of labour legislation officially made by the Governments"? Has not every "responsible" statesman of them all set a hard face and put his finger in his ear against "labour legislation"? Why does he so strenuously object to "bridging the abyss, instead of deepening it"? Is this not sacrificing sense to sawdust? We "must suppress government and private property together." Good! And will Merlino be our Aladdin, and will he reveal to us the secret of his lamp? It is simply an inconsequent inversion of historic commonplace to say the "abolition of the governmental system is an essential for the abolition of the capitalist system." Flesh-and-blood men and women can only "abolish" that system by hard detail work and carefully framed though far-reaching measures, practical working-class reforms. The policy of vague abstractions and fascinating mystery is played out. When a boy is getting too big for his clothes, he does not cast away everything—from undershirt to boots and hat—in one night, and don a brand-new rig-out next morning. It is done in pieces. So with the revolution. But this revolution is not some shadowy theoretic hobgoblin in the prospective vista. It is taking place—and has been for quite a time. We shall not put our head out of window some morning because of the din, and perceive it marching up the street in uniform. Evolution is continuous; and while your Merlino's are gassing and antipating, their ideal future becomes ancient history, and their contentless shibboleths an anachronism. What are we to think of language like "reducing Socialism to the meaner proportion of class legislation"? Socialism in the 'eighties is a class movement, and its politics mean the absorption of the nation into a class. Take an example. Practical Socialists are denounced as "traitors" attempting "to gild the chains of the workers." Free education, higher and secular, is one of the tamest of the "palliatives." Yet the passage of such a Bill through your hated Parliament would have more effect in five years for the Revolution pure and undefiled than the

siege of London and the shelling of the Tuileries by the mobilised proletariat of western Europe. The temporary absorption, again, of a percentage of the unemployed by an eight hour Bill, wretchedly mean and discouragingly possible though it be, would be worth ten-fold more as a tactical precedent than a league of cheap nothings anent "reconciling the workers to their present position." And if it proved "commercially impossible," so much the better for the Socialist tortoise, whose main chance in the struggle is the conversion of the Philistine difficulty into his own opportunity.

LEONARD HALL.

## PUSHING "COMMONWEAL."

Dear Sir,—Every week I send half a dozen 'Weals' to different parts of "The Wide (not awake) World," and would wish each of your readers would do likewise. It would greatly aid the church militant—missionaries and all—save expense and redeem people's bodies and souls, and render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, etc., etc., and establish a new heaven on earth.—Yours truly,

G. E. HARRIS.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

The decomposition of the old bourgeois and social democratic parties goes on rapidly. Of the former we need not speak here; as to the latter the Blanquists are now split over the election question, and the often revealed Boulangerist sympathies of a part of them have been established a fact as to Granger and others, who left the Central Revolutionary Committee in which Vaillant and others remained. Félix Pyat is hardly buried before like vultures they rush upon his inheritance, the seat for Parliament in the Bouches-du-Rhône; Jules Guesde carried the palm. The late political events, Boulangerism, etc., have cleared the ranks of the French Socialists of many who could not resist temptations of various kinds, and the elections next month will continue this work.

A new Marxist organ, *Le Salariat*, has been started at Rouen.

## BELGIUM.

The Social Democratic papers record with satisfaction that at the Congress of the working-men's societies of the Borinage, held at Paturages on August 15th, the amalgamation of the Belgian Worker's Party (the official Social Democratic Party) and the Republican Socialist Party was resolved upon. A large demonstration to celebrate this event is to take place in September or October. Our readers will remember that after much previous quarrelling, a number of societies led by Conreur, Loor, Mignon, Minne, behind whom the family Defuissaux acted, seceded from the Congress of Mons (Aug. 14th and 15th, 1887) and formed the new party. The last Conference of this party, at Châtelet, in December, 1888, led to the process of Mons a few months ago, which showed it to be, by the intermediary of the spy Pourbaix, a tool in the hands of the reactionary ministry to frighten the bourgeois with. This trial ended, as is known, with the complete moral, but we cannot say intellectual, victory of the accused; and then negotiations with the old party began, and have, so far as can be seen, now succeeded. There was no great difference of principle between the parties, the dissensions arose out of the unsocialistic way in which the official party at Brussels and Ghent acted towards the miners in the famous strike of 1886. Thence those dissatisfied with the officialism and selfishness of their better-situated comrades, rejected their very patient palliative measures and co-operation policy, but unfortunately fell victims to a new fetish, the Belgian republic, universal suffrage, etc. Now they return under the ferule of Defnet and Anseele, the latter of whom, with his big stick, will henceforward rule over them. The Anarchist propaganda, meanwhile, goes on steadily, and the *Drapeau Noir*, its organ, is now a weekly paper.

## AUSTRIA.

The large strikes are partly over, and have mostly ended in merely nominal concessions, which were virtual defeats to the workers. The police brutalities at Kladno, Leoben, etc., are known; at Trifail about 200 persons were arrested, who after the dissolution of a meeting did not immediately leave the hall; 482 men, women, and children were cooped up in the cells, corridors, and gardens of the jail of Cilli. When under the pressure of those torturing conditions the police offered them to give in by accepting a little higher wages; they did so, and a part was then let free. This shows how law-'n'-order are mere tools in the hands of this and of every other ruling clique, by which, as a highwayman with his pistol, they extort whatever they like from the victims of the law-'n'-order superstition.

## RUSSIA.

The *Arbeiterstimme*, of Zurich, publishes extracts from the reports of the Russian factory inspectors. In 1887, there were 789,322 workers employed in 21,247 establishments (105,498 respectively, 2,888 of them in Poland); 73.2 per cent. of them are men, 23.3 per cent. women, 2.4 per cent. boys, and 1.1 per cent. young girls. Although there are some laws on women's and children's labour in existence, it is stated that out of 578 factories visited in Poland in 1887, only in 33 establishments these regulations were followed. Children under the age of twelve are worked 15½ hours per day. The majority of Polish workers work 13, often 14 and 15 hours; in Northern Russia: 14 to 16 hours, average 13½; in Southern Russia: 14 hours as a rule. A great part of the Polish industry, which is developing faster than the Russian, is in the hands of German capitalists, and who would hinder the British capitalists in case of an eight hour's bill ever being passed to invest their capital in such countries. By this also the number of English workers required would decrease, and so the number of the unemployed become about the same as now. "International legislation" as at present proposed against this is a mere phrase, a new utopian illusion.

\* \*

A new Radical paper called the *Voix* has just appeared in Paris. It is to be carried on chiefly by M. Millerand, who has worked under M. Clémenceau on the *Justice*, and other well-known deputies, some influential members of the town council. The *Voix* complains that but one law benefiting the working-class has passed both Chambers in 17 years, namely, that regulating trades' unions, and that every measure for the protection of miners, railway servants, and others from the great capitalists has been thrown out at the Luxembourg.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages.** None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. **Rejected MSS.** only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. **Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

**Business communications** to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. J. R. (Broughty Ferry).—Have not seen your pamphlet.

**CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED:**—Unsuitable for various reasons—A. MacD. (S.E.); J. McC. (Norwich); and A. C. (Woodford).

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 28.

ENGLAND		
Brotherhood	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Bulletin Continental
Justice	Chicago—Knights of Labor	
Labour Elector	Baecker Zeitung	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
London—Freie Presse	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Norwich—Daylight	Pacific Union	SPAIN
Railway Review	Princeton (Mass.)—Word	Madrid—El Socialista
Sozial Demokrat	Philadelphia—Journal of	PORTUGAL
Political World	United Labour	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
NEW SOUTH WALES	FRANCE	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	Le Proletariat	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revolte	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
UNITED STATES	Le Coup de Feu	HUNGARY
New York—Der Sozialist	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Arbeiter-Weekend-Chronik
Freiheit	HOLLAND	DENMARK
Jewish Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Twentieth Century	BELGIUM	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
United Irishman	Antwerp—De Werker	SWEDEN
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmö—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
The Dawn	SWITZERLAND	Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
Investigator	Arbeiterstimme	

No remittances for League purposes should be sent to any other persons than those specially appointed to receive them, and whose names are duly advertised in the "Commonweal," or to any other address than this Office. Readers, especially in the Provinces, are asked to beware of appeals emanating from any person other than the Treasurer of the League, the Secretary of the Propaganda Committee, or myself,

FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

### FELIX PYAT.

(Concluded from p. 266.)

ONCE driven into exile, first in Switzerland and soon afterwards in Belgium, Pyat was far from remaining inactive. From Brussels he published his most virulent pamphlets, addressed to the Comte de Chambord, to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, to the Prince de Joinville, to Barbès, to the French working-classes, and many others. After the coup d'état of Napoleon, he came over to London, where he lived until 1869, and was a member of the "Revolutionary Commune" just started at that time, and afterwards of the French Section of the International Working-men's Association, which section, however, was never recognised by the General Council of that Association. While here, again, he advocated in many pamphlets the cause of the Social Revolution, but it must be said that he generally put more stress upon political than on social matters, and in the years down to 1870 he

spent the greater part of his talent and of his energies in waging war especially against the French Empire as such. His further ideas are broadly expounded in the *Lettre aux Proscrits* of 1855: a claim for the institution of a revolutionary Commune, more in accordance with the ideas of the French Revolution of 1793 than with modern Socialism. Born under the First Empire, in the full swing of the Caesarean era, Pyat's head was chiefly filled with the great dramatic events accomplished by the Convention; he was, as it were, permeated by the heroic grandeur of that period, and his enthusiastic admiration caused him sometimes to forget, or at least to lose sight of, the new conditions under which alone the emancipation of the proletariat can be accomplished. When, on the 14th of January, 1858, Orsini attempted to do away with the accursed misruler of France, Pyat hastily published an eloquent defence of the enterprise of the Italian revolutionist. For this defence he was prosecuted in England, at the instance of Napoleon, as were also Simon Bernard, and the publishers Truelove and Tchorzewski. They were all acquitted, however, and it will be remembered that the Palmerston administration, which instituted the proceedings, fell under the pressure of public opinion, at that time decidedly hostile to such prosecutions; an episode to be contrasted with what happened in 1881 to John Most, accused of the same "offence" by a Liberal government and sentenced to sixteen months' hard labour.

During the month of November, 1865, the students of the University of Liège convened an International Congress, and fifteen hundred scholars came together from all parts of Europe. It was, after the constitution of the International Working-men's Association at St. Martin's Hall, London, on the 28th of September, 1864, the first great real revolutionary demonstration since Europe at large had been reduced to an ignominious silence by the imperial adventurer of the Tuileries. To give a slight idea of the significance of this Congress, one need only go back to the wild utterances of the bourgeois press of the time:—The speeches were worthy of Marat, of the *Père Duchesne* of Hébert, they were far ahead of the programme of Babœuf, of the doctrines of the Levellers of England, the Anabaptists of Münster, the Jacques of the Middle Ages, and so on. Such were the appreciations of the press, and although very silly, they are sufficient to account for the importance of the Congress. Félix Pyat wrote, on this occasion, his *Lettre aux Etudiants*, especially addressed to the French members of the Liège Conference. His pamphlet was as eloquent as ever, but this time at least he failed to appreciate rightly the value of the international gathering of Liège. He contended that the French students ought not to have gone out of France, that the Emperor could best be beaten in their own country, that the course followed by the students was an anti-democratic one, since it would fatally result in a separation into two camps of the revolutionary elements—the brainworkers and the manual workers. Five years afterwards the greater part of the French students did at Paris what they had promised at Liège: Gustave Tridon, Longuet, Rey, Regnard, Eugène Protot, Fontaine, Sibrac, Jaclard, Vaillant, Dubois, Villeneuve, Lafargue, and scores of others were in the ranks of the Commune; those who died for the cause and those who escaped the wholesale slaughter by the Versailles, having equally been true and faithful to the solemn oath they swore in that memorable Congress.

At last, after twenty years of proscription, the amnesty of Aug. 15, 1869, brought him back to Paris, where he at once resumed his journalistic career. He first contributed to the *Rappel*, then one of the most important opposition papers, and in seventeen days work won four convictions amounting to seventeen months of imprisonment. At a banquet held at St. Mandé, a suburb of Paris, on January 21, 1870, after Victor Noir's assassination by Pierre Bonaparte, his secretary, Gromier, read the celebrated toast "To a Bullet" (for Napoleon, of course), for which he was prosecuted, along with other conspirators, before the High Court of Blois and sentenced *in contumaciam* (he had again reached London by that time), August 9, 1870, to five years imprisonment and a fine of six thousand francs. Altogether since the year 1849, Pyat was sentenced to fines amounting to two hundred and twelve thousand francs, to deportation for life, to twenty-nine years and five months imprisonment, five years of especial police survey, and ten years deprivation of all civic rights. And there were still some more convictions for him in store.

As soon as Napoleon, "his personal enemy," had played out at Sedan, Pyat once more crossed the Channel and started *Le Combat*, wherein he vigorously attacked the Gambetta régime. It was in this paper that the first news of the surrender of Metz by Bazaine was published on October 28, which led to many quarrels between Pyat, Flourens, and Rochefort. The official *Gazette* disavowed the truth of the information, and the offices of the paper were ransacked by the National Guard. Three days afterwards the government was compelled to confirm the terrible tidings, and Gambetta made his famous proclamation against the "traitor Bazaine." The result was the uprising of October 31, in which Pyat took a prominent part, but the movement failed, as hardly any one save Blanqui and Pyat did their proper duty. After a fortnight's imprisonment, Pyat continued his campaign in *Le Combat* until General Vinoy suppressed it altogether. On February 4, 1871, he started *Le Vengeur*, and four days after he was elected to the Bordeaux Assembly by 145,872 votes. On March 12, this last paper was also suppressed, but it reappeared under the Commune. Pyat became a member of the Paris Commune for the 10th Arrondissement, voted for the decree on the hostages, for the institution of the Committee of Public Safety, of which he was also a member. On May 22, when the Versailles entered Paris, he published the last issue of *Le Vengeur*, and made a vigorous appeal for resist-

ance. On his proposition it was decided on that day that every member of the Commune should retire to his own arrondissement, there to lead the *fédérés* on the barricades. He was sentenced to death on March 27, 1873, by the third Court Martial, but by then he was in London again. We must say that his actions during the period of the Commune, are described most unfavourably to him in the works of Lissagaray and Arthur Arnould. He neither agreed with the Socialists nor, of course, with the Radicals, and went his own way, an advocate of the barren political revolution. After a new term of exile of eight years, during which he wrote many a pamphlet, now of a more decidedly Socialist character, he returned to Paris and edited *La Commune*, which became indeed an important paper. His articles on the glorification of regicide and the use of physical force in general are certainly the best that have ever been written on those especial lines, but they soon brought him to a new trial and a sentence of two years imprisonment, which put an end to the new venture. Never tired of working for his ideas, in spite of his old age, he edited afterwards *La Commune Libre*, followed by *La Commune Affranchie*, and contributed to *La France*, of Maujan, in which he gave "The Writings of the People," and to *Le Cri du Peuple*, which he left in 1888, when Séverine, its chief editor, severed her connection with the revolutionary organ, once famous under Jules Vallès's brilliant leadership. In March of the same year, Pyat had been elected member of the Chamber of Deputies for Marseilles (Bouches-du-Rhône).

A few days before his death, a law of amnesty was voted by the Chamber, excluding the convicted miners of Decazeville, the Algerians who took part in the insurrection of 1871, and all those sentenced for libel through the press. Old Pyat brought in a counter-bill, proclaiming a full and complete amnesty for all. "I am the oldest revolutionary deputy," he said, "so old, indeed, that I no longer live in hopes of re-entering a new-elected Chamber. As a child, I have seen the results effected by the first Boulanger, the Prussians at Orleans; later, I saw the results achieved by the second Boulanger, the Germans at Tours; I should not wish to witness the results to be brought about by the third, the Germans all over France. This is my political will. I have been amnestied six times, and I come forward to plead the cause of those who have been less fortunate than myself and are still in the bagnios, whilst I am a deputy. The present government is about to have the ashes of a regicide brought back to France amidst great honours, and yet they keep in the galleys the very man who has tried to save France . . . and Russia. I claim the deliverance of Bérézowsky!"

In conclusion, it may be said that the old veteran of the revolutionary cause was a fair, but somewhat antiquated, sample of the Socialists and Democrats of some forty years ago. He knew how to incite to fighting and understood it, to attack an existing government with the most pointed weapons, but he lacked a true appreciation of the place of economic questions in the Socialist movement. After all, he remained faithful to himself and to the cause of the people. His name will be recorded with honour in the revolutionary annals of the nineteenth century. Besides, as a man of letters, after having first revealed to France, Claude Tillier, a vigorous pamphleteer, and Hégésippe Moreau, a great poet, he has conquered for himself one of the highest and most prominent places in the literary history of his country.

VICTOR DAVE.

### LITERARY NOTES.

We are asked to state that copies of *Les deux Congrès . . . Impossibilistes* can be had free on application, from Freedom office, 28, Gray's Inn Road.

We have received for review two numbers of the *Political World*, a weekly newspaper on Liberal-Radical lines. It may be described as a little more advanced than the *Daily News* and a little less so than the *Star*. It goes in for a weekly cartoon. Of those in the two numbers which have reached us, the first, dealing with the housing of the poor, has a centre piece representing John Morley, as the coming minister, introducing Professor Stuart, as the dauntless reformer, to Lord Rosebery, in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square. The noble lord appears to be engaged in wondering as to whom that person may be, and the Professor looks, as is very natural, extremely nervous in such a lofty presence, and as if anxiously seeking a place where he can drop a bundle of bills under his arm, of which he seems to be heartily ashamed. The centre picture is supported by a London policeman in the well-known characters of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. For the present he is Hyde, but under the soothing influence of the County Council he will become as calm and as benignant as the doctor of Louis Stevenson's well-known romance. If the prophetic eye of the *Political World* may be trusted, he will also become fat as well as friendly. We remark that he still holds on to his truncheon. Is there no chance of a relapse into his former savage condition? The rest of the cartoon is occupied by representations of the way in which the workers are forced to live under the rule of the jerry-building capitalist, who is all the while luxuriating in bestial luxury. But will the London Programme alter that? The second cartoon is by Walter Crane, and is to be utilised in future as a cover to the *Political World*. It represents labour (typified in the inappropriate person of Mr. Gladstone) fighting a mail-clad feudal knight (Lord Salisbury). Mr. Gladstone, who—a capitalist by birth, a banker by marriage, and a landlord by choice—and withal an ordinary Liberal politician—impersonates the people. Liberty smiles from above upon the combat, but seems undecided as to the direction of her sympathy with the combatants. On the whole, considering that the paper is evidently written for the middle classes, the editor and publisher may be congratulated on their spirit and enterprise in helping the revolutionary propaganda by so plainly picturing the fight between labour and privilege. The design in itself is of high excellence, as might be expected from the name of the artist.

D. J. N.

To doubt is to think, and to think is to improve.—Dr. Brewer.

Opinions which are equally honest on both sides should not affect personal esteem or social intercourse.—Jefferson.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### THE REVOLT AT THE DOCKS.

I HAVE been an attentive spectator of the scenes that have occurred in East London during the last few days, and I purpose here, instead of giving a dry catalogue of the events that have occurred during the past week, to relate some of my own impressions of what is probably the greatest uprising of labour that has occurred during the present century in the East-end. But before describing the events and actors, let us look at the scene of this immense drama. It is the fashion now to be able, by personal experience, to talk about the East-end, but few of our benevolent slum visitors know anything at all of the region that lies between the Commercial Road and the river, and between the Tower and Limehouse. I will say still more, and that is that many of the dwellers even in the East-end know as little of this mysterious region as they do of Central Africa. No one but the inhabitants of Dock-land can guide you through that labyrinth of narrow lanes that seem cut through the towering walls of lofty warehouses, to be varied now and then by an iron bridge, thrown across the entrance to a dock, which now is like a placid lake, silence brooding around. You cross the bridge, and, passing by a wall, through which you catch a glimpse of some green grass, where some empty casks are piled on a bit of waste land near the river, you ascend a hill and enter a slummy street, gloomy houses, two or three stories high; shops which in most cases seemed to be occupied in vending some frowzy, fly-blown meat, dirty, yellow vegetables, fish not remarkable for its freshness, and bread of which bad potatoes and alum seem the principal ingredients. Here and there a wharf towers above the other houses on the southern side of the street; once busy with seething life, bales being trundled out from them into huge waggons, which afterwards rumbled along the streets with their heavy loads; possibly it is on account of the many perils that await the adventurous stranger that has rendered dock-land so seldom visited, and when the chances are of having your toes smashed by a heavy bale, or being crushed beneath a waggon or a loaded packing case dropping from a crane, added to the fearful perils incurred from the inhabitants of far-famed Ratcliff Highway, the adventurous stranger needs the courage of an explorer to plunge down the narrow lanes that lie East of Tower Hill, and thus penetrate the depths of the unknown. But now it is quiet enough. "It is just like Sunday," as a docker observed to a *Star* man, and the only risk you incur is the minor one of losing your way, and, travelling through a maze of lanes, you end by finding yourself very near the point from which you started.

But now we have described the scene; let us glance at those who live there. The population round the docks is essentially a strong race; the slums may be as hideous as the other parts of the East-end, but they are not so unhealthy, for the stormy winds rush from the sea through the wide estuaries of the Thames, and they scatter impure air and bring the breath of life to its inhabitants. Besides the dock men and coal whippers, the lightermen and carters are men who work in the open air, and depend for their livelihood upon the strength of their arms, therefore they are naturally more vigorous and fearless than the workers in unhealthy factories. There is a pleasant air of lawlessness about the neighbourhood, brought, I suppose, by the many seamen who frequent it; and though Ratcliff Highway is not what it was, there are still some of its former glories lingering about. Fights with fists and knives are not uncommon, and the police have a wholesome dread of many of its inhabitants. Hence their courtesy and good humour, of which we hear so much.

It is not surprising to find that the inhabitants have very sensible notions of treating the disease of Scabism. Unfortunate individuals afflicted with this detestable disease have, according to common report, been treated to a water cure by a ducking in the docks, their heads have been punched without mercy, and they are always certain of a good drubbing and kicking if their amateur doctors can lay hold of them. Strikers have been known to enter a dock or wharf and effect a cure by the announcement that "there was a jolly mob coming round the corner who would give 'em what for if they did not clear out." Even the roughest of strikers are very peaceful in their large processions; but woe to the scab upon whom an isolated party of them lay hands after working hours. A friend of mine saw one of them kicked into a state of insensibility. The police, arriving on the spot, after partially witnessing the performance, mildly inquired as to who had been knocking the man about. They were met with the polite retort of "How the hell do we know; you'd better take him away"—a piece of advice which they proceeded to obey, without the least attempt to interfere with the personal liberty of his attackers. The meekness of the police is, indeed, remarkable. It is said that the other day a file of them were standing in the Whitechapel Road, in the way of the procession. Some coal whippers bade them, in the rough but forcible dialect of the district, "to get out of the bloody way," which they proceeded at once to do. On the whole, the statement of a policeman to a reporter, that "if they chose to be riotous not all the police in London could stop them," seems very near the truth.

Before quitting the subject of scabs, I may mention that it is said that certain Christian missionaries at the East-end have been making themselves very busy by recruiting scabs for the Company. Poor fellows who are out of work have been sent by them to Dock Companies, with a letter of introduction to the managers. The women are heart and soul with the men. Unlike the usual working women, they do not appear to be under the influence of the church or the Primrose League. They are of opinion that "it is better to starve quickly without work than to starve slowly with work." You often see them among the crowds besetting a dock or wharf where scabs are concealed, and they are far fiercer in their exclamations than any of the men. "Oh, you miserable old wretch," shouted one of them at the Free Trade Wharf, to an official who incautiously showed himself, "I'd skin you if I had my way." "I'd tear the wharf down but what I'd have those blackguards out," said another. This is the spirit of the women, and you may judge whether it is revolutionary or not.

Talking of revolt reminds me of the exclamation of a city merchant, as a huge procession marched through the city on Thursday, with banners flying, the band playing the *Marseillaise*, punctuated by the thunder of thousands of marching feet. "Is this a strike or a revolution?" he cried, as he looked with wonder on the mighty host that seemed to have no end, and many Socialists in the ranks echoed it in their hearts. At least, if it is not a revolution, it is the beginning of one.

We have all read in our daily press concerning the huge meetings in Southwark Park and Hyde Park; I shall therefore only mention some matters not

generally noticed. The most striking business in Southwark Park was the large open-air meeting held by the lightermen, coalies, and other river-side trades, at which the conditions which they intended to enforce upon their masters were read out and assented to unanimously, with uproarious shouts of approval. There was great excitement on the road home. Among the procession were a large number of carmen, out on strike, and every man on the cars, still at work, was greeted with groans, yells, hisses, and shouts of "You will have to come out on Monday." As we reached Tooley Street the sky grew black with a coming storm. The shrill wind flapped the banners, and as they climbed the hill leading to the bridge it was a splendid sight to see the waving hats, the tossing banners, and black clouds, big with the approaching storm gathering over-head.

Sunday was festival day in the history of the strike. What need to describe the huge procession blazing with colour, for the strikers like their banners as bright and lively as possible, and that is, perhaps, the reason why so many of them carry the royal standard.

But look how Socialism intrudes, even among this loyal assemblage; side by side are carried two dolls, one decked out in gaudy finery, and the other clothed in filthy rags. One is labelled the docker's baby, the other, the contractor's infant. See yonder those banners of white calico. They bear the proud inscription, "We have got all we want, but we are out on principle." Yes, these coal porters, lightermen, rough carters, and wharfmen are ready to stand by their comrades till the last drop of their blood. Rough, coarse, as the dainty middle-class may consider them, they are ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their more unfortunate fellows. Are they not right who say that the people, marred and disfigured as they may be, have yet in them infinité nobleness and grandeur?

Those who set the noblest example among the processionists are the stevedores. These are skilled artisans who load the vessels, their pay ranges from 7s. to 9s. a-day, and they have a trade union. Yet these men did not hesitate, fine fellows as they are both mentally and physically, to turn out to the help of their poorer brethren. They have nothing so far to gain by this strike, only the loss of their daily wages, and yet they fight courageously, and with a lofty chivalry which might teach their masters a lesson, in the cause of their poorer brethren.

As a proof of the magnificent solidarity of labour, I quote the following. We at the League had heard the false report that Swedes had been engaged to act as scabs. As we thought they had been betrayed into this shameful position through ignorance, we wrote to some branches of the Seamen's Union suggesting that they might utilise the Swedish sailors belonging to their Union to draw their brethren out. We have received the following reply:—

(To D. J. Nicoll, Secretary of the Propaganda Committee.)

3, Mint Pavement, Tower Hill, London, August 24, 1889.

Dear Sir,—In answer to yours of the 22nd, I wish to inform you that all Scandinavians that are members of this branch have pledged themselves to assist the men on strike, and to use every effort to persuade any of their countrymen from working cargo, or doing anything that would be in any way detrimental to the dockers.—Yours in unity,

R. PLEASANCE,

Sec. Tower Branch N.A.S.F.U.

This shows how the men of all nationalities and trades are pulling together. The subscription sheets of the *Star* tell in even a better way than gigantic demonstrations in Hyde Park, how nobly the English workers are supporting their brethren.

The cry is still they come! The workers are pouring by thousands from their workshops—printers' labourers and brass finishers. The coal heavers leave their yards in response to the shouts of their comrades. Bands of these are marching round the Northern suburbs, turning out the men at every yard. The police are powerless before this movement, peaceful, yet overwhelming in its grand significance. It is not only in the East-end, but it is all over London. If this goes on, in a few days the sweaters dens will be deserted. It is the revolt of under-paid labour against the tyrants that have ground the poor wretches down so long; a revolt which carries all before it, which must end gloriously for the people. It seems, indeed, that the sacred torch of revolution has passed once again from France to England, and that our own people have once more to light the world along the path to a brighter and happier future.

#### The Strike in the Fur Trade.

Mark Hacht has received three months for "intimidation" from that Sokon of the magisterial bench, Mr. Saunders, of Dod Street celebrity, one of the worst of the blind old bats who sit there, and administer what is ironically called "justice." "It was the worst case he had ever heard of," said Mr. Saunders. For my part, I think the sentence is about the worst case of magisterial injustice and stupidity I ever heard of.

**STRIKE IN WEXFORD.**—The workmen, to the number of 130, have been locked out at the Mill Road Iron Works of Messrs. Pierce and Son, Wexford, for refusing to work overtime whilst some of their number were unemployed.

**NEGRO LABOUR IN THE SOUTH.**—An inquiry, says the Chattanooga (Tenn.) correspondent of the *Chicago Knights of Labour*, has been instituted with reference to the value of negro labour in industrial channels in the South. Three hundred southern manufacturers, representing all classes of labour, have responded, representing 9,000 negro employés, of whom 2,500 are skilled. The average wages for common labour are 1 dol. 10 c. a-day; skilled labour earns from 1 dol. 75 c. to 2 dols. 25 c., though some puddlers in the iron mills get 4 dols. and even 5 dols. a-day. Without exception the answers show the negro is fully as good if not better than the white men in the South. The prejudice, if there be any, is in his favour, as he is in labour and industrial circles to stay.

**BATTERSEA.**—Friends wishing to join a Battersea branch, write to E. Buteux, 20, Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**STREATHAM.**—The Streatham branch meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m., at the Leigham Arms, Wellfield Road, Streatham.

A Debate will take place on "Social Democracy v. Communist-Anarchy," between Cristie (S.D.F.) and T. Pearson (Freedom Group), on Friday, Sept. 6th, at the Britannia Coffee House, Prebend Street, Packington Street, Essex Road, at 8.30 sharp.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 7, 1889.

1	Sun.	1783. Dean of St. Asaph tried for seditious libel. 1803. Trial of T. M. Roche and Owen Kirwan at Dublin for high treason in taking part in the late rising. 1884. John Snowden, Chartist, died. 1886. Domela Nieuwenhuis released from jail.
2	Mon.	1685. Alice Lisle beheaded. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Lewis's Auction Room, Oxford Street. 1803. Trial of James Byrne at Dublin for high treason in taking part in the late rising. 1830. Riots at Leipzig. 1867. Second General Congress of the International at Lausanne (2nd—8th). 1870. Badinguet surrenders at Sedan. 1871. Courbet tried for desecration of Vendôme Column. 1872. Fifth General Congress of the International at the Hague.
3	Tues.	1650. Battle of Dunbar. 1651. Battle of Worcester. 1658. Oliver Cromwell died. 1794. Watt and Downie tried at Edinburgh for high treason. 1803. Trial of John Begg at Dublin for high treason in taking part in the late rising. 1866. First General Conference of the International (3rd—10th) at Geneva. 1877. Adolphe Thiers died.
4	Wed.	1870. Proclamation of Third French Republic.
5	Thur.	1794. Trial of David Downie for high treason in taking part in the late British Convention, and similar acts. 1803. Trial of Walter Clare at Dublin for high treason. 1842. Trial of 150 "rioters" at York. 1850. Haynau horsewhipped at Barclay and Perkins' Brewery. 1857. Auguste Comte died. 1868. Cab strike in London. 1869. Fourth General Congress of the International (5th—12th) at Basle. 1887. Trades Union Congress at Swansea.
6	Fri.	1798. Oliver Bond died. 1803. Trial of Felix Rourke at Dublin for high treason. 1863. Flight of the King (Bomba) of Naples. 1868. Third General Congress of the International (6th—11th) at Brussels.
7	Sat.	1794. Second trial of David Downie for high treason. 1803. Trial of John Killen and John McCann at Dublin for high treason. 1833. First number of the <i>Pioneer</i> , or <i>Trades Union Magazine</i> , weekly, edited by James Morrison. 1860. Garibaldi enters Naples. 1886. Trades Union Congress at Hull.

#### SOCIALISM AT LEICESTER.

THE ball is certainly rolling in Leicester; F. Charles being here all the week, has utilised his evenings in propagandism. Monday 12th last, we took up our position again in Humberstone Gate; Tuesday night we were in Russell Square; Wednesday night we opened up a new station in Sauvy Gate. Thursday evening we went on our first mission to the country, taking Ainsty, a large village five miles out. Our audience was entirely favourable, and hoped we should come again; Charles made the best speech we have had from him. There were some very sensible and earnest questions at close. Saturday 17th, Gorrie, Charles, and Barclay met Kitz at station and went straight to Loughborough, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, just half-way between Leicester and Nottingham. A Loughborough friend had tried to get our bill posted up in the Liberal Club there; but no! the directors would not allow it. This friend has left the club in consequence. We pitched our tents for the first time, and Charles took the chair and opened; Barclay followed for a few minutes, but was interrupted by an offended Gladstonian who couldn't stomach the G.O.M. being called the "Prince's William." Kitz then made a powerful speech, at the end of which nearly all the prejudice against us was dried up. The curse of party is in full force in Loughborough. The Tories dare not attack us openly for fear of the Liberals, and the Liberals do not like to make themselves too obnoxious to the Tories, many of whom are employers. Where Labour is in the case, the Liberal employer will shake hands with the Tory one and let Liberalism go to the devil. Workmen are victimised for showing zeal in the cause of their party, and are then neglected and left to starve by that party. We had little opposition, save from a Primrose. Kitz, annoyed at his moral obliquity, turned the laugh against him beautifully. We did not try a collection, but we sold 6s. 5d. worth of pamphlets and *Weal*. Kitz spoke at our usual places in Leicester on Sunday morning and evening, speaking over an hour in the evening to an audience of about 500; good impression produced. Trade union leaders conspicuous by their absence; co-operators' guns silenced; Wordsworth-Donisthorpean individualists mute. The morning's discussion had been the sharpest and most prolonged we had had; in the evening, on the contrary, we could get none. We think we shall make a few more members now, and Charles, who has gone on to Nottingham, is to propose to them there that they pepper Loughborough from their side as we do from ours, until we have worked it up thoroughly. Finally, the Radical Club here, which boycotted the discussion of Socialism some eighteen months ago, has sent an invitation to our speakers whenever we can spare them, giving free use of their lecture-room for debates and discussion through the coming winter. T. B.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 2, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, and St. Georges East, to end of June. Manchester, North London, to end of July. Leicester, to end of August.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Sept. 3, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.



**Provincial Missionary Fund.**—Clerkenwell, 2s. 9d.; North London Branch, 8s. 6d.; and Council collection, 4s. 1½d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; J. Watt, 3s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; and Samuels, 1s.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Chelsea*—Good meeting on the Embankment Sunday morning, addressed by Samuels, whose little boy sold 12 'Weal'; several questions asked, and names given in to form a branch. *Streatham*—At Fountain, Kitz and Moore addressed an enthusiastic meeting; collected for the strikers, 10s. 6d. *Battersea*—Good meeting held near Christchurch, Battersea, addressed by Kitz, Mowbray, and Blundell; collected 10s. for the strikers.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, August 25th, at 8.30 p.m., Morrison Davidson in the chair, we held a debate at the Patriotic Club, Clerkenwell Green, J. Turner, S.L., and Herbert Burrows, S.D.F., on "Anarchist Socialism v. Social Democracy." The hall was crowded, and 10s. collected, 5s. of which, after paying expenses for hall, was taken to the *Star* for dock strikers' fund; 'Weal', *Freedom*, and literature sold pretty well; Morrison Davidson, in closing, stated, as an experienced lawyer, he believed Anarchism was not so new as some would think, and believed the same would be the outcome of the present system, as law, in 999 cases out of 1,000, was only necessary through private ownership in property, and as soon as property was made common, laws would not be needed.—S. P.

**EAST LONDON.**—Good meetings held at the Mile End Waste on Tuesday, by Turner and Power; Friday, in connection with the dockers' strike, by Kitz, Nicol, Mowbray, and Parker; when over £2 were collected for the Strike Fund; and on Saturday Samuels, Cores, and others addressed a good meeting, and collected 6s. in aid of the strikers. At Hoxton Church, on Thursday evening, Graham, Murray, and Cores addressed the meeting; 2s. 7½d. was collected for the strikers' funds; Mowbray, Brooks, and Cores spoke at Gibraltar Walk; on Friday 1s. 1½d. was collected; on Sunday morning Cores, Graham, Davis and Parker spoke, and collected 2s. 1½d. for the strikers. Good sales of *Commonweal*.

**MITCHAM.**—Kitz and Dillier addressed a good meeting on the Green; collected for strikers, 5s. 7d.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Maughan, Lyne, sen., Davis, Grierson, and a comrade of S.D.F.; collection for dock labourers, 9s.; *Commonweal* sold well; very good meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers, Lyne, jun., and Tochatti; collected for strikers, 10s. 4d.; *Commonweal* sold well; also a good meeting at Cambridge Gardens; speakers, Maughan, Lyne, sen., Tochatti, Saint. Dean, Crouch: Mrs. Tochatti in the chair, who sang the song for Socialism; collections, 15s. 5d. for strike of dock men; in the afternoon we held a large meeting in the Park; speakers, Tochatti, Lyne, sen., Lyne, jun.; Mrs. Tochatti sang and Crouch spoke; all our 'Weals' sold out, and a good number of pamphlets; collected for strike, £1 5s. 4d.; on Saturday Mrs. Tochatti had a table at Hammersmith, and collected £1 18s., and we, in conjunction with several of the Hammersmith branch, held a meeting in the Grove, and collected £1 10s. 6d. for strike.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 19th Leatham lectured on "Studies of a Socialist in Natural History" to a large audience; Saturday night, at Castle Street, Duncan and Leatham addressed a good meeting; good sale of literature.

**GLASGOW.**—The usual meetings on Green and Paisley Road were addressed by Gilbert, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier; at both meetings stirring appeals were made by our comrades on behalf of London dockers, with the result that 3s. 0½d. was collected at Green, and 5s. 2½d. at Paisley Road, Toll; at evening meeting in our rooms, 2s. 6d. was collected among members for Koeningsberg comrades on strike; it should also be mentioned that at the usual meeting of the Home Government Branch of I.N.L. Glasier delivered a purely Socialist address, which was eagerly listened to.—D. McC.

**LEICESTER.**—Edward Carpenter spoke here Sunday last; morning, "Our Industrial System"; evening, "The Land Question"; 3s. collected, and 5s. of literature sold; Sunday evening Barclay read a condensation of Thorold Rogers's "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," in the Secular Hall, supplemented by remarks of his own, creating a warm discussion with the co-operators.—T. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—When we visited Middleton on Saturday night we found the "Wakes," or annual fair, in full swing, and our ground occupied; we held a short meeting close by, but with little success. On Sunday afternoon Ritson and Marshall addressed an attentive meeting in Stevenson Square; on Sunday night, at Heywood, a good meeting, addressed by Bailie; there is a desire by some sympathisers here to form a branch, which may hereafter be done.

**NORWICH.**—Saturday, usual open-air meeting held on the Haymarket; Sunday morning a meeting held in the Market Place; in the afternoon a good meeting held in the Market, McCormack spoke; in the evening another meeting held in the Market; McCormack and Poynts took part; *Commonweal* sold out.

**YARMOUTH.**—We had a splendid meeting in the morning (Sunday), on Priory Plain; we have beaten the guardians over widow Kersey's case; they have granted her relief again; while our morning meeting was going on, a comrade told Reynolds that men were being engaged to go to London Docks on Monday morning, to take the place of the dock strikers; well, to prove the truth of it, a comrade belonging to our branch went to Turrell's office, and was met at the door, and was asked if he wanted a job; "Yes," said our comrade; well, he was taken inside, and offered 30s. per week, and fare there and back, and was told there were plenty of police ready if necessary; of course, our comrade signed, and came out to tell us the little game; well, Reynolds and Mr. Halliday, of Lincoln, sent a telegram to Burns, Hyde Park demonstration, telling them of the scab work going on; and at night we marched from Colman's Granary to Turrell's office, and held an indignation meeting, giving three groans for the crimping Turrell, and telling the men to keep away from London; it was also agreed to meet at 5.30 next morning, to give the scabs and Turrell a salute, if they go by first train; we had a grand day, and the people are getting courage.—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Saturday, August 24th, H. Sutton Frizelle lectured on "Why are the Workers Poor," giving a graphic description of the condition of the working classes in England, France, and the United States; a very good discussion, Hamilton, O'Gorman, Toomey, and others taking part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Proctor and Rooke addressed a meeting in Sneinton Market on Sunday morning, and another in Great Market in the evening; at the Hall, afterwards, it was decided to take steps to organise a Midland Federation of Socialist bodies.—P.

**ROCHDALE.**—Yesterday we had comrades Sharples, of Blackburn, and L. Hall here; comrade Sharples had a debate in the afternoon with a tradesman in the town, who had enough of it, judging from the way in which he cleared out after it was over; in the evening comrade Hall dealt with some correspondence that had recently appeared in one of the local papers; the audience seemed well satisfied.

**LIVERPOOL.**—Socialists willing to join a Branch of the S. L. in Liverpool should communicate with W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley Street.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday, Sept. 1, at 8.15 p.m., W. Blundell (S.L.) will lecture on "The Dockers' Strike."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 25, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday Aug. 29, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 30, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

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## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 31.

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8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Kitz and Mowbray  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Graham and Davis

### SUNDAY 1.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lyne, sen., Dean, and Saint  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mowbray  
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Parker  
11.30..... Elbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ... Mainwaring, McCormick  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road... Maughan, Lyne jun. and Crouch  
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street ..... Turner  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Nicoll  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Kitz  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Cantwell and McCormick  
4.30..... Victoria Park ..... Mrs. Lahr  
7 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels and Mowbray  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... McCormick, Presburg, and Parker  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... North Kensington—Cambridge Gardens ... North Kensington Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Nicoll  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

### TUESDAY 3.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Presburg

### WEDNESDAY 4.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Samuels

### THURSDAY 5.

8 ..... Ossulston Street ..... Nicoll  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Graham and Mowbray

### FRIDAY 6.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mowbray and Kitz  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 191.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### THE LESSON OF THE HOUR.

THE labour revolt in the East-end, whatever the result of the dock-labourers' strike may be, will leave a lasting impression behind it, at least on the working men. The wiseacre Norwood, in his speech of Tuesday last, made the very remarkable discovery that "the strike was aimed at capital and employers generally," and seemed to think that this *discovery* was a set-off against his other shortcomings.

As a matter of fact, it is just this element of conscious or semi-conscious attack on the slave-drivers generally which distinguishes this strike from the ordinary trades-union bickerings. These latter, as individual struggles, have been usually little more than business disputes between the two parties to a contract, recognised as such by both parties to it. But this is a revolt against oppression: a protest against the brute force which keeps a huge population down in the depths of the most dire degradation, for the benefit of a knot of profit-hunters; and there is no doubt that nothing except the physical force of the executive which is, as it were, keeping the ring in this fight between the public and the shareholders, prevents the revolt from achieving far more success than the attainment of its immediate and declared aims.

In short, other strikes have been, on the surface, strikes of the business-accessories of the factory against its financial managers; this is a strike of the poor against the rich.

Let us hope that those of the respectable classes who have so loudly expressed sympathy with the strikers understand this: because if they do, it gives us a dawning hope that they will be prepared to meet us half-way when the crisis comes, when the workmen have come to understand definitely their full claim. For indeed they may be sure that this will be the only way to prevent those terrors which haunt the dreams of the the useless rich; it will be worth more to the pleasure of their lives than all the array of brute force, which they will certainly not always be able to depend upon; since, after all, that force is necessarily made up of men who are *workmen* forced by ill-luck into the ranks of the soldiery and the police.

As Burns hinted when the guards passed the meeting on Tower Hill the other day, they who are now hapless tools of the rich will presently become their hapless slaves once more, as they were before they put on their livery-coats.

Meantime, do not let us deceive ourselves as to the amount and quality of this respectable sympathy. We will not be ungenerous; we are quite sure that with many of the well-to-do the sympathy is genuine; that the horrible poverty of the East-end workers (and how many thousands outside the East end) has touched their hearts; and these people will become Socialists of some kind before the end. But I fear that they are in the minority among the respectables (or rather I know it) and that the rest have been rather *cowed* into silence, or into venting their irritation against the strike, by falling foul of Norwood and his gang; who, after all, are only following the necessary custom of the *whole gang*.

If this were not so, why do not the subscriptions to the strike fund amount to £20,000 or £30,000 instead of what they amount to now? They are workmen's pennies, somewhat eked out by contributions from a few of the better off; mostly those who can least afford it.

One word about the withdrawn manifesto of the Strike Committee. It was to have been expected that it would be attacked furiously by the capitalist press, but it was not to be expected that any calling themselves Socialists should have attacked it; and it is most lamentable that they should have done so, as they may perhaps see by the avidity with which their opinions were recorded by the capitalist press. For us surely the mere fact that it was thought possible to bring about a general strike in London remains the central point in the history of

the strike; let us hope that the aspiration toward the use of such an effective weapon against Capital may remain in the minds of the more considerate of the workers and bring forth fruit before long.

"A good man will be contented fast enough if he be fed and clothed sufficiently; but if a man be not well fed and clad, he is a base wretch to be contented." So says William Cobbett, and certainly the strikers might have one more banner with this inscription written on it. We have learned a good deal since William Cobbett's time, and some of us have become very "refined" indeed; but still on this foundation of victuals and shelter without anxiety must you build "refinement" and all.

Those who are "discontented" on the grounds given by Cobbett, know all about the meaning of that phrase so often used, "insufficiency of food and shelter"; and I am afraid it says little for the keenness of imagination at the present day, that those who have *not* suffered the insufficiency have so very little an idea of what it means. From that unimaginative content of the well-to-do comes all that covert hatred of the poor as inconvenient people, which is so common amongst us, and will one day (who can doubt it?) be so bitterly revenged.

This is the cause of the filling of the jails with manufactured criminals, a sort of criminal capital to be used for the production of more criminals; the preaching of thrift to people earning precarious starvation wages; the horrors of the workhouse, where poverty is punished for being poor; the horrors of the slum, which mocks the beauty of the earth outside the city, and the attempt to get rid of which is thrust aside as an insoluble problem; while all sorts of miracles, chemical, mechanical, and what not, are being invented for the benefit of capitalistic man, each one of them a million times more difficult than the due feeding and housing of all industrious persons.—IF we could but once have the wits to cease oppressing others for our own discomfort.

One thing is to me certain, that anyone of the well-to-do class whose imagination is sufficiently touched for him to have a vision of poverty and to gain an inkling of what it means, must either become a Socialist of some sort, or else join Mr. Justice Stephen's Religion of Inhumanity; and rather than that they had better, for their own sakes, have been knocked on the head while they were young enough to be innocent of cynicism at least. I say to all rich men, "Once feel what poverty is, and you must either be a Socialist or a cruel tyrant conscious of your tyranny." Are there such men? I should hope only a very few, and that the rest who sin against the people do so out of sheer stupidity.

The Great Strike does seem (as such things sometimes will) to have enlightened these last a little, to have touched their sluggish imaginations. If that could last, it would be something of a gain if there were no other. Yet I cannot help thinking that fear was an element of that enlightenment, at all events with many.

Meantime, surely a man of any imagination must have felt both puzzled and disgusted at the sentences on the men for intimidation. Here was the public sympathising with the efforts of the men to gain a better livelihood, and scolding at their immediate tyrants the Dock Companies; and yet through their magistrates and police-courts these very same sympathisers were punishing the strikers for doing what was necessary to carry on the strike. And this although the capitalist papers—e.g., the *Daily News*—admitted that the intimidation was probably merely formal, and that the men were quite willing to accept the intimidation as an excuse for coming out. Certainly hypocrisy is a very useful—virtue—and one cannot wonder that it is so sedulously cultivated in the first commercial country, the *most practical* people, in the world.

The recovery of trade, the cessation of depression, has been crowed over considerably of late; and some persons, both foes and friends,



have seen in it the herald of the disappearance of Socialism; a most stupid assumption, and on the part of friends most cowardly, as has been pointed out in these columns a week or two back. But in any case a full recovery of trade to the period of Mr. Gladstone's "leaps and bounds" is a very unlikely event. Even now in the full flush of the "recovery" we find the cotton-trade in a disastrous condition; Blackburn, *e.g.*, which but less than a year ago, was, as I was told when there, doing as brisk a business as might be, now shutting up mills on all hands.

By all means no fatalistic folding of the hands for Socialists! Let us go on with our work as briskly as possible, whatever temporary discouragements we may meet with. But this we may be sure of: first, that modern capitalism is doomed to destroy itself; and secondly, that no new form of capitalism can arise from its ashes: that nothing but Socialism can arise from them.

W. M.

## ABSTINENCE.

I AM not a total abstainer, nor a vegetarian. Although I believe in Malthusianism as a theory, I scorn the life of a cold-blooded bachelor. It goes without saying that I smoke a pipe. I have no great admiration for abstentions of any kind. There are thin people whose only virtues consist of abnegation, which, when you note the superior pleasure it seems to afford them, is no great mortification of the flesh after all. Surely a man is admirable more for the good he does than for the evil he abstains from doing. I can conceive of a person so anxious to avoid evil that he would miss all opportunity of doing good—his rule of life being a mere wary evasion of danger and difficulty. Indeed, one does not need to conceive such persons; we all know them.

I have known a glass work wonders in the way of thawing frosty reserve, which, but for its kindly influence, would never have dissolved. As for a pipe, to praise its offices would carry me beyond my depth. When I see a man who fidgets as he sits, who does not know what to do with his feet and hands, who never dreams or philosophises, I judge at once that his education has been neglected—that he does not smoke. Smoking is an employment which, providing amusement, while leaving the mind clear and free, reconciles men to physical passivity, and makes patience possible. By disposing men to follow things to their roots, it develops the bump of causation; and the person who smokes can afford to think twice before he speaks.

And yet I feel that I ought to be a teetotaler. The sociability that requires drink to call it forth is not worth much; and how many men have sworn eternal friendship at the street corner after a carouse, and ever after passed one another with a dry and distant nod. If drink sometimes performs the social function of forming and cementing friendships, it has ruined more friendships than ever it formed. To say nothing of the expenditure of money, time, and health over drink, it befogs the brains of those who have need of all the brains they possess to enable them to circumvent the enemy. The fellow who shouts his beery applause at whatever you say, and effusively shakes your hand at the close of a meeting, disgusts the by-standers and is a nuisance and a disgrace to every cause he favours.

There is an immense deal of truth in what the temperance people say as to the widely pervasive anti-social effects of intemperance. The large proportion of the people who live in slums are there, directly, or indirectly, through drink. There are, indeed, thousands of widows in the slums who, like Mrs. Nubbles, in "The Old Curiosity Shop," support a family by charring, sewing, and matchbox-making, and, by hard work, manage to preserve a measure of decency and self-respect. But was it hard work, or drink, that took away the husbands? Probably, a good deal of both, but especially drink, which, when it does not cut off the drinker precipitately, shortens his life by an insidious process of devitalisation. Drink helps to fill our prisons and asylums. It leads the giddy girl into harlotry. It carries distress and sorrow into millions of homes. It robs the masses of the education that might go on after the lad or lass has left school. It reconciles the miserable to their misery. I know scores of youths who look forward to their "pint" on Saturday night, and who, while that can be had, find the drudgery and abuse of the rest of the week tolerable. Your pothouse politician is no great social force.

The workers of Britain are said to spend about one hundred million pounds a year in liquor. That is not the entire national drink bill, which I have seen stated at one hundred-and-thirty-six millions; but the most enthusiastic temperance advocate will admit that the upper and middle classes contribute thirty-six millions of that amount. Well, if the masses spend one hundred million pounds in drink, I have no hesitation in saying, although I contribute my mite to this grand total, that it is one hundred millions too much; for I would not have liquor used even as a medicine. I know that doctors disagree; but intelligent people usually incline to one view or the other, whether they care to admit it or not; and I have adopted the view that alcohol, as a medicine, does more harm than good, and that any good it does could be better accomplished by other means.

Some of our comrades contend, according to the theory of the iron law of wages, that if the workers did not spend this money on drink they would not get it to spend at all. I myself have, I regret to say, blundered into this contention when, in the hurry of speaking, a better argument against the claim of teetotalism escaped my recollection. The iron law theory, as applied to total abstinence, will not bear examination. It is easy to see that if the workers did not spend their money on drink they could spend it on something else. Could not the standard

of comfort be kept as high under a system of total abstinence as it is at present? Nay; could it not be raised higher? I am aware that saving, living beneath one's income, might, if generally practised, have the effect of lowering wages. (I say *might*, because the so-called iron law of wages has no great rigidity about it, but can be, and is, defeated by combination and legislation). But to save money by overcoming a bad habit does not involve that we should live on less. The money spent on drink could, and, if the drinking were stopped, would, be spent on useful articles, the manufacture of which would benefit the worker as producer, and the use and enjoyment of which would benefit the worker as consumer.

It is not worth much to say that the man who drinks his wages as he earns them has nothing to fall back upon in the event of a strike. He will be under strong temptation to turn rat, or scab, and he will be likely to put up with more oppression from his foreman, say, than the man who feels he can afford to be out of a job for a week, while he looks for work elsewhere. He must not suppose that prosperity makes for contentment. It is not the prosperous people, but the soakers, the people who are in debt and difficulties, who are our opponents. Political organisations and trade combinations are supported by the sober, rather than by the drinking, section of the working class. The periods of prosperity are the epochs of progress. Then the outlook takes the form of hope, and a steady hope is a better stimulus than despair.

If the hundred millions annually spent on drink were spent on clothing, food, furniture, and books, it would give employment to a million men at 30s. a week, after making full allowance for the displacement of labour caused by the abolition of the drink traffic. If the hundred millions spent on drink were spent on useful commodities, it would make up the difference between the most prosperous year and the most depressed year in trade. One hundred million pounds is about a thirteenth of the annual national income.

All this is very commonplace, and by association may seem even vulgar. But in following up new light, and in seeking to found a new gospel which will charm, as the old has failed to do, we are in danger of overlooking or underrating the value of the truth that lies in the commonplace.

Of course I do not for one moment pretend, as some temperance advocates do, that to shut the public house is to solve the social problem. I do not forget that, if the masses spend one hundred millions on drink, they are also fleeced every year of eight times as much by landlords, capitalists, and their hangers-on; that in interest alone they lose two hundred-and-fifty millions annually; that in rent 200 millions go past them. I do not barter, nor even abate, my ideal of the full-developed, well-rounded, communal life of the future for a teetotalist's mess of pottage, but I have jotted down these observations because I feel that some of us are not sound, not quite wise, on this matter.

I am of opinion, moreover, that the drink question is one with which we shall have to deal, either before, or soon after, we enter on the communal life. We all believe, with Bellamy, that to-day the position of humanity is as that of "a rosebush planted in a swamp, watered with black bog-water, breathing miasmatic fogs by day, and chilled with poison dews at night," and that when it is transplanted into the conditions of a better world, and has for the first time a chance of growing in goodness and beauty, it will be so transformed that we shall forget it was once the mean and vicious thing which it appears at present. We all believe this, I repeat, but one does not require to be a pessimist to see that the very virtues which the new order will call forth may, without due safeguards, lead us into the temptation of intemperance. To lift the yoke from the shoulders of toil-burdened, care-deadened men and women, and give them leisure, and the means of enjoying it, is a process not unattended with danger. It is not difficult to conceive of circumstances in which drink may exercise a fascination over generous and impulsive men; and I trust we shall always have impulsive men. Conduct is largely, if not wholly, determined by temptation, both good and bad, and it ought to be our aim to make it, as a great phrase-master has said, easy to do right and difficult to do wrong.

JAMES LEATHAM.

Live your own life in your own day. *You are not your grandmother!*

COLLECTIONS FOR DOCKER'S STRIKE.—Hammersmith and North Kensington branches of the S.L., £1; Aberdeen branch, £2 8s.; collected by Mr. Tochatti at Beadon Road, Hammersmith, on Monday, Aug. 26th, 16s. 3d.

Anyone who wants to see what a few workmen can do for themselves without injuring their fellows—even benefitting a good many of them—should send a stamp to the Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturing Society, Nutclough Works, Hebden Bridge, Yorks, for a pamphlet giving the story of the formation of the society and its subsequent history. It is a record of high resolve and strong endeavour, that we are glad to see is bearing fruit. If only the mass of the workers could see how easily masters are dispensed with, and how easy it is to combine!

SOCIALISM IN ABERDEEN.—A capital week's work has been done here. At indoor meeting on Monday, Leatham lectured to crowded audience on the question, "Why do we Punish Criminals?" *re* the Maybrick case; 5s. collected for dock labourers. The following meetings have been held at Castle Street during the week, the collections being for the strikers:—On Thursday night, speaker Duncan, collected 9s.; on Friday night, speakers, Duncan and Leatham, collected 6s.; on Saturday night, speakers, Duncan, Aiken, and Leatham, collected 19s. 4d.; large sale of literature; tall hat, which insinuated that we would "have a good booze off that," threatened by crowd with a ducking in the fountain. On Sunday afternoon, Duncan and Leatham addressed a meeting on the Inches, collecting 13s. 8d. Total for the five meetings, £2 13s. We are adding to our membership every week.—L.

# THE BOURGEOIS: ANNO 1829.

(By HEINRICH HEINE. Translated by C. S. CALVERLEY.)

I CRAVE an ampler, worthier sphere :  
I'd liefer bleed at every vein  
Than stifle 'mid these hucksters here,  
These lying slaves of paltry gain.

They eat, they drink ; they're every whit  
As happy as their type, the mole ;  
Large are their bounties—as the slit  
Through which they drop the poor man's dole.

With pipe in mouth they go their way,  
With hands in pocket ; they are blest  
With grand digestions : only they  
Are such hard morsels to digest !

The hard that's red with some dark deed,  
Some giant crime, were white as wool  
Compared with these sleek saints, whose creed  
Is paying—all their debts in full.

Ye clouds that sail to far-off lands,  
O waft me to what clime ye will !  
To Lapland's snows, to Libya's sands,  
To the world's end—but onward still !

Take me, O clouds ! They ne'er look down ;  
But (proof of a discerning mind)  
One moment hang o'er Hamburg town,  
The next they leave it leagues behind.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 14, 1889.

8	Sun.	1812. John Martin born. 1819. First number of the <i>Cap of Liberty</i> ; lasted to Jan. 4, 1820. 1882. Arabi declared a rebel.
9	Mon.	1803. Trial of Joseph Doran at Dublin for high treason. 1830. Outbreak at Dresden. 1864. Louis Lingg born. 1883. Swiss Workmen's Congress. 1887. Mitchelstown massacre.
10	Tues.	1797. Mary Wollstonecroft Godwin died. 1801. Rev. Gilbert Wakefield died at Hackney. 1803. Trial of Thomas Donnelly, Nicholas Farrell ( <i>alias</i> Tyrrell), Laurence Begley ( <i>alias</i> Bayly), and Michael Kelly, at Dublin, for high treason. 1883. Trades Union Congress opened at Nottingham.
11	Wed.	1677. James Harrington died (writer of 'Oceana'). 1752. New Style Calendar introduced in Britain. 1819. Trial at Lancaster of James Watson and Laurence Moss for "a conspiracy to raise the wages of weavers at Blackburn." 1823. D. Ricardo died. 1839. Riot at Sheffield caused by cavalry attack on a Chartist meeting. 1848. Hungarian rebellion breaks out. 1867. Capture of Kelly and Deasy at Manchester. 1879. Communist rising in Colombia, South America. 1884. Trades Union Congress opened at Aberdeen.
12	Thur.	1793. Rev. Thomas Fyshe Palmer tried for "seditious practices" in publishing an address of the Friends of Liberty adopted at the Berean Meeting House, Dundee. 1812. Luddite riot at Leeds. 1820. Twenty-two reformers tried for high treason, York. 1860. William Walker shot. 1886. Monument to Arnaud unveiled in Paris.
13	Fri.	1806. C. J. Fox died. 1819. Henry Hunt makes a public entry into London, attended by Preston the cobbler, Waddington the billsticker, Watson, and a procession of 200,000 persons.
14	Sat.	1791. French Constitution accepted by the King. 1800. Food-riots in London. 1819. Reform riots at Paisley and Glasgow. 1839. Dissolution of Chartist National Convention. 1843. Revolutionary movement in Greece.

## LITERARY NOTES.

THE New Co-operative Publishing Co. has just issued its first list of books for the forthcoming season. It contains several noteworthy works, amongst others a novel by Miss Amye Reade (a relative of the late Charles Reade), entitled "Ruby." This is a realistic story of circus life, and is not unlikely to create a stir. Another realistic story of to-day is "A Manchester Shirt-maker," by John Law, the author of "Captain Lobe." The list further includes a book of stirring adventure, "After Shipwreck," by J. A. Owen ; "A Book of Vagrom Men and Vagrant Thoughts," by a new writer ; "The Education of Man," by John G. Speed ; "The Laws of National Evolution," from the French of Ph. Delbert ; "Fifine," a novel by A. T. Story, and "Only Half a Hero," by the same writer. Additions to this list are promised shortly—not a bad start for so young an enterprise.

A workingman to-day is not as well taken care of as were the slaves of the South in long time ago. As an illustration we give the following : A man in one of our shops was injured three weeks ago so as to disable him from working ; he was hauled to his home in the carriage of the boss, who has not visited him since. In the days of slavery, the boss looked after his chattel and provided for him with food ; to-day, as soon as a man is unable to work he is carted off to die.—*Labour Herald*.

THE EIGHT HOURS' QUESTION.—The following, says the *Railway Review*, is the result of the plebiscite taken among the members of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants on the Eight Hours' Question :—In favour of an eight hours' working-day, 3,344 ; not in favour, 350 ; in favour of eight hours being obtained by Act of Parliament, 2,190 ; against Act of Parliament, 1,504. Out of 13,000 voting papers issued, it will be seen that only 3,694—little over a fourth—have been returned, a number that cannot be of much service in gauging the views of the members on the question. If the figures mean anything at all it is that the bulk of the members feel no interest in the matter whatever, and declined to reply to the questions put.

## SOCIALISM IN SWEDEN.

A FEW words about Swedish Socialist leaders will, I think, be interesting. Two of them are bourgeois—Hjalmar Branting, of *Socialdemokraten* (Stockholm), is bourgeois by birth and education ; Axel Danielsson, of *Arbetet* (Malmö), is a proletarian by birth, but bourgeois by education. Economically, it, of course, means exactly the same to be a bourgeois in Scandinavia as in England, but not quite so intellectually. When a Scandinavian bourgeois leads anything else than a pure animal and economical life—I daresay it is not very often, but still—he is much better educated, much more truly refined in his taste, and much more modern in his thought than the English one. (I say so having studied both.) Chauvinism is not the worst vice of the better sort of an educated Swede. He is rather cosmopolitan, having a smattering of knowledge of everything modern, and being well trained in German, English, French, and Russian literature and science ; and last, not least, he has a very excellent, very revolutionary, novelistic and dramatic literature of his own. Ibsen is his prophet, and he admires such in their ways revolutionary and uncompromising geniuses as Björnson, Lie, Kielland, Jacobsen, Strindberg, etc., who would be quite impossible in English literature. In this respect the evolution from Swedish (or Scandinavian) bourgeois to Socialist is the easiest possible. Hjalmar Branting is a fair, and not isolated, sample of such an evolution. He went to school with the present Swedish Crown Prince—and now he is in prison (Branting, not the Crown Prince) for publishing socialistic ideas. His paper is, on the whole, the best managed of the Swedish Socialist press. Branting is strongly Marxistic—perhaps, not to a slight extent, because the university youths of Sweden are impregnated with German science, and it therefore lies very near to a man like Branting to fall into a rather one-sided and exaggerated reliance upon German socialistic authority. Both theoretically and practically this seems to me noticeable by our Stockholm comrades. Evolution in everything—in Socialist theory and tactics before anything !

This slight reproach cannot be directed against Axel Danielsson. His strong, healthy mind is full of desire for movement onwards. He hates all authority, political and intellectual. He dislikes socialistic centralisation, and preaches autonomy. He has got his eyes open for the necessity of directing special agitation against political authority of all sorts—socialistic or bourgeois. Danielsson is a lively, charming writer, and his leaders in *Arbetet* are sometimes beautiful monuments of best modern revolutionary literature. He has been in prison one year now, and has got to stay eight long months more. Hitherto he has kept his freshness of mind most admirably. May he succeed to do so unto the end ! He is a man that Swedish Socialism cannot afford to lose. His young wife promises to be a good co-worker in the interest of the cause.

The life of Pehr Eriksson, of *Folkets Röst* (Gothenberg), is typical of the Swedish proletarian. He is a native of Dalecarlia, and was first painter, afterwards compositor, by trade. His parents were the poorest kind of Swedish land-proletarians, who worked in the forests throughout the dreadful nine months' winter of North Sweden, and for all that excess of toil could not afford always to eat unmixed bread or porridge. Starving, freezing, and overwork was the essence of his childhood. When he as a youth was sent to the metropolis to learn a trade, he still had to lead a brutally hard life. A "peasant-boy" can, in such an event, always calculate on getting a little more ill-treatment than a "town-boy"—in Sweden there is namely still the ancient hostility between town and country. Certainly, Eriksson had to taste life from its very harshest side, and he ought to bring into the movement a sound experience of the sufferings of the poorest Swedish wage-slaves, and of the injustices they have to endure from their petty tyrants. His practical knowledge of this side of Swedish life makes him able for propagandist work among that socially and intellectually low, but—in Sweden, at least—bodily and morally healthy class, which it is often difficult for the highly educated man to reach. Eriksson seems to be a man of ability and great energy,—now he is in prison for a year, which gives him a, perhaps, not wholly unwelcome rest, after a life of incessant struggle for existence.

These are three types of Swedish Socialist leaders. Among the rest, with whom I cannot occupy myself now, is August Palm—perhaps the best known of them all, as far as foreign countries are concerned. He is the best popular agitator of the party, has the greatest merits in the spreading of Socialism in the country and the small towns. He was the first Social Democrat in Sweden, and has been in prison for the cause several times already. The Stockholm group is said to be more orthodox Marxistic, and the Malmö one of a more autonomistic character. But there is no split, and no quarrel—and in so far Swedish Socialism compares favourable with the English.

STN.

TAX-DODGERS.—The migration of the tax-dodgers took place on the last day of April ; they will return on the second day of December, having spent just six months and one day in their country places, whereby they shifted the paying of a large proportion of their taxes to more economical regions. It is a very equitable arrangement, for it is only the rich man who can save money in this way, while his poorer neighbour, who has no country seat to which he can escape, must pay to the uttermost farthing. The system stimulates the impecunious to become wealthy, and helps the rich to become richer. It is, therefore, perfectly good and just.—*Marion Crawford, in "An American Politician."*

THE GOSPEL OF PLENTY.—Intelligent discontent is divine. By it everything worth having has been achieved. I wish I could kindle the flame of it in your breast. I am glad that it burns in mine. I am glad that I cannot see a palace or a hovel, a millionaire or a tramp, a pure mother or a street-walker, without being wrought into a fury by the needless contrasts presented. And I exhort you to join the church of the Holy Discontent. That is a church in which I believe. Its beatitude is this : Blessed is he who has neither too much nor too little. Its creed is this : I believe in the saving power of plenty. I believe that poverty as a social phenomenon is a crime. I believe that bad laws make bad men and a bad religion. I believe that no man should be allowed to appropriate wealth by law. I believe that each man and woman in the world should have and enjoy equal political and industrial opportunity with every other person. I believe that when vested rights are injurious to human welfare they become vested wrongs which we are not bound to respect. I believe that church and state were made for man and not man for them, and when they cease to be servants and become tyrants they must be changed or overthrown. I believe in the essential power of right and in the essential goodness of human nature, and I therefore hope for the time when there will be neither superfluity for a few nor poverty for the many, but enough for all.—*Hugh O. Pentecost.*



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

T. B. (Leicester).—Report came Wednesday morning; a day too late.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED:—Will be used: "The Power of the People," "The Vital Question Again," "What the Soil can Produce."

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 4.		
ENGLAND	FRANCE	
Brotherhood	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	
Church Reformer	Le Proletariat	
Die Autonomie	La Revolté	
International Review	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	
Justice	HOLLAND	
Labour Elector	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Labour Tribune	BELGIUM	
London—Freie Presse	Ghent—Vooruit	
Railway Review	ITALY	
Seafaring	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Unity	PORTUGAL	
Worker's Friend	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	
Wakefield Free Press	GERMANY	
NEW SOUTH WALES	Berlin—Volks Tribune	
Hamilton—Radical	HUNGARY	
INDIA	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
Bankipore—Behar Herald	SWEDEN	
UNITED STATES	Malmö—Arbetet	
New York—Freiheit		
Truthseeker		
	SPAIN	
	Madrid—El Socialista	
	Seville—La Solidaridad	

LIFE AND LABOUR IN EAST LONDON.<sup>1</sup>

"Of the making of books there is no end," was the weary cry of an old time book reviewer, which is often re-echoed over the book-making which is still going. Book-making in excelsis is exhibited in the particular work in hand; it tells us nothing new, but re-relates a tale told ten thousand times before, and often in better fashion, for the tremendous length and detail will almost assuredly deter any but the most determined from attempting its pages. The only people at all likely to read this book are those who have gone through at least a dozen similar works. Mill's "Poverty and the State," Sims's "How the Poor Live," Kay's "Social Condition and Education of the People," Sargent's "Economy of the Labouring Classes," the "Essays" written in competition for the Rev. John Minter Morgan prize, Mayhew's "London Labour and London Poor," are only a few which can be recalled in a minute, all telling the same tale, all giving the same momentary feeling of despair, disgust, sympathy, and—in perhaps a few cases—of remorse, and all in a very short time completely forgotten and abortive.

The one feature peculiar to Mr. Booth's work is—as of course becomes a member of the Statistical Society—the elaboration of what I suppose our editor-in-chief would call "the method of the duck's egg." Tables of figures, and columns of figures, big masses and little, turn up everywhere; and would, but for Mr. Booth's excessive optimism, have suggested a much better title than the one which was, after some trouble, finally adopted.

<sup>1</sup> "Life and Labour in East London." Edited by CHARLES BOOTH. Demy 8vo, pp. 598; map. London: Williams and Norgate. 1889.

The "Roll Call of the Army of the Damned," or, the "Field State of the Army of the Revolution," would have, either of them, been more appropriate as exact to fact and possibilities. For the terms "Life" and "Labour," according to any ideas of Ruskinian definition, could never be applied to such a record as is given in our six hundred pages of Inferno. This may seem strong, but is none too strong as a protest against what seems an optimism which the whole book is a denial of.

How a man can give page after page of such detail as is given on say pp. 7-10, the summing-up of which is "an awful place"; how an author can prove as ours does, that any real love of home, any circle of enduring friends is impossible, because of the continual breaking up of the association—not to speak of the positive physical breaking up of the "home" as represented by constantly shifting furniture; how a man can epitomise so accurately modern commerce, as where he says, "people are selling things of hardly any value to people with hardly any money"; how, after showing that there are 314,000 sinking to want, he can bring himself to say, "there is a disgrace, not a danger," is only to be explained by his fatal optimism, or a mental obliquity of vision which defies facts no matter how or by whom stated.

One would much like to have an accurate knowledge of Mr. Booth's standard or standards of happiness, for without such it is hard to balance together statements such as "their life is an unending struggle," and that they are "more or less in want but not in distress."

It may be true that where there are "only" 43,000 or 24 per cent. in poverty, against 140,000 or 76 per cent. in comfort, there may be no "danger" only disgrace, but how about the "danger" when, as in St. George's, we have the numbers so evenly balanced as 23,000 in poverty against 24,000 in comfort (p. 62), especially when we come to know what this "comfort" really is; when we learn that "St. George's appears to stagnate with a squalor peculiar to itself," that "it shares in the poor characteristics of both her neighbours, and is more entirely poverty stricken than either" (p. 65).

For the purposes of this enquiry the whole population of 909,000 is divided into eight classes:—

(A) The lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers, and semi-criminals.

(B) Casual earnings—"Very Poor."

(C) Intermittent earnings—"Poor."

(D) Small regular earnings—"Poor."

(E) Regular standard earnings—"Above the Line of Poverty."

(F) Higher Class Labour.

(G) Lower Middle Class.

(H) Upper Middle Class.

Of A, roughly 11,000, our author says, "Their life is the life of savages, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and occasional excess . . . the ready materials for disorder when occasion serves. They render no useful service, they create no wealth; more often they destroy it. They degrade whatever they touch, and as individuals are perhaps incapable of improvement" (p. 38). "A considerable number of discharged soldiers are to be found in Classes A and B."

Seeing that by "Poor," our "author" means a regular, though bare, income of 18s. to 21s. for a family, and that B, 100,000, is classed as "Very Poor," which means "those who fall below that standard," one is a bit puzzled to know what else their lives can be than the life of savages—extreme hardship, with occasional excess.

In the opinion of the author, Class C, 74,200, is the class which, above all others, is the most proper field for systematic charitable assistance; they are, "more than any others, the victims of competition, and on them falls with particular severity the weight of recurrent depressions of trade."

The possible standard of life of A, B and C may roughly be judged by the fact that Class D ("Small Regular Earnings") embraces 129,000, such as carmen, where men remain at a wage of 21s., or less, for fifteen or twenty years, "being in a comfortable position at the start, but getting poorer and poorer as their family increased, and improving again as their children became able to add their quota to the family income" (p. 49), to which statement much exception can be taken, for the improvement but very rarely takes place, two main reasons preventing. First, by the time the family has grown up, the father is fifteen or twenty years older, and is of less value to his employer, and has probably been reduced; secondly, the early marriage of the expected contributor.

E is taken as a class earning, a regular wage of from 22s. to 30s., in numbers 377,000, the largest of all.

F is rated from 30s. to 50s., and numbers about 121,000.

G ("Lower Middle Class"), i.e., shopkeepers, small employers, clerks, and subordinate professional men, taken at about 34,000.

H ("Upper Middle Class") number about 45,000, and are those who generally manage to keep one servant, or, in a few cases, two, and who, in many cases, are almost as much deserving of pity as any of the first four classes.

Summing up, Mr. Booth, by grouping, has, in Classes A, B, C and D, 314,000, or 35 per cent. of population, in poverty, sinking to want, and E, F, G, and H, 577,000, or 65 per cent. in comfort, rising to affluence.

THOMAS SHORE.

(To be continued.)



## THE DOCK LABOURERS' STRIKE.

THE following song is being sung in the East-end to the tune of "God Save Ireland." Its lack of literary finish may be easily pardoned in a spontaneous popular effusion of the kind :—

At the Docks there is a strike the Companies don't like,  
A tanner an hour a working man to pay ;  
Like slaves they'd have them work far worse than any Turk,  
And make them sweat their lives out every day.

*Chorus*—Strike boys, strike for better wages,  
Stand out until they give you better pay,  
You work hard at the Docks, stick out like  
fighting cocks,  
Then the masters all to you they must give way.

Every morning there flocks for employment at the Docks  
Hard-working men who scarce can get a meal,  
With wives and children dear 'twill make you shed a tear,  
If you only knew the hardship that they feel.

There's a lot of men they seek, for about a pound a week,  
They'll take on any duffer that comes near,  
It is sweating with a will, they try your place to fill,  
But that won't wash with working-men it's clear.

If you stick up for your rights you'll put the Companies in a plight,  
For meetings and processions there has been,  
Speeches in galore, and the jolly Stevedore's,  
The Seamen and the Firemen, too, were seen.

Starvation 'tis they bids to a man with seven kids,  
When he brings home only fifteen pence a day,  
What can they get to eat? a bloater's quite a treat,  
It often takes his all his rent to pay.

Here's health to Mr. Burns, he's done us all a turn,  
Mr. Tillet, Mann, and Mr. Toomey too.  
Don't give in a bit, for you've got them in a fit,  
You've put the Dock Companies in a stew.

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

ON Tuesday, Aug. 28th, the strike threatened to become general. Coal heavers, brass finishers, printer's labourers, rope makers, and tailors were all turning out. Revolt was contagious. On that afternoon I was passing through Commercial Road on the top of a tram, after attending the meeting at West India Docks. I saw a ring of factory girls performing a Carmagnole dance of triumph at the gates of a rope factory, occasionally bumping against the gates as if with the intention of forcing them in. Further down, they were bringing men, boys, and girls out of a biscuit factory, a good-humoured crowd standing at the door laughing and chaffing the strikers in a most fraternal manner. Descending from the tram I entered a quiet street, where there was already some appearance of fermentation. Gathered around a sweater's shop was a large crowd; the shop was guarded by a strong force of police, who were evidently apprehensive of having the windows broken.

When night falls upon the disturbed scene, gangs of ragged barefooted children parade the streets, carrying some rags elevated upon a pole and accompanying their parade with the rattle of tin-pots and pans; they are playing at "strikers." Soon after the streets are lighted up for the night; the sound of a drum and fife band is heard, and a procession from one of the side streets crosses the road. It is a number of carmen, who, exhilarated by the general situation, seem inclined to be noisy. They march rather confusedly down Christian Street in the direction of Cable Street, and returning to Commercial Road march off in the direction of Mile End Waste. Here every night since the beginning of the strike huge crowds have collected, and while the glaring gas falls upon their white upturned starved faces, they are addressed by numerous orators upon that all-absorbing subject, the Strike. Sometimes the meetings wind up with a Socialist procession, and the red flag, lurid in the glare of gas and oil, is borne through the streets followed by a tremendous crowd, while a chorus of many voices thunders out the "Marseillaise" or the "Carmagnole."

It is now getting late, nearly eleven o'clock. At ordinary times these narrow streets, save for the gleam of a more or less ineffectual gas-lamp, would be plunged into a darkness in which the hideous fiend whose murderous knife has made the East-end so notorious might stalk unseen. But now that is impossible. Many doors are open, throwing streams of light upon the pavement, and excited groups are everywhere discussing the latest news,—perhaps, though, we should rather say the latest rumour, which often transcends reality. "The tram men have revolted, the cars have been left on the road out Bow and Bromley way"; "Rioting has broken out, the docks are to be fired"; "The strikers are marching to attack the railway depots and turn the carmen out"; "Deptford Meat Market is in the hands of the insurgents, who won't allow London to be fed"; "There will be wild work at the docks to-morrow, as the strikers are going down to turn out the scabs." These are the subjects of discussion in these numerous groups, while light falls from windows and doors upon their excited faces. The East-end has become like Paris in the first revolution—"a naptha-lighted city of the dead," and the ghosts stand at doors of their tombs discussing their resurrection. So great is the excitement, that the inhabitants have no need of sleep, and seem inclined to watch out the livelong night.

Now let us deal with one of the most interesting of the unorganised strikes. This was that of the coal-heavers. These men, in the midst of the excitement in the early part of last week, suddenly left their work, and marching round the northern suburbs stopped work at all the bays. The march of these grimy sons of toil, rough, sturdy, and furious, filled the middle-classes with terror. The police were few and far between, being all drafted into the East-end, and the houses of the wealthy were completely at their mercy. On Wednesday the business reached a climax. A number of

coal-heavers had resumed work at King's Cross Station. The strikers mustered in Cambridge Street, and directly the wagons appeared they were furiously attacked. The police attempt to interfere, but the strikers jam them up against a wall and dragging the scabs off their perches, thrash them soundly before the very eyes of the police, who are helpless. Only one wagon gets away, the others are forced to put back in the yard. In Westbourne Grove some wagons of coal are upset and the coals distributed among the poor of the neighbourhood by these rebels. The effect of these vigorous measures was seen in the speedy surrender of the masters.

This is not the only unorganised strike that has been successful. The middle-classes are in a pitiable funk. Those who desire to test the question have only to read the columns of our daily press, whose articles eloquently express the perturbation of the superior person. Numerous cases are known where the mere threat of a strike has been sufficient to procure an advance of two or three shillings a-week in wages. The fountains of the great deep are breaking up, and the hearts of the rich are failing them for fear. Sweated workmen should universally take advantage of the terror of the rich to improve their condition.

In the middle of the week the strike flagged to a certain degree, the accessions to the ranks of the strikers not being so numerous as in the early part. This was mainly owing to the issue of a manifesto protesting against unorganised men joining the ranks of the strikers; but with the issue of the general strike manifesto on Friday public interest greatly revived.

On Saturday subscriptions poured in to a tremendous extent, £2,000 being received by the Strike Committee; and with the renewal of public interest the funk of the middle classes increased. That old Mother Gamp of journalism, the *Standard*, was very indignant, though it was evident to most of its readers that the indignation was mingled with fear. It shrieked aloud for the suppression of the strike and the arrest of the leaders. How you are to prevent men from leaving their work does not appear, unless you station soldiers with bayonets at every factory door; and as to the arrest of the leaders, it must be evident to most people that such a proceeding in the present state of public excitement would be more likely to extend the strike than act as a deterrent. The only way of protest against this act of illegal absolutism would be for every man to leave his work, and so the last state of the strike would be worse than the first. No, gentlemen of the middle classes, the time for suppressing strikes has gone by! *Standard* leader-writers should have lived in the good old times of George III.

The *Standard* finds an able backer-up in its strictures in *Justice*, which appears nearly as alarmed for the safety of the capital and the solidarity of our commercial system as the leader-writer of the *Standard*. Rather a funny position for "we Social-Democrats" to occupy! "We Social-Democrats, the only Socialist party in England," used to be always talking about a general strike, but now some impertinent person has a notion of putting our ideas into practice, we do not appear to like it. It is strange how moderate some revolutionists get in a time in which revolution seems not unlikely!

Well, despite the grave censures of that portion of the press in which old women delight, there is no doubt that public interest was greatly quickened by the famous manifesto. The procession into the City was larger and more enthusiastic than I have known it for some days. The narrow streets of the City looked bare and desolate before the host of marching men which swept through them. The "Marseillaise" rang out with what seemed redoubled force along the resounding streets. On comes the great procession, proudly, firmly, and defiantly. The windows of every business office is crowded with the middle classes, who gaze with parted lips and staring eyes upon the daring men below. As the procession advances, the hearts of the processionists swell within them as they listen to the glorious song of revolution that proclaims that the glorious day of victory and vengeance is at hand.

You all know how the directors refused the demands of the men, which was followed by a great demonstration in Hyde Park, and the withdrawal of the general strike manifesto, to be held back as the last desperate weapon to bring the middle classes to their knees. So now let me give a slight sketch of a scene on Tower Hill at one of the morning meetings. It is Monday morning; the sky is gloomy and overcast, but an immense crowd has gathered upon the hill. From that raised terrace in front of an old warehouse a man is speaking. We all know that figure—short, thick, strong and muscular, clad in blue, a straw hat on his head and a leather bag slung at his side. Yes, it is John Burns, the central figure—what one might almost call the soul of the strike. To the startled eyes of the few middle-class people who gaze upon the scene, there must be a terrible meaning about that black-bearded swarthy figure, that has risen like some gnome from the depths, and now towers aloft, a potent of coming storm and revolution.

You gaze through a screen of leafy trees upon the old grey Tower behind sleeping peacefully after a stirring life of centuries. There they stand face to face, the man and the prison fortress. The Tower one of the last relics of a worn-out feudalism; the man the impersonation of the coming storm, that will sweep capitalism and feudalism away. Here in this pleasant spot—for Tower Hill is one of the few places which are cheerful in the East-end of London, with its old houses, its gardens, the green trees, the huge fortress, and the river, which now sparkles in the sun, beyond—it is easy to fall into a pleasant dream; and even these wretched toilers must feel what little happiness their starved lives afford, while their hearts yearn for a life that shall be bright as the sun, fresh as the green leaves, free from care and joylessness.

But let us change the scene. Within a quarter of an hour's walk from Tower Hill there is a street where the League has held meetings for months past. By the side of a gloomy railway arch there is a coffee tavern, and an immense crowd of starving men has collected round to get their relief tickets. The place is besieged by them, and the doors threaten to give way. The terrified proprietor, fearing that they will yield and that this will be the signal for the sack of his shop, harangues them frantically from the window, and is met with shouts and groans. The police, however, arrive in strong force, and forming the men into a column three deep, they keep them in this position, and they gradually enter the shop. A little further on a mad crowd surrounds a strong man who has some relief tickets which are literally torn from his grasp. Little children with hardly rage enough to cover their nakedness run up to you to beg "a penny to get something to eat, they are so hungry."

We are now in a street inhabited by dockers—narrow, close, and unwholesome. The very houses look desolate, despairing, and hungry. Hag-gard women, with dishevelled hair and ragged dresses, talk excitedly together; and if you listened to their conversation you would probably hear the name of Norwood and the directors linked with the bitterest curses. But in spite of the hunger and the wretchedness, one sentiment prevails—the most enthusiastic belief in their leaders, and the certainty of ultimate

victory. The misery of the present they are willing to suffer, if they can win by it a happier future for themselves and their children.

The battle is growing in bitterness. All processions have been stopped, and the docks are now invested by a vast silent army of pickets, through which it is almost impossible for a scab to pass. Meanwhile, funds are pouring in, and £3,000 was received by the Strike Committee on Tuesday. The epidemic of strikes spreads. At Liverpool the dock labourers are out, at Rochester the coal-whippers, and in the West and South-West of London the engineer's labourers have revolted. John Williams is at their head. The strike among the Jewish tailors and cabinet makers spreads in the East End, and before long they will be joined by the bootmakers. This will paralyse most of the sweating industries of the East End. Our own comrades have not been idle. Kitz, Mowbray, Cores, Nicoll, Brookes, and Parker have addressed large meetings, and tons of literature and leaflets have been distributed. More work could be done, but funds are lacking. Will our members and friends do their best to enable us to spread the light?

N.

### Strike of Tailors.

A general strike of tailors was declared among the sweaters' victims of East London on Monday, September 2nd, 1889, when some 5,000 men and women turned out against the long hours of labour. Comrades Lewis Lyons, Mowbray, Turner, Wess, and others have assisted in bringing the Jews up to the scratch of unionism. Several employers of labour have already given their sanction to a reduction of the hours of labour. At present they work 16 to 18 hours per day; the strike is for a uniform day of 10½ hours. The men and women on strike show great enthusiasm in the matter, and the speeches bordering on Socialism are certainly the best received. The following is their manifesto:

#### TO TAILORS AND TAILORESSES!

##### GREAT STRIKE OF LONDON TAILORS AND SWEATER'S VICTIMS.

Fellow Workers,—You are all aware that a Commission of Lords have been appointed to enquire into the evils of the sweating system in the tailoring trade. The revelations made before the Commission by witnesses engaged in the tailoring trade, are a disgrace to a civilised country. The sweater's victims had hoped that this Commission would have come to some satisfactory conclusion as to an alteration in the condition of the sweated tailors. Finding they have just put off their deliberation until next Session, we have decided to take immediate action.

It is too long for us to wait until next Session, because the hardships inflicted upon us by the sweater are unbearable. We have, therefore, decided to join in the general demand for increased comfort and shorter hours of labour. Our hours at present being on an average from 14 to 18 per day, in unhealthy and dirty dens, we demand:

1. That the hours be reduced to 12, with an interval of one hour for dinner and half-hour for tea.
2. All meals to be had off the premises.
3. Government contractors to pay wages at trade union rates.
4. Government contractors and sweaters not to give work home at night after working hours.

We now appeal for the support of all tailors to join us and thus enable us to successfully enforce our demands, which are reasonable. Tailors and tailoresses support in joining this General Strike.

We appeal to all tailors, machinists, pressers, basters, etc., to meet, *en masse*, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday mornings, at 10 o'clock (outside the Baths), Goulston Street, Whitechapel, E.

Piece workers finish up, week workers give notice at once. All work to cease on Saturday afternoon, when the strike will be declared.

(Signed) Strike Committee [here follow names].

Tailors' Strike Committee Room, W. WESS, Secretary.  
"White Hart," Greenfield St., Commercial Rd., E., Aug. 27, 1889.

M.

### The Printers' Labourers Strike.

A most remarkable movement among a class of workmen resembling in many respects the dock labourers, has during the past week been growing in a most encouraging manner. Like the dock labourers,—hopeless, disorganised, ignorant, and contemptible has been the verdict generally passed upon them by those who have had to do with them. Their case is even worse than that of the "dockers," as their pay is nearly as low and they toil in thoroughly unhealthy workshops. Let anyone who doubts this visit the places where they have to work, and look into the filthy cellars; the foul air coming out is enough to make one vomit, and the men themselves say that the employers hardly ever venture into the "machine-room"—perhaps not once in a twelvemonth.

Contrary to general belief, the "machine boy" is not by any means, generally speaking, a juvenile. On the contrary, two-thirds of these "boys" are from twenty to forty years of age, and the long spells of hard work, sometimes extending to fifty continuous hours, would be too much for a boy, in years, to do. Neither is it true, despite the title of "printers' labourers" being applied to them, that their work belongs to the "unskilled" order, for it requires very considerable practice and experience for one to become a "pointer" or "stroker-in." Both alertness of eye and precision of hand is needed in the work, especially as some machines run at the speed of 2,000 revolutions per hour, each revolution taking a sheet of paper and printing it, the work of the stroker-in or pointer being to "feed" the machine. The wages paid for this work is on the average only 12s. a-week, although varying from 9s. to 16s. a-week in different cases; and men, in order to keep their families in bare bread, have to work all night very often to add a couple of shillings to their miserable wages at the end of the week. They rejoice at the opportunity of being able to work "a week (of 59 hours) and two nights" to make up their wages to 16s., 17s., or 19s. per week! Could chattel-slavery be worse? But the burden has become too heavy to bear, and like the proverbial worm they have begun to "turn" on those who crush them.

A general strike is the first symptom of revolt among these despised and disorganised slaves. They begin to see clearly the position of the worker, and compare the profits of the employers with the scanty wages which they themselves receive. During the week isolated strikes took place, succeeded and failed, and finally ended in the employees of many firm's turning out on Monday morning last for a united demand for the not very exorbitant sum of 20s. a week of 54 hours, and 6d. an hour over-time.

Meetings have been held daily, at which not only Socialists such as comrades Cores, Power, Nielson, Nicoll, Annie Besant, etc., have spoken, but the men themselves have found out how to put their case most effectively before the public although never having addressed public audiences before.

Speaking thoroughly from the socialistic labour standpoint, they tell of their low wages and the employers' large profits, and of the foul holes in which they work. Their exhibition of lamed limbs, and hands with but one or two fingers remaining, or of shopmates lamed and beggared for life, too poor and weak even to obtain legal compensation, and turned off with a few shillings by the employers whose wealth is the result of the toil of these poor wretches.

They have formed the nucleus of a trade combination, who issued a manifesto on August 30th, which is printed below. They have good chances of success in their present demands, and it must also end in many cases in these unhappy wage-slaves resolving to get rid entirely of those men who take the profits, and who leave them, the workmen, toil, poverty, disease, and death.

#### TO PRINTERS' LABOURERS AND OTHER WORKERS IN THE PRINTING TRADE.

We, the Printers' Labourers, are on strike for a wage of 20s. per week and 6d. per hour overtime. We appeal to the Machine Minders and other workers to aid us in obtaining our just demands.

Our present wages vary from 12s. to 14s. per week, and many among us have wives and families to sustain. We work on an average fifty-four hours a week, and seventy-five hours to earn £1.

How, and under what conditions do we work? In heated cellars where gas-light replaces daylight; amidst perpetual din; breathing a stifling, filthy atmosphere. We have to keep eye and hand ever on the alert to keep stroke with the machines we tend.

Our kind, respectable Christian employers would not put their pet cats and dogs in the styes where they condemn us to pass our best working years. Above are the demands for the toil which destroys our health.

We appeal to all fellow labourers to join us. Do not listen to the specious talk of interested foremen and employers who "promise to favourably consider your demands." They want time to work off urgent orders. If you on strike are selfish enough to go in because a few employers grant concessions, you help to ruin the cause. Will you purchase your gain at the expense of our defeat? Show the same spirit as our comrades in other industries are displaying.

Strike! Strike all together! Stand together and win!

Printers' Strike Committee, Red Star  
Coffee House, Clerkenwell Green.

GEORGE EVANS, Sec.  
GEORGE WALDEN, Treas.

We hear a good many howls from the capitalists concerning "intimidation," but a more dastardly piece of the worst kind of intimidation would be hard to find than that contained in the following letter:

WATERLOW AND SONS, Limited,  
Finsbury Factory, August 27th, 1889.

Dear Sir,—I have to inform you that your son was absent from his work this afternoon, and has presumably joined the boys on strike. I think it right to inform you that unless he presents himself at his work as usual to-morrow morning, he will render himself liable to lose his situation.

Yours faithfully,  
CHARLES E. LUKER,  
Manager Machine Department.

We warn the capitalists that people may be inclined to follow their bad example if this sort of thing is to be carried on.

G. C.

### Passports among Cabinet Makers.

A crowded meeting was held on Thursday evening (Aug. 29th) in Princes Street Hall, Spitalfields, of the men who were called out on Tuesday and Wednesday. The chairman was Mr. Harris Goldberg. The position of the strikers was explained by Mr. C. Adams, the secretary of the East End branch of the Cabinet Makers Alliance, who said they had refused to work until the system of passports had been abolished. These passports are printed forms, which are given by the employers to the men when they leave one shop to go to another, and on which it is stated what work, wages, etc., the workman has been used to. But the real object is to coerce the men who are the most active in the trade union. The meeting was also addressed by J. E. Williams, W. B. Parker, and L. Diemshietz. Since then other firms have been brought out.

N.

CASTE FEELING AMONG WORKERS.—One of the most formidable obstacles to the success of the labour reform cause (says the *Journal of United Labour*) is the caste feeling among workers. The brainworker, editor, book-keeper, or teacher thinks himself above the mere mechanic. Although no class suffers more from the oppression of capitalism, yet, in nine cases out of ten, the intellectual worker ostentatiously sympathises with the exploiters of labour, or withholds his support from a movement which is as much in his interest as in that of the manual labourer. The skilled mechanic too often looks down on the unskilled toiler. The saleswoman considers herself the social superior of the factory girl, and the latter again affects to despise the domestic servant. While this feeling continues, and prevents the working class from acting harmoniously together in the interests of the whole, we cannot fairly or consistently blame others because they are dominated by the caste feeling. The skilled artisan who contemptuously refuses to co-operate with the labourer in the common cause has no right to feel aggrieved and indignant at any slight put upon him by the fashionably-dressed idler or the purse-proud capitalist. They are only showing the same hateful and contemptible spirit which he himself exhibits toward his less fortunate comrades in the army of toilers. The man who is always looking for somebody beneath him to insult and look down on by way of revenge for the contumely heaped on him and his class by those above him in the social scale has altogether failed to grasp the significance of the movement for labour's enfranchisement. All honest labour is dignified and honourable. Once admit that there are shades and distinctions—a skilled aristocracy and a plebian herd of inferiors—and you practically justify all the wrongs and insults heaped upon labour, irrespective of such distinctions by the "superior classes," who live by controlling the means of production.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday September 8, at 8.45 p.m., Lothrop Withington, "False Lights of Revolutionary Wreckers: Was the Great Strike only a clever piece of stockjobbing after all?"

YARMOUTH.—On Wednesday evening William Morris gave a lecture in the Corn Hall on "Monopoly"; chairman, C. Reynolds. There was a very good attendance, mostly workers. After the lecture a few questions were asked of the usual sort, which our comrade answered satisfactorily. Our comrade Morris offered to come and spend a Sunday with us in about a month's time. On Sunday morning Brightwell held a meeting at Brackwell. We also held a large meeting on Priory Plain; Reynolds was assisted by a stranger.—C. R.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, and St. Georges East, to end of June. Manchester, North London, to end of July. Leicester, to end of August.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 2s.; Kitz, 6d.; Mainwaring, 1s.; Mrs. Lahr, 6d.; B. W., 1s.; and Greenwood, 3s. 9d.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Chelsea*.—A good meeting was held on the Chelsea Embankment on Wednesday evening last, when Samuels, who was ably assisted by the local branch of S.D.F., addressed the meeting, where 3s. was collected for the "Strike Fund" and half a quire of *Weal* sold. *Mile End Waste*.—Good meeting held on Friday night on behalf of the dock labourers; some 1500 people present; speakers, Mowbray, and Welsh (S.D.F.). Some opposition offered by a good Christian, who said that we were not prepared for a bloody revolution, and attacked Socialism in general; Mowbray replied in a stirring address; some thousands of leaflets distributed. *Old Plough, Kilburn*.—A good meeting held on Sunday; 16 *Commonweal* sold; among the buyers were an inspector, a policeman, and a detective. The meeting commences at 12 noon.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Good meeting Sunday evening on Clerkenwell Green; the speakers were S. Presburg, Mowbray, and McCormick; 4s. 6d. collected and handed over to the treasurer of "Printers' Labourers' Strike." Good meeting in hall; McCormick in chair; W. Blundell (S.L.) lectured on "The Moral of the Dockers' Strike." Many questions asked and very interesting discussion followed, dealing mainly with the general strike. *Commonweal* sold well and 1s. collected in hall.—S. P.

**EAST LONDON.**—On Thursday, near Hoxton Church, Kitz spoke to very large meeting; Saturday at Mile End Waste, Welsh and McCormick spoke; and on Tuesday at same place, Kitz, Panker, Davis, and other friends held a magnificent meeting.—G. C.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Comrade Lyne, sen., held a meeting at Sloane Square on Saturday at 12 o'clock, and collected £5 5s. 6d. for dock strikers. The branch held a good meeting at Tavistock Road, Notting Hill, on Saturday evening at 8 p.m.; speakers were Lyne, sen., Crouch, and Maughan; Mrs. Lyne, Annie Lyne, Sharp, and Spry collected £1 7s. 8d. for strike fund. A good meeting held at Latimer Road; speakers were Crouch, Lyne, sen., Mrs. Lyne, Sharp, and Spry; collected 8s. 6l. for strike fund; *Commonweal* sold well. At St. Ann's Road, we held a good meeting at 12 a.m.; speakers were Lyne, sen., A. J. Smith, and Maughan; the collectors rose the amount in hand for strike fund with 5s.; *Commonweal* sold well. Hyde Park at 3.30 we had a large meeting; speakers were Kitz, Lyne, jun., Lyne, sen., Crouch, and McCormick; *Commonweal* sold very well; Mrs. Lyne and young Morris collected for strike fund £3 10s. 4d. We held a good meeting at Cambridge Gardens at 8 p.m.; speakers were Crouch, Lyne, sen., and Maughan; all *Weals* sold, and collected for strike fund, 12s. 0d.

**NORTH LONDON.**—At Ossulston Street on Thursday, Nicoll and Mrs. Lahr addressed a large meeting; some discussion; 2s. 7d. collected for dockers and 22 *Commonweal* sold. Saturday at Hyde Park, Nicoll and Mrs. Lahr, with Williams and Furlong (S.D.F.), held a good meeting; 24 *Weals* sold and £2 16s. collected for dockers. Regent's Park on Sunday morning, a large audience was addressed by Kitz and Mrs. Lahr, and 16s. 1d. collected for dockers strike.

**STREATHAM.**—We held a good meeting on Sunday evening, Sept. 1st; Moore addressed the meeting, and we collected 9s. for the dock labourers; *Commonweal* sold well.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—Usual meetings held by branch. We have during the strike given way to numerous others mostly having reference to the strikers. Collections have been on their behalf and sent in to the Star. Double the usual quantity of *Weals* taken this week, and all members have worked well in selling them and other literature. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed, and we intend keeping it up as long as the strike lasts.

**GLASGOW.**—At mid-day on Jail Square T. and J. Burgoyne were the speakers, the audience being more than usually interested, owing to London strike. In the evening the same speakers addressed good audience at Paisley Road. Between both meetings we collected 4s. 8d. for the strikers.—J. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—Usual meeting at Middleton addressed by Mason and Stockton on Saturday night. On Sunday morning we tried a new station; got a sympathetic audience; Marshall and Bailie spoke; 21 *Commonweal* sold. In Stevenson Square a good meeting was addressed by Ritson, Bailie, and Barton; 4s. 3d. collected for dockers; fair sale of *Commonweal*. Another meeting held at Chester Road.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday morning, meeting opened by Mrs. Tochatti singing, followed by Fuller, J. Tochatti, and Saint (London). In the afternoon a very large meeting was held, opened with singing, addressed by Tochatti and Saint, who appealed on behalf of the dock labourers; at the close three hearty cheers were given for the men. In the evening another open-air meeting held in the Market Place, Tochatti, Saint, and W. More spoke; a resolution of sympathy with the dock labourers carried unanimously. Collected for dock labourers £1 7s., for Propaganda 17s. 6d.; sale of literature 11s. 7d. After the meeting we adjourned to the hall, where Socialist songs were numerously rendered by various comrades. A meeting was also held at St Faiths; Morley spoke. Monday evening a meeting was held by the Branch in favour of the dock strikers; comrade Poynts opened, followed by Mr. Crotch and comrade W. More; collected for strike fund, 4s. 6d.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Saturday, August 31st, G. King lectured on "The Connection between Socialism and Trades Unionism"; good audience; brisk discussion, Wilson, Hamilton, O'Gorman, Mackey, and others taking part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in Sneinton Market on Sunday morning; Peacock and Proctor spoke; 2s. 7d. collected. In the evening, in Great Market, Rooks, Whalley, and Peacock addressed a large crowd. Collection for School Board contest realised 4s. 7d.—P.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday, Sept. 8, at 8.30 p.m., a Concert will be held, to be followed with Ball at 10.30, to defray expenses for new Branch premises which this Branch will shortly take over. Admission with programme, 3d.

**East London.**—A very important Business Meeting will take place at 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road, on Sunday Sept. 8th, at 8 p.m. Members please attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 8, at 8 p.m., Lecture by J. F. Oakeshott, "Moral Basis of the New Society." Thursday 12th, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 13th, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Hull.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 7.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Nicoll  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Cores and Kitz  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Mowbray and Presburg

SUNDAY 8.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Tochatti, Lyne junr., and Maughan  
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Mowbray  
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Mrs. Lahr  
11.30..... Eelbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Brookes  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road ..... Lyne senr., Crouch and Saint  
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street ..... Nicoll  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Mrs. Lahr and Mowbray  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Turner  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Mainwaring and Cores  
4.30..... Victoria Park ..... The Branch  
7 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels and Mowbray  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Nicoll  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... North Kensington—Cambridge Gardens ..... North Kensington Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Mowbray and Mrs. Lahr  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

TUESDAY 10.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church ..... The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Mrs. Lahr

WEDNESDAY 11.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Samuels

THURSDAY 12.

8 ..... Ossulston Street ..... Nicoll  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Mrs. Lahr and Cores

FRIDAY 13.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Graham and Davis  
8 ..... Islington—Prebend Street ..... Parker

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**DUBLIN.**—Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, on Saturday September 7th, at 8 p.m., J. Wilson will deliver an address on "The Lessons of the Great London Strike."

A Debate will take place on "Social Democracy v. Communist-Anarchy," between Christie (S.D.F.) and T. Pearson (Freedom Group), on Friday, Sept. 6th, at the Britannia Coffee House, Prebend Street, Packington Street, Essex Road, at 8.30 sharp.



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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 192.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### \*NOTES ON NEWS.

If the non-Socialist middle-class sympathisers with the strikers could grasp one side of the situation, I think it ought to stagger their complacency with the present arrangement of society. Let us take their own view of that situation, which is pretty much this: A body of workmen very much oppressed by the operation of the wages and capital system have demanded a slight increase of wages, and a revision of an iniquitous system of sweating; the public generally have admitted the justice and moderation of the men's claim; but their employers have simply buttoned up their pockets and said "We can't and shan't," and the public have absolutely no means of compelling them to yield.

Could anything condemn our present society more clearly and completely than this deadlock? Here is the whole of humanity and morality crying out loudly on the shabby employers to give way to the men's demands, and the shabby employers in fact replying to that cry: Humanity and morality may go to H(eaven) for us; we have to create a dividend; we stand on our legal right to starve as many people as may be convenient to us. And the public morality and humanity is helpless before them; for their legal right is undoubted: their legal right to put citizens to death by starvation.

Yes, in spite of its prisons and ropes and hangmen for those whom it calls specially "criminals," the law is the Great Murderer!

Here, then, at last is the *reductio ad absurdum* of *laissez faire*; which of course means, let the privileged alone to make the most of their privilege of driving the weakest to the wall. For clearly if you attack privilege you at once abjure *laissez faire*; you are not letting alone, you are becoming revolutionary.

Once more, we must not suppose, however, that this sympathy of the well-to-do for the strikers is universal; I believe that if you polled the well-to-do generally they would give you a handsome majority for Norwood. The *Daily News* the other day gave a specimen of a conversation with a man of business, who proposed to remedy the strike by locking up four of the ringleaders, and taking advantage of the rioting, which would be sure to follow, for putting down the whole agitation by means of a little murder in the streets.

I really believe that this conversation was genuine; for, happening to be in a Conservative club last week (I don't habitually frequent such places), I listened with much amusement to the "natives" (I must say, a rather gruesome-looking set of savages) putting the other view to that which has been generally put in the papers; and, as a matter of course, it was all on the lines of the *Daily News*' interlocutor; and Burns (I am happy to say) was by no means flattered by these worthies, a long term of imprisonment being the best wish for him. It is true that some pity was expressed for the "poor men" for their ill-luck in being led astray by such scoundrels, and their ruin (the deprivation of 6s. a-week) abundantly prophesied.

This may seem a kind of a joke to us: but do not let us forget that the theories of these ruffians would have been put into practice if they could have been. These strikes are not less dangerous to the supremacy of the landlords and their abettors than the Trafalgar Square incidents, but more dangerous. There is only one reason why Burns is not going to Pentonville this time, and why the streets are not cleared by the bludgeon, and if necessary by the bayonet, and that is because the rulers of this happyland are afraid to do it. The men are too many and too desperate, and their miserable condition has really impressed itself on a large part of the non-political middle classes; and lastly and above all, their brother-workers are really in active sympathy with the strikers.

The rejection by the men of the so-called compromise on Monday was a certain thing, for less than this they cannot get. The promise

of the extra penny at some future date is seen by everybody to be a delusion; as who can say what may happen between now and then to serve the directors as an excuse for breaking their promise? they have shown themselves very fond of using the well-known formula of moneyed men, "We cannot," and will not be slow to do so in the future we may be sure.

It has seemed as though the provinces have not shown that enthusiasm for the strikes, or that understanding of them, that might have been expected; but, at least, the conduct of the 15 Dundee labourers who set out to tramp back when they found that they would interfere with the strike here, is a bright spot in the dullness. All honour to the brave men! As to the conduct of Mr. Christopher Peacock, it was what might have been expected from a Nupkins. We can only be glad that the men met in the end with a little better reward of loyalty than seven day's hard, though that is a type of such rewards too. Let us echo the cheers of the Lincoln folk who saw them off to Dundee again.

This last Trades-Union Congress has turned out thoroughly reactionary, and there has been plenty of bowing down to Gessler Broadhurst's hat, both by the men and in the press. It is to be feared that the explanation of this is simply that the influential men in the respectable trades-unions are fossil Whigs, and of course need a fossil Whig for a leader (and have got him). This at first seems discouraging to those who have had any hope of socialising the trades-unions, and I don't know that the hope was ever worth much.

It must not be forgotten, however, that not only has revolt begun amongst the older trades-unions, but that what is now going on is a threat of their final disappearance into a far wider and more generous association of the workers, which will be inspired with socialistic feeling. The unions of so-called unskilled labourers, which are part of the consequences of the present strikes, very much reduce the importance of Mr. Broadhurst and his brother officials who pretend to represent the workers of the country. There is a curious analogy, ominous of good, between the position of these two groups and that of the struggle of the Trade Guilds of the Middle Ages against the exclusive and aristocratic Merchant Guilds. That struggle ended in victory for the true workmen, and it is hardly indulging in prophesy to say that a similar victory may be looked forward to once more. Mr. Broadhurst's triumph and the solidifying of the Whig element in the official trades-unions does nothing but widen the gap (always a pretty wide one) between him and the workmen of the country. W. M.

The great strike has taught us one lesson, that battles of labour are best fought in the street and not in the Parliamentary arena. In future, if the workers want anything they will come out on strike for it, and not elect a man to Parliament to do for them what they can do far better for themselves. The big strike will be an infallible method to bring the capitalist to his knees.

Especially is this true with regard to the eight hour working-day. I have my opinion with regard to this reform, which I do not consider worth the fuss which is made about it, but still, if it is to be gained, why should it not be won by a general strike among the workers who desire it?

I say this not because I consider the reform of much consequence, but because the strike would be such a valuable instruction to the workers of the way in which to get some things of far more consequence than an eight hour working-day, namely, the wealth which is theirs by right. They created it and they should have it.

It may be said that the trades-unions are only a small minority of the working-classes of this country. But are not trade-union men a small minority among the waterside workers who have fought so gallantly? Suppose the trades-unions are won over to the eight hour notion, and they certainly have shown signs of becoming favourable

to it, could not these men by the mere threat of a general strike extort even more than an eight hour's bill from their masters, and if the rich trade-unionists were determined to get this by their own action, how long would it take the men not belonging to trade-unions to follow the example set them by their more fortunate brethren?

This is the lesson that the docker's strike has taught us. Some people appear to imagine that they are to be converted by the vote of "free and independent electors" into the heaven of the House of Commons, whence they are to sit like Almighty Jove and shower blessings and curses upon meaner mortals. This is very good and very kind of them, but despite their sweet voices we persist in our belief that social diseases are not to be cured by homœopathic doses of legislative medicine. In these the patient must minister to himself.

D. N.

## LIFE AND LABOUR IN EAST LONDON.

(Continued from p. 284.)

CHAPTER V., "Poverty,"—is probably the most detailed account ever printed, showing the sordid grind which is the lot of hundreds of thousands, and showing how low a standard of "Life" the free Briton has been reduced to without "danger" (!), and showing, too, how to estimate the value of the terms "Very Poor," "Poor," and "Comfort."

Thirty real families have been drawn upon for exact details of expenditure of every kind, in Classes B, C, D, E, and a few from F. Six families "Very Poor," ten "Poor," and fourteen above the line of poverty.

The table shows a range of expenditure for food per adult per week of 2s. 4½d. in Class B to 10s. 1½d. in Class F, but there is a somewhat droll qualification to be kept in view, "That in almost all the poorer cases the admitted expenditure exceeds the supposed income" (p. 134), and, in fact, the imagination must be drawn upon to complete the picture of Class B. Class A is not here dealt with, it is too low down probably to measure at all.

When we find by the detailed table (p. 136, 137) that Class E allows in the highest instance—a policeman earning 20s. per week, wife but no children—an expenditure of only 5s. 9½d. per adult for food, we may possibly be allowed to suggest that Mr. Booth's grouping by Classes is a trifle strained to make out his 577,000 rising to affluence, and to suggest that the large Class E, numbering 377,000, should rather be added to A, B, C, D, making in all 691,000 tending downwards against 200,000 of classes tending towards affluence.

This grouping makes a most startling change in the whole labour problem, and it is astounding, in face of the fact that the book itself backs up this grouping, that there should be such a general "disgrace but no danger" tone adopted by the people responsible for its production; the pronoun "its" refers to the "book" not the "social condition."

The book is divided into three Parts. For Part I., consisting of six chapters, Mr. Booth is wholly responsible. Part II., eight chapters, by different persons, deals with special trades as the docks, tailoring, bootmaking, furniture, tobacco, silk, etc. Part III., four chapters, two by Mr. Booth, influx of population and the Jewish community being dealt with by other writers. The eighteen chapters of the book are dealt with by eight different people from quite distinct points of view, and every chapter and almost every page will give proof that the whole tendency of the time is against labour and in favour of capital. "Unrestrained competition is the evil spirit of the age" (p. 238). "The average work per week throughout the year . . . four to four and a-half days in the shops of large contractors, and for the most competent and skilled hands throughout the trade (tailoring); three days for medium shops and average labour; and two and a-half days and under for the great majority of permanently unskilled or imperfectly trained workers" (p. 226).

In the boot trade we find by table (p. 267) the maximum is £1 18s., but, in spite of "very steady work," the average for the year is only £1 3s. 5½d.

It is interesting at this moment to learn, according to Beatrice Potter, who does the chapter on the docks, that "Go to the Docks!" might be taken as a modern equivalent for "Go to Hell!" and the statement is fully borne out.

The Hell of female labour is either the shirt trade or the fur trade. In the shirt trade a widow over sixty earned 5d. per day, from which 2d. for tram fare to get the work had to be deducted (p. 412). A woman young and strong can earn 2½d. per hour, but many can not earn more than 4s. per week (p. 410).

As a rule, the German and the Jew is at the bottom of all wages scales, but in the fur trade "Although nearly all the furriers are Jews, young Jewesses rarely enter the fur trade unless they are too poor and friendless to be supported while learning a trade. . . Girls must be very poor or incapable to take to fur sewing for a living, or they are girls who do not like regular work. It is difficult to say whether the immorality of many of these younger fur-sewers is the cause or the effect of their entering so irregular a trade" (p. 428).

In the trousers, vests, and juvenile-suits trade, we also find that as the work and pay decreases so does the number of Jewesses employed, the suggestion being that by the Christian woman the deficit is in many cases made up in the woman's final market of all, to which market Jewish women hardly ever go.

Many interesting details may be learnt by a study of the special

articles, and attention may be drawn to a pretty little bubble argument greatly in favour among apologists for a luxurious class, who by their tastes require and by their riches can employ a large number of wage-slaves.

Chapter VII., Part 2, by Jesse Argyle, deals with silk, and from it we learn many interesting details, but particularly that silk-weaving seems to be dying out, for 70 per cent. of those engaged are past middle life, and hardly any one seems to be learning the craft. This perhaps is not much to be wondered at, for it is tedious, trying, and difficult to learn, and yet a "steady operative working not less than sixty hours per week might earn 20s. Taking a yearly average one-fourth must be deducted from this for lost time, there being often a good deal of waiting between the jobs, so that the weekly average for the year would be about 15s." (p. 400)!!

A very good workman, with fairly regular work at velvet-making, is put down for an average of 25s. to 27s. by working hard.

The most highly skilled and best paid class of work is the making of furniture silk. It is very heavy work, and requires a strong man to carry it on. The fabric is exceedingly rich and artistic, and is, of course, almost wholly manufactured for the wealthy—the plutocrats of America being large buyers of the best work, and in the making of this article "probably 35s. to £2 a week is the average of operatives' wages" (p. 403). They had better spin hemp.

Furs, again, may be taken as a product almost wholly for plutocratic consumption, and that trade, as has been already shown, is a working-class hell. How much of real benefit do these workers receive from their consumers, who, to use Ruskin's figure, consume their peach in such a selfish manner?

Leaving, of necessity, any further examination of the evil, and coming to the remedy or suggested solution of the problem, we have surely about the feeblest ever yet put forth.

In the eyes of Mr. Booth, Class B is the *bête noir* of modern civilisation. Class B consists of 100,000 "Very Poor." "Classes B and C are never employed more than half-time, and it may not be too much to say that if the whole of Class B were swept out of existence all the work they do could be done, together with their own work, by the men, women, and children of Classes C and D; that all they earn and all they spend might be earned and could be very easily spent by the classes above them; that these classes, and especially Class C, would be immensely better off, while no class nor any industry would suffer in the least. This view of the subject seems to show who it is that really bear the burden. To the rich the poor are a sentimental interest; (true, oh author!) to the poor they are a crushing load. The poverty of the poor is mainly the result of the competition of the very poor. The entire removal of this very poor class out of the daily struggle for existence I believe to be the only solution of the problem. Is this solution beyond our reach?" (p. 154).

This statement of the social problem of the day is something almost too utterly supremely lovely to be handled, and it is only because of the "?" with which the passage concludes that one feels compelled to answer.

THOMAS SHORE.

(To be concluded).

## ROYAL PAUPERS AND POLITICAL TRICKSTERS.

A MAN and a woman were married the other day in England. Quite an ordinary event. But in this case columns of newspaper description of it were cabled over here, at twelve cents a word. We are even told, at 12 cents a word, that a young woman's father perspired freely as he led her to the altar. Why all this expensive information? Because the man who perspired was the Prince of Wales, and the young woman was his daughter. Somebody else will have to perspire to earn the additional 180,000 dols. a year that Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Parnell and others have voted shall henceforth be paid to the Prince, to help him support his dignity.

A woman in England, with a private fortune of 20,000,000 dols., an income from certain lands and other property of 2,000,000 dols., and a salary of almost 2,000,000 dols. more, has asked the people to give her granddaughter a yearly allowance. This granddaughter has just married a man with an income of 400,000 dols. a year. Cheek, do you say? Not at all. Royalty. The rich beggar is the Queen, and the pauper granddaughter is the Princess Louise, the daughter of the Prince of Wales. Royal paupers come high, but the English people like them.

Why did Mr. Parnell vote to increase the amount which the Prince of Wales is to be permitted to take from the people's hard-earned money? Because he is a politician. He believes he can succeed in doing something that he thinks is right by first doing something that he knows is wrong. The papers, generally, say that it was very clever in Mr. Parnell to thus vote for the further robbery of the people to provide for the unrighteous wants of a useless parasite. It's politics, you know. It's the sort of thing that many "reformers" believe in.—*Twentieth Century*.

SOCIALISM AT NORWICH.—On Saturday evening, comrades Poynts and Lyne (London) addressed a good meeting on Hay Hill. Sunday morning, W. Moore and Lyne spoke in the Market Place. For the afternoon an arrangement had been made between Fred Henderson and Mr. Burgess to hold a demonstration on behalf of the dockers. Mr. Burgess objected to speaking under the red flag, but it was decided that it should remain by an overwhelming majority of the audience. The chairman opened, followed by a representative of the carpenters moving a resolution of sympathy; W. Moore seconded, Fred Henderson supported; carried unanimously. Another resolution was proposed pledging to support the men; comrade Lynes followed. The meeting concluded with three cheers for the strikers, the collection being £6 15s. In the evening another meeting held in the Market Place, opened by Poynts, followed by Lyne, Fred Henderson, and Mr. Crotch; *Freedom and Commonwealth* sold well; collected for propaganda, 12s. 5d.—A. T. S.



## AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

THE Gympie miners intend to have a field-day on the 9th November. At their half-yearly meeting held in the first week of July, a satisfactory report and balance-sheet was adopted, and hopes were expressed that before the end of the year a further advance would be made. Although Gympie is now an old field, the miners in the district have done good service during the last few months by backing the Croydon agitation against total exemption and strengthening their members hands in bringing about an alteration in the law which practically prevents miners working on leased lands.

Australia seems to be progressing with rapid strides along the road which leads to civilisation and the poorhouse. Even in the little island of Tasmania they have just provided their "annual treat to the poor," which consists of a free tea. A correspondent on the spot says that "long before the time of opening the doors a large crowd of men, women, and children had assembled outside the building eager to gain admittance, but were kept back by a strong posse of police, who had been told off for the purpose. Fully 500 persons had assembled, although every precaution had been taken, it is affirmed, to prevent imposition." Truly this is a pleasant item for those who advocate the emigration of the London poor to Australia, and must be comforting to the political rulers who are bringing about a state of things which must at no distant future rival outcast London!

The Labour Federation which took the place of the Brisbane Trades Council is now fairly on its feet, and from enquiries now being made it is anticipated that many of the unions now standing out will shortly affiliate. At the last meeting a branch of bootmakers—the clickers and blockers—was admitted and steps taken to register the Federation under the Trades Union Act. The boilermakers are still out in the cold.

The navvies and draymen of Brisbane waited on a South Brisbane employer who had encroached on their hours of labour, but they got very little satisfaction from their interview. Unless they are prepared to form a strong organisation they must accept further encroachment on their hours as well as their wages.

The Brisbane wharf-labourers held their half-yearly meeting on Wednesday July 3. A satisfactory balance-sheet was presented, and a recommendation from the executive was read that the wharf-labourers join the Labour Federation, and that the small societies which are now established at every live coastal town shall amalgamate with Brisbane and form one large union. If these suggestions are carried out the Northern unions will benefit greatly.

The navvies and draymen are making another attempt to resuscitate their union, which has practically been allowed to lapse. Many bosses who were running their drays on fair pay and short hours have lately been compelled by the keen competition of unfair employers to lengthen hours and shorten pay. A good union would prevent this.

The Queensland Railway Employés Association has issued a circular to railway-men outside the organisation. In it is pointed out that lengthsmen, gangers, inspectors, porters, clerks, station-masters, drivers, firemen, fitters, foremen, carriage-makers, and carriage-cleaners may now all be united in one association, which seeks to protect the interests and improve the condition of its members. There is no room or place for departmental jealousy in this organisation, for what affects the interests of one affects the interests of all, so that it is impossible for anyone to be overlooked or neglected. The sevenfold objects of the association are as follows:

1. To improve the condition and protect the interest of all classes of railway employés.
2. To obtain and maintain reasonable hours of duty and fair rates of wages.
3. To promote a good understanding between the various grades of the service and the settlement of all disputes by a board of arbitration or other effective means.
4. To provide legal assistance, when necessary, in cases of accident or injury through the negligence of others, in order to secure compensation.
5. To provide temporary assistance to members when under suspension through causes over which they have no just control or through unjust treatment.
6. To use every effort to provide for the safety of railway work and travelling.
7. To found a newspaper in the interests of the association, to be devoted to railway news and matters generally affecting railway work.

There are now seven branches of the association—at North Brisbane, Woolloomabba, Ipswich, Toowoomba, Warwick, Dalby, and Roma. Nearly 2,000 men on the Southern and Western are already enrolled. The terms of membership are 2s. 6d. entrance fee and 1s. per month.

The unemployed of this colony (Queensland) are beginning to make themselves heard, and if something is not done to relieve the congested labour-market there will be a big kick throughout the country. The deputation which waited on the Chief Secretary on Wednesday July 3 represented all branches of the ironworkers, and pointed out that about 75 per cent. of the men employed in the industry were idle. The Minister for Railways said "he did not see why, when all other persons suffered from depression of trade and bad seasons, the artisans should not bear their share of the burden." One of the deputation reminded him that they had already borne the heat and burden of the dull times, that they were getting tired of playing, and wanted work. The result of this interview must be waited for.

The Townsville unemployed, at an open-air meeting, have requested their representatives to bring under the notice of the Government the large number of the unemployed in the district, and to request that public works may be started to absorb the surplus labour. Resolutions were also adopted protesting against the "contravention of the Polynesian Act" and State-aided immigration. With regard to the latter it seems absurd for the Government to bring shipload after shipload of good, bad, and indifferent labourers to a country where all classes are crying out for work.

Brisbane, July 15, 1889.

BOOMERANG.

John Stuart Mill laconically stated that the only reason for the subjection of women that he could think of was that "men liked it." In the last *Contemporary Review* a woman corrects him by saying that the real reason is that women like it. And it is true of all grievous wrong that the ignorance or cowardice of the victims alone makes it possible for the knaves to successfully play the oppressor.—*Liberty*.

## LYRIC OF LABOUR.

LET us raise up a tocsin of warning,  
We that toil on the shore and the sea,  
Our song is the song of the morning,  
And our theme is the right to be free;  
The light of the sky has been breaking,  
We have seen what the clouds had in thrall,  
The tyrants that held us are quaking,  
For Upharsin is writ on the wall!

We toil but we do not inherit,  
We build but we do not possess,  
The flower of our skill and our merit  
Only blossoms for others to bless;  
It is time that Right cried a warning,  
That Justice had thundered her call;  
Our song is the song of the morning,  
And Upharsin is writ on the wall!

Sweet freedom is ours if we dare it,  
Demand it with resolute will,  
And the gold that we coin we shall share it,  
The fruit of the forge and the mill;  
The creators of wealth cry a warning,  
A new hope shines forth for us all:  
Our song is the song of the morning,  
And Upharsin is writ on the wall!

In the Grass Valley (Cal.) *Integral Co-operator*.

VENIER VOLDO.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

We have received the first part of the official edition of the proceedings of the International (Marxist) Congress (23 pp., Imprimerie de la Resse, 1889), containing the appeal of the organising committee, the list of delegates, and a number of resolutions passed. Very little care has been taken to make this publication a reliable historical document, for the lists of delegates swarm with misprints, omissions, and inconsequent arrangements. Two of the English delegates, F. Charles and J. Turner, are completely omitted; on the other side we find an Austrian delegate, Mr. Altrohlau, who never existed, but the name of the town of Altrohlau, where H. Dietel came from, was made the name of a delegate! William Morris's and F. Kitz's resolutions were not published as "no space was left," it is said, but will be published "later on."

A new pamphlet by Kropotkin, *Le Salariat* (The Wages System), a reprint of articles of the *Revolte*, August and September, 1888, has just been published (33 pp., 10 cents.). It deals not with the present system, the condemnation of which we all agree, but refutes the various schemes proposed by Social Democrats, culminating in the formula, "To each according to his deeds." The impracticability and evil consequences of such a system, even if considered as a transitory step only, are exposed, and Communism is advocated.

A French pamphlet on the Chicago Anarchists is now in course of preparation.

*Le Coup de Feu* ceased to appear with No. 72, of August 25th, and is to be replaced by the *Revue Européenne, Socialiste, Littéraire, Artistique*.

The French Republic acts like the worst monarchical government, and is emulating free Switzerland against Anarchists just now. An Italian, Joseph Rovigo, was imprisoned 25 days without any reason given, then sentenced to 2 days prison for carrying a weapon upon him, and now he is again locked up 25 days without even any pretext for this being given to him. L. Parmeggiani, who was arrested in London some time ago, has been liberated, none of the trumped up charges of the Italian government, wanting him extradited, having proved true.

## SWITZERLAND.

Eighty Russians, Poles, Frenchmen, and Italians have been expelled from Geneva. A number of them had lived there for years. Even the editor of a moderate Liberal Russian paper, *La Russie Libre*, was forced to leave, as well as Plechanov, the Russian Marxist, who did more than anybody else to fight Anarchism in Russia.

A manifesto of the Swiss Anarchists, signed by many groups in all parts of the country, has been published, protesting against these and all the other acts of servility of the Swiss government towards Germany, Russia, etc. It was confiscated, although even papers hostile towards it consider its language and style "quite moderate." The Social Democrats show the way in which they understand solidarity amongst the workers by denouncing this protest as made by police agents, and are busy with collecting signatures for the preliminary demand of a vote of the people to be taken on the question of the public procuratorship for Socialist persecutions now created by the Federal Council. Meanwhile, two arrests have been made in connection with the manifesto, and criminal proceedings will be begun against the authors of it.

The residue of delegates who adopted several resolutions at the Paris Congress on July 20th, left it over to the bureau to found a paper to be called *The Eight Hour Working Day*, to be published in French, English, and German. This matter passed through committees and commissions, and is now in the hands of a committee at Zurich, who intend to bring out the paper in October next if possible.

\* \*

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—Census of metropolitan paupers, exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants, taken on the last day of the weeks named hereunder (enumerated inhabitants in 1881, 3,815,000):—Third week of August, 1889—indoor, 55,077; outdoor, 34,697; total, 89,774. Third week of August, 1888—indoor, 54,994; outdoor, 36,248; total, 91,242. Third week of August, 1887—indoor, 53,639; outdoor, 35,155; total, 88,794. Third week of August, 1886—indoor, 51,992; outdoor, 34,885; total, 86,877 (excluding patients in the fever and smallpox hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylum district. The number of these patients on the last day of the week was returned as 991 in 1889, 798 in 1888, 757 in 1887, and 357 in 1886). Vagrants relieved in the metropolis on the last day of the third week of August 1889—663 men, 142 women, 10 children under sixteen—total, 815.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

COLONIAL CORRESPONDENCE.—We shall be glad to hear more regularly than we do from Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne. Also if some New Zealand friend would furnish us with news from time to time. A supply of local papers would answer the purpose, if letters cannot be had. Look to it, comrades!

SOUTH AFRICA.—Will our Africander friend furnish us with his name and address?

“PACIFIC UNION.”—We have just received a copy of your paper marked X. It has been a long while on our list, and an exchange copy is sent regularly every week. Are you not receiving it?

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 11.

ENGLAND	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	ITALY
Brotherhood	Pacific Union	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Christian Socialist	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Rome—L’Emancipazione
Justice	San Diego (Cal.)—Beacon	SPAIN
Labour Elector	Philadelphia—United Labour	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	FRANCE	Barcelona—Revolucion Social
London—Freie Presse	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Le Proletariat	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Social Demokrat	La Revolte	A Revolta
Seafaring	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Worker's Friend	HOLLAND	GERMANY
UNITED STATES	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Berlin—Volks Tribune
New York—Freiheit	Der Sozialist	Hamburg—Zeitgeist
Truthseeker	BRITAIN	AUSTRIA
Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Twentieth Century	Brussels—Le Drapeau Noir	DENMARK
Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SWITZERLAND	Malmö—Arbetet
Milwaukee—National Reformer	Arbeiterstimme	WEST INDIES
N. J. Freie Presse	Geneva—Przedswit	Cuba—El Productor

## THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE.

### THE COMING REVOLUTION.

THE great strike has proved to the world that even the unskilled labourers are beginning to learn their own strength; that to-day they are not the unthinking slaves they once were; that they are learning to think and learning to combine. Great have been the fears of the propertied classes; great the fears of the supporters of “vested” interests; great the anxiety and terrible the presentiments of the profit-mongering classes.

I was assured a day or two ago by a retired tradesman that the strike was the forerunner of greater troubles. That the great mass of the people, through their ignorance, are unfit for any good, are capable of only mischief; and that in a year or two we shall find history repeating itself in the shape of a reign of terror in this England of ours. Though a Conservative, he thought the Government were much to blame in not stopping all meetings and processions, and if need be, in even suspending the Habeas Corpus Act.

Well! these great upheavals, these social revolts, are among the best signs of the times. We know what the workers can do if they will, and we know what they will do when they learn their own strength and feel their own importance. It is our duty, then, to redouble our efforts in all directions to educate and to organise them, prepare them for the good time coming, and be ready to guide and control them

when the crisis arrives. The unskilled labourers have hitherto been treated as almost beneath contempt; yet a cessation of labour on the part of a few thousands of those so-called unskilled workers paralyses the trade of the metropolis, and fills the bosoms of speculators with fear and trembling. What would a general cessation of labour do, even for one seven days? If a partial cessation, and for the removal of certain grievances only, can cause such consternation, what would a general cessation, and for the social revolution, accomplish? Not only would trade and commerce be paralysed, but the whole of the non-producing classes would be paralysed too.

We are often told that England is the richest country in the world. Nominally speaking it no doubt is, in proportion to its population. We were told in 1878 that, taking the ten years ending 1875, that the wealth increased £2,400,000,000, or a yearly average of £240,000,000. That ten years included the period of enormous profits—1870-74. But taking the period of low prices, the ten years ending 1885, and the increase was £1,800,000,000, or an annual average of £180,000,000; and if we take the seven years ending 1886, the yearly increase was over £207,000,000. But a great deal of this so-called wealth is a pure fiction, a mere increase in values.

Take the land of the United Kingdom. In 1840 the capital value was given at £1,680,000,000; in 1860, at £1,820,000,000; in 1878, at close on £3,000,000,000. But the land of the United Kingdom had not increased, while a large proportion was yearly going out of cultivation, and was thus becoming less valuable. The secret of the matter was the rise in rents. Taking as an example the rent of rural land. The rise of rents from 1857 to 1875 was £16,097,300, which, at 30 years' purchase, gave an increased capital-value of £482,919,000. And if we add the increase of ground-rents in towns, we shall have an increase in the capital value of far more than £1,000,000,000 during that short period. But the rent of rural land continued to rise up to 1880, and the ground-rents of our towns still go on increasing, thereby adding to the nominal wealth of the country. But notwithstanding the fact of the rise of rents, at the close of 1879 and the beginning of 1880, 25 years' purchase was generally held to be the true basis, and away went £500,000,000 in the capital-value of the land. But the land was there all the same. In 1882, it was £1,882,000,000.

Take house property. From 1841 to 1881 population increased about 45 per cent.; house property hardly so much. But rents rose over 165 per cent., and hence the capital-value of house property rose from 770,000,000 in 1840 to £2,280,000,000 in 1882.

Take the railways. In 1840 the capital-value was £33,000,000; in 1860, £334,000,000; in 1882, £770,000,000; and in 1886, £820,000,000. But take away the total results of what the Americans call the watering process, and what would the capital-value be? But that process adds nothing to the wealth of the country, but only increases the claims to dividends to those interested in the plunder of the workers.

If we take cattle, sheep, etc., one of the great necessities of life, the increase is very small. In 1840 their value was £380,000,000; in 1860, £460,000,000; but in 1882 it was down to £414,000,000. On the other hand, the value of shipping increased from £23,000,000 in 1840 to £120,000,000 in 1882. And the value of merchandise rose from £70,000,000 at the former period to £350,000,000 at the latter.

A few years ago it was customary in some parts of America to calculate a man's wealth by the extent of his indebtedness. Thus, say a man was worth ten thousand dollars, and he owed twenty thousand dollars, he was credited with being worth thirty thousand dollars. We don't do exactly in that way, but the increase in the indebtedness of our local bodies, etc., is added as an item in the increase of our national wealth. Thus loans rose from £230,000,000 in 1840 to £1,060,000,000 in 1882, forming £830,000,000 of the increase of our wealth from £4,030,000,000 in 1840 to £8,720,000,000 in 1882.

Take another test. In 1840 the total amount of our deposits were about £70,000,000; in 1876, about 700,000,000 (Mr. B. Baxter stated £800,000,000: Meeting of Stat. Soc., Jan. 1876). Now there was no corresponding increase in the gold and bullion of the country. That had only about doubled. And all the reserves at the disposal of the banks to meet a demand for the seven or eight hundred millions of deposits is rarely ever up to thirty millions. And of course one of the first results of a genuine crisis would be a run on the banks, or a scramble for the thirty millions. Of course the government would as usual protect the bank against its creditors.

Again, the increase of our investments at home and abroad is taken as evidence of our increasing riches. Taking 1882 and 1888, only six years, our investments at home increased from £2,433,000,000 to £2,753,373,000, being an increase of £320,373,000. But turning to our foreign investments we find an increase from £1,058,000,000 to £3,032,842,000, showing an increase of no less than £1,974,842,000. The amount of interest rose from £155,300,000 to £231,356,000.

Why do the non-producing classes fear the coming revolution? Why do they fear the very name of a crisis? Because this system of fictitious values would disappear in a moment. The fraud would be discovered. Their dividends would be swept away for ever, and the real wealth of the nation only would remain. On the first triumph of the revolution what would be the value of the £750,000,000 in the so-called Government Funds? What would be the value of the £4,000,000,000 of stocks and shares dealt with on the Stock Exchange? The villainies of the whole system would be exposed to the light of day; the rascalities of ages and the plunder of the toiling millions would disappear for ever. People! slaves of the United Kingdom! prepare for the social revolution! Therein lies your only hope, your only means of salvation! People, prepare!

J. SKETCHLEY.

## NOTES.

THE terrible mining disaster in Mid-Lothian has come in due time to illustrate, in a fearful manner, the tribute Labour has to pay to meet the necessity of Capital having its profits, and it throws a strange light on the votes, speeches, and actions of Messrs. Weir and Chisholm Robertson, miners' agents, at the Dundee Congress. These men, who pose as advisers to the miners, and are paid accordingly, are anxious for it to be known that they are not Socialists, and that they think it right that labour should work for shareholders who render no equivalent in return but merely the granting of leave to toil. It is well to note enemies. Workers of all classes, take note!

— There is not a day passes but the claims of the shareholders' profits must have their tribute of Labour's dead, but when this lesson comes to us in letters of fire in large text, it commands a passing notice from even the most thoughtless and unwilling learners. In the latter part of January twenty-three lives were taken at Cheshire in a mine explosion, two months later twenty lives were taken at North Wales, and now Scotland adds to the tribute with sixty-two lives at Maurice-wood Pit, Mid-Lothian.

These sixty-two lives were lost in a man-trap, fearful to contemplate. All for the sake of profit, and apparently against the Act of 1887, which not only enforced the prohibition of single shafts but provided that there must be two outlets separated by a distance of not less than 15 yards. These miners, who, it is noted, "as a whole were a superior set of men for their class," were entombed in the bowels of the earth in order to gain subsistence for themselves and profits to the shareholders of the Shotts Iron Company. The profits, it would seem, did not permit of the necessary outlay to provide a second shaft according to law, in order to give the legal security to the miner's only capital,—not speaking of the profit which should come to it,—and so they were permitted, notwithstanding mining agents, mine inspectors, legal Acts, and all, to labour in this man-trap in the full knowledge, from experience, of what was almost certain to happen.

A fire in the only shaft of escape, similar to the present disaster, occurred three years ago, but happily all the men at work escaped, and no notice was then taken of the fact that the mine was only provided with one shaft to the lower workings. Some time ago a project was spoken of to make another outlet, but the proposition then spoken of was never carried out for some reason or other, probably because "it would not pay," and so the poor men were sacrificed to the necessities of the shareholders. Oh, blessed Broadhurst! oh, sinless shareholding!

The present system of industry, we see, notwithstanding all that our present Parliament can do with laws and inspectors, must always subordinate the safety of the workers' lives to the shareholders' dividends. Our trades unionists, by their votes at Dundee, have practically endorsed this sort of thing, and it is for all workers now to consider whether such men can truly have their interests at heart, and whether they will content themselves with the prospect of ceaseless toil and a pauper's grave, the chances of a sudden and cruel death and Home Rule for Ireland—the only outcome possible to the aims of Broadhurst and his kind—or whether they will rise in their united strength against a social system which "finds them poor and always keeps them so," and thereby realise that no profits to shareholders can exist without the robbery and murder of the workers. He who is not against the principle of taking something for nothing—that is, shareholding—is against the workers, and with Broadhurst and his kind. G. McL.

The Boston *Dawn* (Christian Socialist) approvingly reprints the leaflet headed "The Starvation Army," which was first issued by the "Propagandist Committee" years ago, and has been re-issued by the League.

If promoters of commercial schemes, when sending their prospectuses to the editor, would kindly refrain from sticking the postage stamps so firmly on the return envelope they would confer a favour upon a worthy individual.

CARNEGIE ON WEALTH.—With the perversity of a blind man, who insists in starting off in the wrong direction, Andrew Carnegie begins: "The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and the poor in harmonious relationship." This is the man with palaces in America and Scotland, whose vacation is a tour round the world, whose outing is a three months' coaching trip, and who also writes, "And here, oh my good friends! let me say, that until a man has stood at the door and seen his own four-in-hand drive up before him, the horses,—four noble bays,—champing the bits, their harness buckles glistening in the sun; the coach spick and span new and as glossy as a mirror, with the coachman on the box and the footman behind; and then, enchanted, has called to his friends, 'Come, look, there it is, just as I had pictured it!' and has then seen them mount to their places with beaming faces—until, as I say, he has had that experience, don't tell me that he has known the most exquisite sensation in life, for I know he hasn't." But mayhap there is another Carnegie, with two rooms on the fourth story of a tenement house in Pittsburgh, whose vacation is the holiday which the State rescues for him from his three hundred and sixty-five days of toil in the rolling-mills, whose outing is a jaunt from one end to the other of the paved city, whose coach is the horse-car which he shares with fifty others? This Carnegie, putting distribution for administration, might restate the question more truly, "The problem of our age is the proper distribution of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may bind all together in harmonious relationship, and so there shall be no longer the extravagantly rich and the beggarly poor."—Boston *Nationalist*.

## OUR OLD MEN IN THE STREET.

THE cries of the burdened children,  
The thanks of the world elect,  
The curses of stunted manhood,  
And sobs of souls just wrecked—  
All go the same way to the gods above,  
An incense of hate, despair, and love.

But the old men bent and weary  
Have not a word to say;  
They have passed the time of cursing,  
They can neither sob nor pray;  
And with aching backs and tired feet,  
They work without moan in the city street.

Old and friendless and lonely,  
With shovel and pick and rake,  
Scraping the streets of Vanity Fair,  
A pitiful alms to make  
That will buy a bed or a bit of meat  
For the grey-haired man in the city street.

Should he curse? Will it fill his stomach?  
Should he sob? Will it ease his pain?  
Are the years not growing apace, apace  
When the earth will have him again?  
And the world's elect will not sleep more sweet  
Than the tired old man from the city street.

And so the silent old workers,  
Trembling, patient, and grey,  
Sobless, curseless, and silent,  
File past us from day to day.  
A gap in their ranks—the river has one,  
Another is missing—his work is done.

Cry to the gods, ye children,  
For the burdens that must be borne;  
Curse them, oh stunted manhood,  
For the deeds the ages have done;  
But kneel, ye elect, and your thanks repeat:  
Your father is not with the ranks in the street.

FANNIE S. ROPER in *Twentieth Century*.

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

I SAID at the conclusion of my last week's article that the strike had entered upon a new phase. It was found by the leaders that processions and meetings took up too much of their time, and that the unornamental but useful duties of picketing and distributing relief suffered accordingly. Processions were accordingly abandoned, the pickets were multiplied, and the relief fund was so managed that it no longer became a system of outdoor relief for some of the loafers and roughs of the East-end. The South side of the river, which had been rather neglected, had its needs attended to, and the few people who had taken advantage of the want of relief to stab Burns and the Strike Committee in the back, and had been well reported in the middle-class press for their pains, subsided into a dismal silence when Burns appeared upon the scene and wanted to know "What they had to say against him?" They had found out that "the lion was not dead but sleeping," and did not care about a personal interview with the noble beast. So they kept away somewhere round the corner; a very sensible policy on their part.

With the cessation of the processions, the Companies plucked up courage and began on their own account to spread the report that the lion was dead. The two evening newspapers, the *Echo* and the *Evening News*, which although professing friendship to strikers can always find ample space in their columns and upon their placards for any lies the masters may choose to circulate, reported that the strike was collapsing and that the men were going in. The other humbler emissaries of the dock companies, who get among the crowd on strike and spread false news, were also busy; but, despite these laudable efforts, the men would not listen to the sweet voices of these charmers, and they still held out gallantly despite the hunger and starvation which gnawed their vitals.

Then Mr. Norwood and his friends wrote to the papers to prove that the docker is not so badly off, and that if it had not been for those wicked agitators, and their attendant gangs of socialistic roughs, we should not have had any dock strike at all. However, all that the men have got to do is to return to their work, at the present exorbitantly high wage of 1s. 3d. a day, and all shall be forgiven. The benignant dock company will fold its repentant children in its arms. To this tempting and Christian invitation the men unfortunately, we hope it won't be remembered to them in the next world, made no response, but "put their thumb unto their nose and spread their fingers out." What very shocking behaviour; it is quite evident that they are not in the habit of attending church, and so have never received that religious instruction which inculcates obedience to their masters and pastors.

In case some people may be weak-minded enough to think that dockers have not much to complain of, I insert here a portion of a letter which appeared in the *Star* of Thursday, September 5th, and, from personal inquiries I have made, I know it only too truly pictures the infamous slavery against which this strike is an open revolt:

"Sir,—As a London dock foreman of some 40 years' experience, permit me to lay before your readers a few facts as to the sweating system practised. Contract work, so-called, means giving one man charge of a job (say the weighing off of 30,000 bags of sugar), and this man in his turn employs three or four bullies (I can term them nothing else), whose sole duty is to call out incessantly, 'Shove up,' 'On with you,' 'Run over him,' etc. Forty or fifty trucks are put on to a scale on this system, and are kept moving all day at the rate of 500 or 600 an hour. If the poor wretches, hungry, and wet through with perspiration, want to leave off at 4 p.m., they are told, often with an oath, to keep on or not come any more. And I must here inform you that the quay along which the men have to push their trucks is often an inch deep in a treacly mess that has often, to my knowledge, pulled the soles bodily from the men's boots. The job



finished, the contractor, often a man who cannot write his own name, gets £5 or £6 as his 'plush,' as it is called, and out of this he will give his bullies perhaps 5s. each, leaving him with £4 in his pocket, ground out of the half-starved bodies of the dockers. I can assure you, sir, that I am in daily contact with men who now own a row of houses (and it is curious the liking your contractor has for house property) and who a few years ago were cleaning boots in Ratcliff Highway! So much for the working of this most iniquitous contract system."

The various stories that I had heard concerning the strikers going in in their thousands, etc., made me anxious to discover, by personal observation, the truth of these reports. I therefore took a plunge into the undiscovered country, by going down one of the narrow streets leading out of the Commercial Road, and so into the St. Georges Street, more popularly known as the Ratcliff Highway, which is in the heart of the strike district. But what on earth has come to High Street, St. Georges? Why, it is as quiet, as dull and respectable, as a street in any country town. Where are the sailors of all nationalities—the Malays, with gleaming eyes and teeth? Where are the fights, the knives, the riot and drunkenness? A religious calm prevails; a hot sun beats down, blistering the paint. At the door of a public-house there is a man or two with slouched hats, adjusted coal-heaver fashion, and with that general air of lawlessness peculiar to sailors. They are busy conversing with "Nancy" and "Betsy." The slumberous sound of a banjo is heard from within another public-house; but that does not disturb the general tranquility. But at every lane leading to the docks and wharves, which the tapering masts shooting up into the sky proclaim to be near at hand, there are groups of stern-looking men, who look at you narrowly, with that jealous scrutinising glance which the active and intelligent police-officer usually gives to suspicious strangers. These are the pickets, the terrible pickets, whose motto is "No quarter to blacklegs." It is probable that if you plunged down one of those lanes with a train-catching air and made directly for yonder dock gate, you would find yourself seized not too gently by rough hands, while gruff voices would enquire your business in that locality. What would happen if you replied that you had got a job at dock-labouring and you were going to fulfil your engagement, I don't know. Policemen seem remarkably scarce down here, and the river is not far off. These men don't like scabs; indeed, I heard a burly stevedore express a fervent desire the other day for a barrel of gunpowder to send some gentlemen on a voyage skyward who were engaged in useful labour in a neighbouring dock. So probably it would be as well for you not to impersonate the scab, unless you have a desire to experience the sensations of a person in a situation of deadly peril.

But see, this lane leads to the docks and is yet a public thoroughfare; if you go straight ahead through these narrow lanes they will bring you out close to Limehouse Church. So down we go into the depths. But what a stern air the street is putting on! Shops and houses sternly and firmly closed; no women gossiping at the doors. Save for a few passers-by, there is no life in these narrow streets. It is the sullen desperation of starving poverty, which has determined to starve in silence sooner than yield. If Mr. Norwood and his friends could visit this district—they would require a strong police escort unless they were well disguised—they would learn how fruitless is their "game" of trying to starve the people into surrender. There is a spirit here that will take all the brutality and force inherent in capitalist monopoly to break down. "Death by hunger, bullet, or steel sooner than surrender"—that is the spirit which shows itself. Every closed house and every firm-set starving face, hard and obdurate as granite, which you meet in these deserted streets tells the same story of dogged determination and gloomy resolution.

Out from these narrow lanes we come upon an open space near the river. Yonder is an iron bridge thrown across the entrance to a dock, against the rails of which some twenty men are leaning; in their midst a solitary representative of law and authority, a policeman, stands. We lean on the rails of the bridge and look into the dock. Save for a few sailors unloading a ship close to the bridge, the quietude of the Sabbath reigns; the quays, the sheds, and ships are alike deserted; upon or within them is no sign of life. On through the narrow gloomy lanes, past deserted wharves, which all tell the same story, back to the broad expanse of the Commercial Road. We emerge from the depths close to Limehouse Church. The churchyard has been converted into a pretty garden, the seats of which are crowded by men, women, and children, trying to dull the edge of hunger by a doze amid the flowers and the sun. The figure of an old man strikes our attention; every feature of his face is sharpened by hunger and suffering; but he folds his withered old hands, and is content to suffer for the good time which is coming; coming soon, we hope, now.

In the middle of last week, the Strike Committee, having reorganised their fighting forces, decided to resume the processions. Having noticed a new and original feature, I hurried through the streets of the city and took my station among the well-fed city magnates who crowd the steps of the Dock House. The collectors with their boxes come and jingle them under the noses of these gentlemen, who look on stonily. One collector, an old man of excitable demeanour, takes up his station there, and announces that he means to stay there till the procession has passed. "Ah, sir," he ejaculates to a particularly comfortable-looking person, "I am very sorry for Mr Norwood. Poor gentleman, he has come to a sad end. He is hanging on a gibbet at the end of the procession. People are getting angry, you know; and I tell you what he is doing, he'll bring about a revolution, if he is not very careful. Ah, here he comes, here he comes." Just then, amid the clangour of a brass band playing the "Marseillaise," a ghastly figure approaches. Swinging on a gallows high is an effigy attired in black coat and brown trowsers, a white handkerchief over its face, and its arms pinioned. The gibbet bears the following inscription: "To Norwood." The dock magnates turn green. Do any of them know that the hanging of unpopular people in effigy often preceded their hanging in reality during the stormy years of the French Revolution?

We all know how the Committee of Conciliation, under the able direction of Lord Mayor Whitehead, endeavoured to entrap the men into accepting the directors' terms. We know how the plot failed, and how the arch-plotter then endeavoured to discredit the movement by declaring that the leaders deserved no sympathy because they would not agree to Norwood's ultimatum. The men answered by a tremendous burst of enthusiasm over their leader on Monday. Tillet, who was sitting on a wagon in Eastcheap, was vociferously cheered; but this was nothing to the reception that awaited Burns. No sooner was the stalwart handsome figure of the leader of the strike seen standing erect on a wagon as the legions of revolted labour rolled by, than banners and flags were bent and bowed to the earth before him, while the air was rent by a storm of frenzied cheers from sailors, stevedores, lightermen, coaliers, and dockers. I have never witnessed such enthusiasm since the beginning of the strike.

At the present moment it is enough to say that the situation has undergone but little change. The men still hold out with the same dogged determination; but funds are pouring in by thousands daily, Australia alone having sent £14,000. Lord Mayor Whitehead and the Bishop of London have retired to recover their health in the country. Cardinal Manning is endeavouring to get the men to accept a compromise, but the men will have no compromise, they will have the "tanner" and nothing else; and so say all of us.

### The Printers' Labourers' Strike.

Success so far has attended this movement. Conducted as it has been by a few workmen, and without any funds to speak of, yet no fewer than several dozen of the principal London printing firms have been compelled to grant the advance, from 13s. and 14s. to 20s. per week, and many more employers have been forced to grant advances to 18s. and 19s. a week. A strong union, however, has been formed among the men, which will be able to compel other houses to grant the standard wage which the men demand. The strike, in spite of its success so far, has in reality only just begun, for the men express their determination to persevere until their union embraces the whole trade. The usual tactics of the employers have had a slight development during the week; not content with sending threatening letters to parents of the younger workers, "palming" the police to drive away pickets, and sending drunken men to discredit the movement (happily without success), they, or rather one of them, has invented a new dodge, which may be recommended to sweaters having disputes with their employees. It consists in calling in those of the workpeople who are to be found standing outside the factory, and in a fatherly manner promising them "a shilling and a belly full" on condition that they start work. The socialistic propaganda has, meanwhile, gone on steadily, more especially as the ordinary trade-unionist leaders are still "conspicuous by their absence"; 1,500 applications have been received by the Union Committee from men wishing to join, so that remarkable success seems pretty certain for this agitation. C.

### The Trades Union Congress.

This assembly has often been termed the Parliament of Labour. It deserves the title, being nearly as useless and obsolete as the Parliament of Capital—the Houses of Lords and Commons. The Trades Union Congress has usually a fair amount of space devoted to its deliberations in the daily press. It meets at a period when news is scarce, and therefore even the twaddle talked among the respectable trades union delegates is of service, being perhaps of slightly more interest than the usual gush about big gooseberries, sea-serpents, marriage a failure, etc., etc. But, alas! this year a conflict is raging, a real battle between capital and labour, which engrosses public interest, and the Trades Union Congress has to take a back seat. It is quite true that this is no great loss, as the time of the Congress has been mainly occupied in passing votes of confidence and thanks to those two noble representatives of labour, Brothers Shipton and Broadhurst. This is not surprising; as most of its members are in the pay of one or both of the two gangs of swindlers, the Great Political Parties, it is only natural they should sympathise with their fellows in corruption. As to what the Congress did or what it did not do, that is not a matter which requires weighty consideration. We have not space for it. All we can say to honest trades unionists is, Come ye out from the Shipton and Broadhurst gang. Let them stink in their own corruption. Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting, Broadhurst, Shipton, and Co.; the sceptre has departed from you, and is given unto those who will send you to seek your paymaster the capitalist in the place that is fittest for him. That is the message of the people to the takers of corrupting gold and the sharers in the swollen profits of the sweater. D. N.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 21, 1889.

15	Sun.	1613. Sir T. Overbury poisoned in the Tower. 1856. Address presented on Primrose Hill by Chartists to John Frost on his return from exile. 1865. Seizure of the <i>Irish People</i> , and arrest, among others, of John O'Leary, T. C. Luby, and O'Donovan Rossa. 1866. John Blake Dillon died. 1866. D. Karakozow hanged in St. Petersburg for his attempt on Alexander II.
16	Mon.	1841. Chartist riot at Monkwearmouth. 1845. Thomas Davis died. 1868. Spanish revolution.
17	Tues.	1740. Major John Cartwright born. 1819. Seven persons imprisoned for selling Carline's <i>Freethinker</i> . 1836. First number of the <i>Star in the East</i> , Wisbech, weekly, 4d. 1848. Revolt at Frankfurt. 1871. Fourth General Congress of the International met in London (17th–23rd). 1872. Joseph Johnson died.
18	Wed.	1685. Bloody Assizes begin. 1797. Hoche died. 1867. Rescue of Kelly and Deasy at Manchester, and death of policeman Brett. 1872. Lolive, Denivelle, and Deschamps shot as Communards.
19	Thur.	1803. Trial of Robert Emmet at Dublin for high treason in heading the rebellion of the previous July. 1820. Joseph Waddington tried for seditious libel. 1831. Russell's Reform Bill passed the Commons. 1849. The <i>Neptune</i> arrives in Simon's Bay.
20	Fri.	1787. French Parlement returns to Paris. 1790. Solemn funeral service for the slain at Nanci. 1798. Trial of D. Black and J. Paterson for sedition. 1803. Legal murder of Robert Emmet. 1818. Robert Owen issues his "Memorial to the Governments of Europe and America." 1839. Arrest of Feargus O'Connor at Manchester. 1870. Italian troops enter Rome. 1874. Great Fenian demonstration near Drogheda. 1885. Dod Street meeting; 20,000 present.
21	Sat.	1723. Petition against "Wood's Halfpence." 1792. Louis XVI. dethroned. 1799. James Watson died.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday September 15, at 8.45 p.m., Mr. William Townshend, "Our Mammoth and Engulfing Monopolies, and how to prevent them from crushing down Labour."

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. Manchester, and North London, to end of July. Leicester, North Kensington, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Contribution fees as soon as possible.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 1s.; R. Turner, 1s.; Rose, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; and B. W., 6d. Glasgow Branch—Jeannie Glasier, 5s.; Bruce Glasier, 2s.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—**Battersea**—Good meeting at Princes Head, addressed by Kitz and Mowbray; collected for propaganda, 6s. 7d.; 37 *Weals* sold. **Chelsea**—A good meeting was held on Sunday morning on Chelsea Embankment by Samuel, Greenman (S.D.F.), and Tarleton; 27 *Commonweal* sold. **Hoxton**—A splendid meeting held here on Thursday evening, the speakers being Mrs. Lahr, Mowbray, Cores, and Parker. Several labour songs sung, and 2s. 5d. collected for Printers' Labourers Strike; *Weal* sold well. **Mile End Waste**—A monster meeting held on Wednesday night; speakers were Mowbray and Welsh (S.D.F.); Mowbray in the course of his speech pointed out that rent was robbery, and a landlord's agent who jeered and sneered but would not come on the platform and oppose, was "chucked out" by the dockers; Mowbray was enthusiastically cheered at the end of his speech. **Prebend Street, Islington**—An excellent meeting held here last Friday evening by Parker, Kitz, Davis, and Mowbray; 5s. 1d. was collected for the Dockers' Strike Fund. Comrades in this locality are especially asked to turn up on Friday evening.

**Mitcham.**—In response to handbills calling two meetings on the Fair Green, one in the morning and one in the evening in aid of the strike movement, about 600 working-men assembled in the morning; Mowbray and Kitz conducted the meeting. Owing to the misleading announcement in the *Star* that the strike was at an end we had a difficulty to collect for the dockers, but a collection for local propaganda realised 7s. In the evening, the laundry women turned up in strong force, and the Green was covered with a mass of people. The speaking fell to Kitz and Mowbray; Kitz leaving early to attend at Streatham, Mowbray gave the local sweaters a bad time of it. The wages of laundry women are 2s. 4d. per day of 11 hours; field workers, 1s. 2d. per day of 8 hours. Some pious face-grinders will have cause to remember the Mitcham Socialists.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Maughan, Crouch, J. F. Lyne, Tochatti, Thomas (Ipswich), and Saint. *Commonweal* sold well, collected for strike fund, 2s. 8d. Fair meeting at St. Ann's Road, speakers were Crouch and J. F. Lyne. In the afternoon at 4, we assisted at a meeting on Acton Green to organise laundresses; we had a gathering of about 2,000 people, and Maughan took the chair. Also in the afternoon at 5.30 we held another meeting, which was so large, numbering about 4,000, we had to divide it and make two platforms; the meeting was a complete success. In the evening we held a meeting at Cambridge Gardens, but the closure was again applied and the meeting broke up. The police told us to go into Hyde Park if we wanted to hold meetings. Speakers were Maughan and Crouch; collected for strike fund, 1s. 5d.

**STREATHAM.**—Kitz and Dillier addressed the usual meeting. 56 *Commonweal* sold by Mitcham and Streatham comrades.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—Splendid meeting on Tuesday at Mile End Waste, addressed by Leech and Turner re the strike; fair sale of literature. Members turn up well at business meetings, and are very busy giving literature away among the strikers.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on Monday a paper on "Russia and Nihilism" was read. At Castle Street on Saturday night Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham addressed a large meeting, collecting 8s. for the dockers; collection spoiled by rumour that the strikers were returning to work. Three quires papers and other literature sold.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 2 o'clock Glasier addressed a very good audience on the Green, where 4s. was collected for London dock-labourers' strike. Afterwards Glasier gave an address on "Home Rule and the Labour Problem" to the Kinning Park Branch of the Irish National League. At 5.30, Gilbert, Glasier, and Antony Smith (of Aberdeen) spoke at Paisley Road Toll, where 4s. was again collected for the dock-labourers. A number of leaflets were distributed during the day.

**MANCHESTER.**—Meeting held at Middleton on Saturday night. At our new station, Philips' Park gates, a good meeting was held on Sunday at 11 o'clock; Bailie and Stockton spoke; 27 *Commonweal* sold and 2s. 4d. collected for strike fund. In Stevenson Square two meetings, convened by Gasworkers and General Labourers' Union, were held in afternoon; W. Thorne, of London, General Sec., spoke at both. The object was the organisation of gasmen employed by Manchester Corporation. Collections made for dockers realised £1 11s. 6d. *Commonweal* sold out. A large meeting at Chester Road at 8 p.m., addressed by Stockton and Barton. Three comrades visited Oldham and held an enthusiastic meeting; some opposition by a local secularist. A branch is about to be formed here.

**YARMOUTH.**—Good meeting in Market Place on Thursday 5th, on behalf of the dock strikers; collected 10s. We held another meeting on the beach Sunday afternoon for the same purpose; collected 5s. In the morning a large meeting was held on Priory Plain, and another held in the evening at Colman's Granary; Reynolds and Ruffold were the speakers.—C. R.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, September 7th, J. Wilson delivered an address on "The Lessons of the Great London Strike." The cause of the strikers was upheld by Graham, Frizelle, Hamilton, and King, whilst the London Dock Companies found a congenial defender in Mr. C. McGowan, ex-Parliamentary candidate on the Nationalist ticket for Leitrim. At the conclusion of the meeting a collection was made.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—On Sunday morning and evening Peacock and Whalley and Rooke spoke in Sneinton Market and Great Market Place. The conduct of Mr. Broadhurst and others of the official trades-union ring was criticised. This provoked some opposition, which was satisfactorily replied to.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

**East London.**—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Business meeting will be held on Sunday September 15th. Members please attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 15, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. The French Class will be resumed on Friday evening next, from 8 to 9 p.m., and will be continued every Friday evening. Teacher, Mmle. Des Roches. The fees are quite nominal; members of the League are invited to join.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 14.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Nicoll  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church.....Reynolds, Kitz, and Mowbray  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Davis, Lefevre, and Samuels

SUNDAY 15.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Crouch and J. Lyne  
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment .....Mrs. Lahr and Samuels  
11.30..... Eelbrook Common .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Maughan and Saint  
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street .....Tochatti  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....Reynolds and Kitz  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Mowbray  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Mainwaring  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....The Branch  
7 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall .....Samuels  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....Nicoll  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Reynolds and Kitz  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....The Branch

TUESDAY 17.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church.....The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste .....Kitz, Parker, and Mowbray

WEDNESDAY 18.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment.....Samuels

THURSDAY 19.

8 ..... Ossulston Street .....Parker  
8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Nicoll

FRIDAY 20.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....Graham and Davis  
8 ..... Islington—Prebend Street .....Parker and Kitz

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 8. Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30. W. B. Parker, from London, will speak on Sunday.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

### SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Glasgow.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatoun and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. A.

**Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

**DEPTFORD LIBERAL CLUB**, Broadway, Deptford.—Sunday Sept. 15, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw, "Radicalism and Social Democracy."

**CENTRAL FINSBURY RADICAL CLUB**, 241 Goswell Rd., E.C.—Sunday Sept. 15, at 11.30 a.m., Annie Besant, "Drifting into Socialism."

**WEST SOUTHWARK LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, Charlotte Street, S.E.—Sunday September 15th, W. S. De Mattos, "The New Radical Policy."

**DUBLIN.**—Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, on Saturday September 14, at 8 p.m., T. Hamilton will lecture on "Labour and its Remuneration."

**EAST LONDON BRANCH.**—At a meeting of the members of this Branch, at 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road, on Sunday September 8, the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That a meeting of members of this Branch and friends of the League be called at an early date to discuss the Manifesto of the Socialist League, to determine its relation to Anarchy."—H. DAVIS, Sec.

## WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

LONDON.

PUBLISHING OFFICE: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

N.

Gea, 56 High-street, Islington  
J. W. Miller, 76 Holloway-road  
Watson, 76 Hoxton-street  
Knox, 5 Mayes-terrace, Wood Green  
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N. W.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 193.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE dockers have won their victory; for with all drawbacks it must be called a victory. They have shown qualities of unselfishness and power of combination which we may well hope will appear again before long. For one thing, they have knocked on the head the old slander against the lower ranks of labour, and shown that the mere "fringe of labour," the "roughs," the "vagabonds"—in short, the men named by the insults of the real criminal class, who have thrust them into their terrible position,—that these men can organise themselves at least as well, and be at least as true to their class, as the aristocracy of labour. No result of the strike is more important than the effect it will have as a blow against class jealousy amongst the workers themselves. Henceforth any working-man attempting to make distinctions between skilled and unskilled will be obvious to his fellows as a traitor and reactionary.

The *Daily News*, which, like several other definitely capitalist papers, espoused the cause of the strikers, was nevertheless very anxious to show that the strike had nothing to do with Socialism. Now if that means that it was no artificial agitation, but was caused by dire necessity, we can all agree with that. If it means anything else it is nonsense. For in the first place, although mere combination amongst the men, with no satisfactory ulterior aim, is not itself Socialism, yet it is both a necessary education for the workers, and it is an instrument which Socialism cannot dispense with. Furthermore, the attitude of the *Daily News* itself and of the well-to-do sympathisers with the strikers (including, doubtless, a large part of the lower middle class), remains, when all deductions have been made, a remarkable fact; and a fact, moreover, quite impossible to be explained except by admitting that the preaching of Socialism has frightened some and, at least partly, convinced others of the respectable classes. They are becoming at once terrified and shocked by the horrible poverty of London. Is that the result of the efforts of the Charity Organisation to make poverty respectable? of the efforts of the philanthropists to make it dumb? of the parsons of all sects to make it religious? No. It is the result of the efforts of the Socialists to make poverty actively discontented.

Let us go on with those efforts then, encouraged by the step that combination amongst the workers has taken, but remembering that the new epoch of combination is only just beginning. Let us make it clear to the middle-class sympathisers with labour, that very little has been done even to palliate the most obvious evils of the system which makes them a middle-class, i.e., a class of sweaters. The Dockers are to have their "tanner" (if the companies keep faith with them, which is very doubtful), but what will be their position when they reap the result of their hard won victory? Let us be plain on this matter. They will receive precarious mere-subsistence wages for the hardest of hard work. They will be lodged in hideous and foul slums; they will have no reasonable pleasure, no taste of the comforts and the luxuries which their labour helps to win for others. In a word, they will still be slaves as far as their material condition is concerned, though they have shown that they are not the stuff of which it is safe to make slaves.

For us, it is our business to make them understand that they never can be anything else than slaves till they have swept away class domination and privilege; that in spite of all the soft words of the capitalist press, they and the capitalists are and must be irreconcilable enemies; that whatever either gains must be at the expense of the other. When they have learned that, their combination will both be infinitely improved as an instrument, and they will also be compelled to use it for its one real use, the realization of Socialism, to which undoubtedly this strike has been a step, as part of the labour struggle, as part of the attack on our enemy—Capitalism. W. M.

I am very glad to see that "The Middleman," Mr. H. A. Jones's new play, has made a success at the Shaftesbury Theatre. Despite some extremely orthodox morality mixed up in the love-interest, and

a great deal too much talk of "shame" and the "child of shame," and a woman who has been "dishonoured" being "better dead," and so on, it remains a really well-planned and well-wrought play, which is distinctly worth seeing. From the moment of the opening, which strikes the keynote at once, to the last dropping of the curtain, there is no fall from a very high level of economic and social thought. Not that there is any "preaching"; in so clearly reproducing, without obvious comment, a striking phase of the present system, the author has answered his evident purpose with tenfold effect. The man must be dull indeed who can rise from witnessing the performance of "The Middleman" without some measure of awakening to the crying injustice of the social arrangements which deliver one man bound hand and foot, body and brain, into the hand of another, because he is poor and the other rich.

Making all needful qualifications, "The Middleman" remains the healthiest production of an English dramatist in modern times, and the one which a Socialist may witness with least weariness, even in its worst places. For myself, I must confess that I have seen it twice and mean to see it again. Of course, the success of it is not altogether due to its high tone and progressive standpoint, though I hope and think that a great deal of it is. Something of it—much, indeed—is due to the magnificently careful and unaffected rendering of the old workman-inventor by Mr. Willard.

If anyone go and see it upon my recommendation, and, not liking it, blame me for beguiling him of his hard-earned entrance-money, I would ask him to think of the tawdry rubbish that has been hitherto, and still is, and will continue to be, served up to the British public in the place of a rational drama with some wholesome relation to ordinary life. Let him for a corrective go and see "A Man's Shadow" at the Haymarket, where he will see a powerful actor wasting his energies and those of a good company upon a melodrama, strong enough as melodramas go, but entirely designed and built upon the lines of the most debased and brutal of the superstitions which go to make up bourgeois "morality."

To say that Mr. Robert Buchanan, who assailed Ibsen for indecency, is its author or adapter, and that the *Pall Mall* is its most enthusiastic admirer, is to say that "social purity" is rampant throughout. Except in the "comic element," that is; for Mr. Buchanan's "morality" fails him when he tries to be funny, and his jokes are all turned upon the alternate condonation of adultery by two men who change places as the lover and husband of one woman. S.

The Liberty and Property Defence League has issued another list of Bills requiring "your opposition." There are 34 of them, all of which seem to have already come before Parliament, and, with two exceptions, to have been withdrawn or dropped. It is a striking testimony to the uselessness of Parliament for effecting any change worth the name, when 32 out of 34 bills, presumably for somebody's good, have to be dropped.

To be sure, it was of little consequence what became of these bills. Misbegotten things as most of them were, it cannot matter that nearly all were still-born. For no bill has the least chance of passing through Parliament, unless it is framed in such a way that it really makes no difference—except to place-hunters—whether it passes or not. So that one wonders what the Liberty and Property Defence League sees in them to object to.

But the fact is that the old watch-dog of Property is near going mad. These little puddles of watery bills have frightened him, and there are signs of imminent rabies. What else but madness can it be, in days like these, to waste hope or fear on Parliament—that huge gas-works and light of the world—which, in the middle of the dockers' strike, goes out with a little sputter and stink of Queen's Speech, all unobserved as a dying candle when the day is come?

Yet here are these poor creatures of the Liberty and Property

Defence League busily patching their rotten roof at Westminster, not seeing that the sea is coming in at the door, in the East End, and undermining the foundations. For a tide is rising, with John Burns to the front, which 'may, if taken at the flood, lead straight to the better fortune of Socialism. Yet a little while, and the yelping, snapping, mad dog of Property may be washed away.

And John Burns? Will he keep his place on the advancing wave? He might help the working-classes, as perhaps no other man could, through the critical years to come. Or will he be persuaded by the politicians of Dundee or elsewhere, that the best thing he can do is to try to *muzzle the dog* in Parliament? If so, the tide will not wait, even for him. He will be left behind to help Cunninghame Graham give decent burial to further abortive bills—struggling over their remains with the Liberty and Property Defence League. All which would be a pity, for we don't see a man like John Burns every day.

G. S.

Since I wrote the notes in last week's *Weal*, the manager of the Mauricewood Pit has explained through the press, that the lower workings of the pit had a downcast and upcast passage. Whether these passages met the requirements of the Act I cannot, of course, say; but one thing is certain, they did not help the men's escape, and it was possible by the outlay of more capital to have made these workings so that such a fate as overtook the men therein would have been impossible.

At the annual meeting of the owners, held last week, the report showed a nett profit of £4,969 2s. 9d., and the chairman mentioned the fact that the accident resulted in the death of 63 men. Some are in the pit yet, and the pit is sealed up. The men who risk and those who have lost their lives in the making of that £4,969 2s. 9d. have no claim upon it. That is the toll they have to pay for leave to toil.

The miners of the Lothians are apparently not satisfied with the manager's statement and "explanation" regarding the upcast and downcast shaft. At the usual meeting of their association they passed a resolution demanding a public enquiry to be made into the cause of the accident, and at the same time to call upon the inspector of mines to make a thorough inspection of all mines, especially where steam power is used underground, and that the seams worked have a *proper* outlet according to the Mines Regulation Act. The inspector has opened an enquiry—in the Company's office! At Carmyle the other day the shaft of a pit caved in, and it took the men twelve hours to get out by the second shaft. What is the use of this Act if the second shaft is not fit for instantaneous escape in emergencies?

G. McL.

## LIFE AND LABOUR IN EAST LONDON.

(Concluded from p. 290.)

BUT what a question to ask. The entire removal of a whole class. Is it impossible? Why, of course not! who that has read any history can doubt the possibility of removing a whole class? The real question to discuss is, Which is the class most likely to be removed?

"History," says Carlyle, "feels bound to consider that starvation is starvation; that starvation from age to age pre-supposes much; History ventures to assert that the French Sansculotte of Ninety-three, who, roused from a long death-sleep, could rush at once to the frontiers and die fighting for an immortal Hope and Faith of Deliverance for him and his was but the *second*-miserablest of men." It may be Carlyle would agree that the *first* most miserablest of men has been "conned and set down in a note" book by Charles Booth; and if so, the next passage from French Revolution, Book vii., is still more pertinent. "History confesses mournfully that there is no period to be met with, in which the general twenty-five millions of France suffered less than in this which they name Reign of Terror! But it was not the Dumb Millions that suffered here; it was the *Speaking Thousands, and Hundreds, and Units*; who shrieked and published, and made the world ring with their wail: that is the grand peculiarity."

The class which was removed was not the class which had starved and suffered from age to age; the millions who had borne the cross so long in silence now had bread, while they who had had all the bread and all the cake now ate grass, and made the world re-echo with their plaints; just as to-day, more fuss is made when some aristocrat breaks his one neck in the hunting-field, than over *ten* miners crushed by fall of pit roof.

Our author is getting on dangerous ground when he lays so much stress upon the fact that the poor are subject to a crushing load; a little further on he says the standard of life is rising, and again, further on, "Those who obtain better wages and more regular employment, receive only in proportion to what they give, and are more profitable servants." The standard of life is rising, but not so fast as is the knowledge among the poor that they have to bear a crushing load, and that the class responsible will have to be removed.

"The question of those who actually suffer from poverty should be considered separately from that of the true working classes, whose desire for a larger share of wealth is of a different character. It is the plan of agitators and the way of sensational writers to confound the two in one, to talk of 'starving millions,' and to tack on the thousands of the working classes to the tens or hundreds of distress. Against this method I protest. To confound these essentially distinct

problems is to make the solution of both impossible; it is not by welding distress and aspirations that any good can be done" (p. 155). But methinks he doth protest too much and idly, for he is flying in the face of his own book and all history. "Agitators" have no need to draw upon "sensational writers" other than Charles Booth and his collaborateurs to make out a case for a big upheaval, and social upheavals *do* only come by the "welding" of "distress" and "aspirations."

Assuredly Classes *G* and *H* will not do much for a change; they have, as Elisée Reclus says, just dined, and toothpick in mouth are simply impatient at the cries of the suffering. Classes *A* and *B* have probably had every hope and aspiration trampled out, but *C*, *D*, and *E* have among them enough of sorrow and distress to spur them on, and enough of knowledge and hope to see the way to salvation, which will come not by way of Mr. Booth's peddling enlargement of the scope of our present Poor Law, so as to allow, for the benefit of Class *B*, the formation of Pauper or semi-Pauper Communes, much after the fashion suggested by H. V. Mills, or those of the Netherlands.

"To bring Class *B* under State regulation would be to control the springs of pauperism" (p. 166). Not while capitalism causes competition in production wholly for profit and not for consumption, and all Boothian suggestions will be waste and beside the mark, no matter how laboriously worked out, while "Life" and "Labour," "Poverty," "Poor," and "Comfort," are defined and measured as in this book. "Life and Labour" is a misnomer. Ruskin says "There is no Wealth but Life. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings" ('Unto this Last'), and few enough are there out of the whole of Mr. Booth's 909,000 who come within measurable distance of such Life and Wealth.

"Agitators" and "sentimental writers" owe thanks to Mr. Booth for the completeness and care with which an exceedingly complex piece of work has been done, often under very unpleasant and at times dangerous conditions. As every author sees his best thanks in a wide use of his work there can be little doubt that great use will be made of this book, although it is very probable that in some cases the arguments drawn out of it may be somewhat different to what Mr. Booth intended.

The solidarity just shown among the dockers and kindred labourers may possibly cause a reconsideration of the statement that there is no "danger" in having in our midst a quarter of a million with positively little more than bare existence to lose, come the very worst.

At the beginning of the century the total army of the kingdom was not more than the total of Classes *A*, *B*, and *C*. A hundred years ago the total strength of the French army was about 150,000, the total population of Paris was under half a million, and yet—well—they have an exhibition in Paris to-day by way of celebration.

It may be urged that in 1640 the population of our city and kingdom, and the whole of the conditions were very different from what obtains to-day; but then, as now, apparently the classes had all the advantages. What army there was, was in the hands of, and *really in favour of*, their rulers; and these rulers felt as assured in their position, aye, more assured, than does the same class to-day. Small as was the armed force at the disposal of tyranny in 1642, it was larger than to-day in comparison to population and extent of territory.

Cromwell's ever victorious army did never equal the population of the smallest London parish of to-day, leaving out the one or two exceptional parishes, such as where one building covers a whole parish, and where—as once remarked Colonel Perronet Thompson—in one building is stored up a £100 a-piece for 200,000 men, the finest prize-money offered since the Creation.

When smug optimists blind themselves to the readings of history, and insist there is only "disgrace but no danger," they overlook wholly the immensely increased value of the stakes of to-day as compared with any previous period in the world's history.

"Your idle people . . . are not merely waste coal beds. They are explosive coal beds" (Ruskin in 'Queen of the Air'). And every city of the kingdom has its explosive bed! What if a spark be applied?

A demand made by Ruskin in the work just quoted, "that sooner or later, we shall have to register our people; and to know how they live; and to make sure, if they are capable of work, that right work is given them to do," is to some extent answered by Mr. Booth's book; so far well; but much more must be done before it can be really and truly written, "There is no danger."

"You respect no hoary wrong,  
More for having triumphed long;  
Its past victims haggard throng,  
From the mould  
You unbury. Swords and spears  
Weaker are than poor men's tears,  
Weaker than your silent years,  
Hunger and Cold.

"Let them guard with hall and bower,  
Through the window you will glower,  
Patient till your reckoning hour  
Shall be tolled.  
Cheeks are pale, but hands are red,  
Guiltless blood may chance be shed,  
But ye must and will be fed,  
Hunger and Cold.

"If the gods of this lower world will sit on their glittering thrones indolent as Epicurus' gods, with the living Chaos of Ignorance and

Hunger weltering uncared for at their feet, and smooth Parasites preaching Peace, peace, when there is no peace, then the dark Chaos, it would seem, will rise;—has risen, and, O Heavens, has it not tanned their skins into breeches for itself? That there be no second Sansculottism on our Earth for a thousand years, let us understand well what the first was" ('French Revolution,' Book vii.).

THOMAS SHORE.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### MERLINO'S RESOLUTION.

Comrade Hall has thought fit to criticise Merlino's resolution in a way more gaudy than convincing, and in my opinion utterly beside the spirit and the obvious meaning of the words themselves. Space is too valuable and the subject too serious for one to use any of the "sulphurous big words," etc., etc., that even comrade Hall indulges in to a great extent. In plain English, Hall asks (of us who agree with the whole of Merlino's resolution), "Do we imagine that either the obtaining of the whole in one lump is possible scientifically or desirable as to expediency?" (strange words to follow one another—possible, scientific, desirable, and expedient!). To which the answer is, No! But when Hall pretends that Merlino's words mean that free education is bad, and that an eight hour day is reactionary, in themselves, then I for one feel that Hall himself is "gassing and anticipating," and won't understand that all these palliatives are absolutely scientifically inevitable, and we should therefore only preach our ideal, and not stop for one moment, and waste valuable time and material on "red herrings," but leaving the various political place-hunters to fight each other for place, power, and profit, with their ideals, knowing full well a result of this must be the introduction of "carefully [very carefully] framed though far-reaching measures, practical working-class reforms,"—which, in my opinion, will be greatly accelerated and brought "within the range of practical politics" (in spite of us) by really earnest uncompromising propaganda of our ideal, and by various signs of our determination and energy, which alone will teach the people how to use these possibly necessary stepping-stones towards that end for which all honest Socialists strive. One remark, in conclusion, anent the "boy getting too big for his clothes," which, as is often the case with "figures of speech," is rather misleading to the uninitiated. From what I have gathered from the "concrete facts of weekaday life," I have no hesitation in declaring that the little boy does "don a brand-new rig-out" next morning (if he's got 'em).

H. SAMUELS.

### A "FRIENDLY" ATTACK.

IN the September number of *Unity*, "a monthly journal for Foresters, Odd-fellows, and kindred societies," there is one of the stupid old attacks which ignorant men are fond of making; all about "professional agitators" with "delicate uplifted palms and oily tongues," "the commentary upon" our preaching "afforded by the Paris Congress" and its quarrelling, and so on. It winds up with the cheerful and Chadband-like reflection, "that while Socialists are trying to set the world at rest and peace by stirring up the dirty waters of discontent, true Friendly Society men are advancing the cause of humanity by thrift and thoughtfulness." The blinking screech-owl who cannot bear the light is a great personage in this country—there's a good many of him—and he never comes out of his hole without hooting at somebody who is throwing light on the dark places of the earth. So that we ought to be, and are, pretty well accustomed to him. But just now I am not in the humour to hear this particular belated specimen hoot without chucking a pebble in his direction.

We have just been passing through a trying time; are not out of it yet. The greatest labour battle ever fought in London has been going on around us; and, while we of the League have avoided intruding upon, or hampering in any way, the men's own elected leaders, we have been working with all our might to supply them with the sinews of war, and to bring public opinion to bear on their enemy. But where have been the "Foresters"? the "Oddfellows"? the "Hearts of Oak"? the "Druids"? the "Rechabites"? Where have been the powerful and wealthy bodies of which *Unity* is always boasting? Skulking in a safe, if cowardly, obscurity; displaying "thrift" and "thoughtfulness" in shapes that would bear other names a good deal better. What has *Unity* itself to say on the subject? Sympathy? Support? Notice, even? Not one word! It can write of the "choice little investment, yielding quite 7 per cent.," made by the London District of Foresters, or of similarly important matters, but the desperate struggle for life of a hundred thousand men is ignored, not even chronicled. Were it not for the "Sons of the Phoenix," a plebeian order that *Unity* does not often deign to notice, there would not have been one "friendly society" on the side of the men. The "Foresters," the "Oddfellows," the "Hearts of Oak," the "Druids," and the "Rechabites" gathered their unspotted skirts around them and passed by on the other side.

To such people it must, of course, seem unnatural that middle-class men, themselves not suffering in a factory-hell, should seek to lighten the burdens of their less fortunate brothers. "Thrift and thoughtful" men of the *Unity* type, organised for their own advantage, and "advancing the cause of humanity" by paying their own poor-rates and looking after number one, are not to be expected to trouble themselves to "stir up the dirty waters" even by dragging drowning men out of them. Not long ago *Unity* made a great fuss over some order—the "Hearts of Oak," I think—which was going to pay trade-union rates for some work that was to be done for it; so loudly did it proclaim the fact, that one instinctively felt how rare a thing it must be for these men to be "thoughtful" of others, and not "thrift" at their expense.

The glorification of the money-bag, the gospel of organised greed, has no attractiveness for Socialist ears, and if *Unity* would have them listen it must learn some other. While it and those it represents remain on the wrong side—or none, which is as bad—in the labour battle, it and they must expect to be looked upon with small favour by the growing multitude who are conscious of the wrong and mean to right it. It and they must put off hypocrisy, and declare themselves definitely. Are they organised for the gain of a few, or for the good of all?

S.

John Swinton, although almost a confirmed invalid, still retains his interest in the labour movement.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The International Anarchist meetings which we announced some weeks ago took place on Sundays, September 1st and 8th, from 2 to 7 p.m., at the Salle du Commerce, Rue du Faubourg du Temple, Paris. The questions chiefly discussed were: Authoritarian Socialism and Anarchism, Collectivist and Communist Anarchism, Individualist and Communist Anarchism, and the position of both with regard to individual acts of expropriation, the propaganda amongst women and country people, organisation, the attitude of anarchists in wartime, etc. These and a number of minor questions were discussed at these meetings, consisting of Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Germans. The proceedings were most harmonious, and the best possible order was preserved, with neither chairman nor agenda, a strong contrast to the Marxist Congress, with its six days of useless preliminary business not connected with the order of the day, forcible repression of the very first one who wanted to speak on the supposed subjects of conference. The contrast struck all present, and comrade Merlino, in his last speech, expressed a justifiable gratification in the fact, saying that even he had not expected these wholly unorganised meetings to pass off in this way without the slightest incident. Our friends are justified in claiming that they were a practical demonstration of Proudhon's words, that "freedom is the mother, not the daughter of order."

A daily anarchist paper, *La Sociale* (22, Rue des Martyrs, Paris), has been published since Sept. 4th. From a copy which has reached us we see that it carries on a strong anti-electioneering agitation, to which is also devoted the last number of the *Attache*. Abstentionist placards will also soon be published by the *Père Peinard*.

The bourgeois and Social Democratic parties are busy with electioneering. Yves Guyot, Member of the present Government, Minister of Public Works, known as one of the most blockheaded men who still exist of the Manchester school, figures on the placards in the 1st Arrondissement, the quarter of the Rue Rivoli and the Louvre, as the candidate of the Comité Républicain Radical Socialiste, as does likewise the former minister Floquet, in an eastern Faubourg. Thus far the confusion between Radicals and Social Democrats has gone. The Possibilists have started local socialist papers in the 11th, 17th, 19th, and 20th Arrondissements (*L'Electeur du XIème*, *La Voix Electorale*, *Le Réveil du XIème*, etc.). Longuet's paper is the *Banlieue Socialiste* of St. Denis. All these papers will be dropped after the election, when the voting cattle have performed their duty.

### GERMANY.

The *Fraenkische Tagespost* a while ago printed two lengthy articles under the title of "Anarchists—Swindlers?", which were reproduced by other Social Democratic papers in Germany and America. It is not worth while to deal with this tissue of misrepresentations and lies, which is of the notorious type that has been only too popular with German Social Democrats hitherto, but I note with pleasure that the Social Democrats of Stuttgart, Wurtemberg, have published a sharp protest against this "odious filthy article," as they call it. They say that these articles were written "with but one intention, i.e., to represent the Social Democratic party as being thoroughly harmless and innocently persecuted, while marking the Anarchists out as worthy of the strongest repression and of the fullest possible annihilation." Such an action, say they, taken by a party itself proscribed for ten years past by German law is "simply a shame; . . . everyone capable of thinking further on than the Social Democratic programme allows, and who is energetic enough to act according to his opinions is proscribed and excommunicated for this, and stigmatised as an Anarchist, which we are told is equal to being a swindler!" These remarks agree fully with some made by Bebel himself in 1885, but have been met with stern rebuke from the official paper, which tells the Stuttgart workers simply that they did not understand the benevolent intention of the articles at all.

A new monthly paper, *Der Zeitgeist*, is published at Hamburg, addressing itself to the "friends who exist in all classes of a labour movement, proceeding on lawful paths" and to "the mass of progressive elements." Of the 30 German papers which we know this seems to be about the dullest, containing on 40 pages of two columns each 25 articles on palliative questions of all kinds. A worker who manages to read all this will either be stupefied for some weeks afterwards, or, perhaps more probably, be made conscious of the humbug of which he is the victim.

The *Westfaelische Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Dortmund (the mining district), has been suppressed. The *Thueringer Tribune* has been started.

\* \*

### ITALY.

TRIAL OF MEMBERS OF THE ITALIAN LABOUR PARTY.—We read with interest of this trial before the Assizes at Como, as the very fact of the paltriness of the accusations shows a determined vindictiveness on the part of the official prosecution, not unmixed with anxiety at the growth of agitation among the working-classes. The trial lasted three days, the various imputations being founded on speeches made by the defendants at public meetings held at Bugugiate and Malnate, without the interference of the police and officials present. They spoke ably in their own defence, and their speeches were received with general applause, which was of course repressed by the court. Altogether popular feeling was strong in their favour. The trial threatened to end unsatisfactorily for the Government, when the timely interference of the President put things straight again, for he addressed the jury with that beautiful disregard of the law, which orders that the twelve empanelled citizens shall give their unprejudiced verdict, to which we are so well accustomed here, saying: "You find yourselves confronted again with that terrible association called the International, which has for aim to take from you all your goods and property, and which carries on its banner the motto: 'The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the workers themselves.' The Association is increasing everywhere, and it is our duty to protect ourselves from it, and in so doing protect likewise the State and the country." One of the defendants was sentenced, on several counts, to one year's imprisonment altogether and 700 francs fine; another to one month and 100 francs fine; the others seem to have been let off.

CROCE-MOSSO.—A very obstinate struggle has gone on here between the weavers and their employers for the last three months, we understand from the *Fascio*. Many of the workers are on strike, and at a demonstration held one day by them socialists were arrested for inciting the people to strike, etc., etc. I have not yet heard if either side has given way.

M. M.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HAD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.*

*Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"SOCIAL DEMOKRATEN" (Stockholm).—Your paper has not reached us for some time past. Ours is sent regularly; does it reach you?

DR. MARY HERMA AIKIN (Grinnell, Iowa, U.S.).—Many thanks for cutting, which will prove useful in several ways.

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 18.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY
Brotherhood	Baecker Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Die Autonomie	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Freedom	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
Justice	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Elector	Pacific Union	Barcelona—El Productor
Labour Tribune	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
London—Freie Presse	St Louis—Anarchist	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	Philadelphia—United Labour	A Revolta
Sozial Demokrat	Ybor City (Fla.)—Revista	GERMANY
Seafaring	PARIS—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	Le Proletariat	AUSTRIA
INDIA	La Revolte	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
Truthseeker	ANTWERP—De Werker	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Twentieth Century	Liege—L'Avenir	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Workmen's Advocate	SWITZERLAND	Malmö—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Arbeiterstimme	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Investigator		ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung		Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Chicago—Knights of Labor		

### THE WHITEWASHING OF SHYLOCK.

THE Trades-Union Congress, held the other week at Dundee, white-washed Shylock by a vote of 177 against 11; and the editor of the *Glasgow Herald* rejoices that "the proceedings illustrate a strong reactionary feeling against the Socialists." This vote, however, cannot honestly be taken as a criterion of the feeling of the labouring class towards the Socialists, for the total of 188 has, according to what transpired in the discussions of the Congress, a very questionable pretence of being representative of a million workers; but even that number cannot be said to be a representation of the workers in a population of thirty-five millions. All labour is not organised, and all organised labour was not represented at the Trades Congress. The bosses of the Trades Congress have always been opposed to Socialism, and that for cause—viz.:

"You take my life  
When you do take the means whereby I live";

consequently it is not right to take their proceedings as "a strong reactionary feeling."

Their vote is a guarantee that they are in favour of the principle which justifies the robbery of those who labour, to provide dividends to those who do not labour. They have justified Shylock's claim to the pound of flesh, and have declared it to be no part of their business to protect the labourers from being robbed of more than the stipulated pound of flesh. The blood of the workers, according to them, is not so sacred as Broadhurst's shares. Mr. Broadhurst said he never denied

that he held shares in the firm of "Mr. Brunner, the notorious sweater"; and whether or not Mr. Hill "had reduced the cost of locks 50 per cent., and therefore those engaged in the lock-trades had been the losers to the extent of this 50 per cent., . . . Mr. Hill was a candidate who approved to the furthest extent of the great question then agitating the party of which he was a humble member and poor worker."

That statement of Mr. Broadhurst's simplifies the issue between the Socialists and the trades-unionists. The former aim at securing for the workers the full results of their labour; the latter such fractions of the products of their labour as will keep the workers from removing the institutions which provide the Broadhursts, Hills, Chisholm Robertsons, and Weirs with position, pay, and platforms. I sincerely hope the miners of Scotland will soon see through the petty palaver of the two last, and realise the hopelessness of any improvement in their lot so long as these worthies block the way towards the solidarity of labour, which apparently is the key that will unlock the chains that bind the workers to perpetual toil in the interests of the Shylocks. Mr. Broadhurst based his defence of shareholding—that is, the pocketing of wages the workers do not get—on the assertion that the workers in other places did not get so good wages as his firm paid. That has been and is always the argument of the enemies of labour, as Jeremy Bentham caricatured it—"What is the matter with you? What would you have? Look at the people there, and there; think how much better off you are than they are. Your prosperity and liberty are objects of their envy; your institutions models of their imitation"; and as Sydney Smith puts it, "When a particular suffering, produced by an assigned cause, has been pointed out, the object of the exploiters is to turn the eyes of their victims into any other quarter in preference. Why should the smallest evil be endured, which can be cured, because others suffer patiently under greater evils?" Mr. Broadhurst condoning, with the applause of the Congress, an injury done to labour interests, because a candidate "approved to the furthest extent of the great question then agitating the party of which he was a humble member and poor worker," is good, very good, and demonstrates wherein the one-plank platform of the Gladstonians has been used as an unredeemed pawn-ticket to hide the poverty of Labour's parliamentary representatives. The workers of Scotland and England have hitherto been persuaded, in the interest of the one-plank platform, to make the sacrifice of placing their fates in the hands of those with whom breach of trust was certain—due fulfilment of it morally and physically impossible. The Catholic endowment scheme will demonstrate whether the Parnellite party is prepared to sacrifice anything in return for the platform which concerns them most; and Mr. Broadhurst's avowal is an assurance to the workers that trades-unionists such as he place their selfish ambitions before the greatest good of the greatest number of workers.

Trades-unionism, as represented by the Congress at Dundee, is played out, and only holds together by the interests of salaried officials, who shrink from any forward step in the labour movement. Their highest ideal is the regulation of wages, their own not the least important, and to leave a big enough margin for Shylock. Indeed, a Mr. Cowie of Normanton, whose hold of the labour problem appears to be as firm as to a one-year child, affirmed in a hey presto manner that "trades-unionism had done more in the last twelve months to advance the wages of working-men than the Socialists would do in five hundred years." It is not possible to condense ignorance of Socialism into fewer words than Mr. Cowie can, and comrades near to where he blows off his bombast might do worse than use him as an instrument of propaganda.

It was amusing to note how often the "past service" argument was trotted out as a justification for doing nothing now, and for covering anything, perpetrated by old leaders of the past, calculated to injure the interests of labour to-day. The same argument would not hold with those labour "leaders" in giving Mr. J. Chamberlain his old position in the party of which Mr. Broadhurst "was a humble member and a poor worker." The old-time argument was principally used by those "leaders" who felt that their only strength lay 'neath the shadow of Mr. Broadhurst's wings. Although they knew that it was impossible for all workers to rise by the aid of such wings, still they were led on their way by a like hope in individual chance as lures the gamester who stakes his all to his doom. They were ready to use any veil for trash—any pretext to repel the innovations of conscience and duty.

It was no use, according to those "leaders" of labour, to endeavour to do without the Shylocks. A Mr. Walsh said that, "although he came from London, he wished to dissociate himself from the Socialists." It would appear from this genius's remark that the workers of London are all Socialists, and that forbodes ill to the Trades Congress. Mr. Weir, the Fife Miners' agent, who has in the past worked up his union and security for salary at the expense of the Lanarkshire miners, has given his word that he will not help on the "solidarity of labour." His action which led to the defeat of the strike in Lanarkshire was a sufficient guarantee that he would not march forward with the development of labour troubles, in Scotland and England, but to his action he has now added his word. He said, "The Socialists were entering on the conflict with a broken reed. When trades-unionists departed from the lines on which they had been going they would be departing from the principles of rectitude. Let them fortify themselves as they had been doing in the past, and they would be prepared to meet both employers and Socialists." That was said in support of Mr. Broadhurst's shareholding—Shylock's pound of flesh—and it is a fine illustration of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. It is the key-note of the issue between these paid trades-unionists and Socialists.

The editor of the capitalist *Glasgow Herald* says: "The unions have

been working for their own improvement, not for a social regeneration, and it must be frankly said that they have done less to grapple with the great problem of poverty than have the monied classes. Unionism has been in the past essentially selfish and radically opposed to Socialism." The class of men who have been better off by means of trades-unionism had better give their names. We will then see that their success has been at the expense of labour as a whole and not taken from Shylock at all. Trades-unionism has somehow got intermarried with the Shylock family, and its president, Mr. Ritchie, has to admit that "unionism has not touched the kernel of the problem." The opposition it gives to Socialism is the measure of its breach of trust, and its relationship to the spirit and methods of Shylock is the bottom cause of its opposition to Socialism.

GEORGE McLEAN.

## BLANQUI.

(Translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.)

*He fought a pitiless race  
For the people that have no bread;  
Alive, four stone walls were his dwelling-place,  
And four planks of wood when dead.*

THE crowd with heavy steps toiled up the stair  
To the fourth-floor room where dead Blanqui lay:  
Working-men's Paris, in working array,—  
Men, women, children, with a sickly air.

Their mourning had prevailed o'er that day's care  
Of bread-winning; three days and nights, away,  
Friends crowded in, a last farewell to say:  
Waiting my own turn, I stood dreaming there.

This heart that beats no more aye beat for thee,  
Equality! . . . Deaf world, thou wrinkled slave,  
That turnest in thy cage, or slow, or faster,

Now he is dead wilt thou attentive be?  
This warrior, passing from the gaol to the grave,  
From forth his silence cries: Nor god, nor master!

January 4, 1881.

EUGENE POTTIER.

There are two subjects upon which men still consider it becoming and right to judge without evidence, and to condemn without examination. Those subjects are social science and theology.—*John Stuart Mill.*

**SOCIALISM AT BRADFORD.**—Though rather late in the day, and after waiting for the Trades' Council to move our branch along with the Labour Electoral Association, arranged a meeting in favour of the dockers and the machine makers who are on strike in Keighley (which is ten miles from here), so on Saturday last we got the collecting sheets from Park Band committees, and put them in the streets, and ten of the Keighley men and some local men looked after them; and at a meeting at night we collected £20, and sent the Keighley men home with £10 of it, the remainder to come to London.—P. B.

**SOCIALISM AT LEICESTER.**—For the last three weeks we have devoted ourselves to the strike, but have not neglected our usual meetings. Barclay and O'Sullivan have been the principal speakers; Taylor, Richards, and Carter have also given short addresses. We have been the principal organisers in forming a committee to collect for the dockers; over £60 has been sent off. A fortnight ago meetings were held every night in Humbers-ton Gate, and we utilised them to preach Socialism. We leave groups long after every address, hotly discussing our proposals; literature selling fairly well.—T. P. B.

"Facts for Londoners," Fabian Tract No. 8, price 6d., 4s. 6d. per dozen, or 32s. per 100, being a clear statement of the public questions arising out of every department of Metropolitan administration, with full figures, explanations, citations of authorities and references to official reports, for the use of Londoners who desire not only to understand their civic and political duties, but to argue upon them from exact statistical information, has been published by the Fabian Society, and may be obtained of the Secretary, Sydney Olivier, 180 Portadown Road, W.; of the Freethought Publishing Co., 63 Fleet Street, E.C.; and of W. Reeves, 185, Fleet Street, E.C.

**FOREIGN LABOUR IN FRANCE.**—A certain M. Fondi, of Niort, who is a member of the Aude County Council, made a Protectionist speech before that body, in which he said that frequent renewal of "Battle of Fontenoy politeness" would land France in ruin. He ended by moving the following resolution, which was passed: "Whereas there are 1,100,000 foreigners in France, that is to say, one to every 34 inhabitants, and whereas it is unjust and dangerous to let these foreigners, who are nearly all agricultural labourers, enjoy the civil privileges of Frenchmen without being subject to the corresponding duties, and whereas it is intolerable that French farm labourers who go to serve in the army find their places taken by aliens, this Council-General demands of Government and Parliament (1) That aliens be excluded from employment in public works and railways; (2) That all employers be obliged to declare what foreigners they employ and to pay a tax of from 25f. to 100f. a head per year upon them; (3) That all who do not make such declaration incur a fine of from 1,000f. to 3,000f." The Councils-General of the Pas de Calais and of Calvados have passed similar resolutions. Our own reactionary Jingo has been beaten at their own game. What a wail will go up from the Primrose League at not having originated these brilliant resolutions! Who speaks next?

**A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.**—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. October 4, William Clarke, "Early Radicalism." 18th, Frank Podmore, "Early Socialism." Nov. 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portadown Road, W.

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

THE last week was lacking in excitement down to Saturday. The smell of negotiations was in the air, and there was an evident belief that the strike would soon be over. Although the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London had left town, disgusted because the men wouldn't knuckle down at once to the terms which had doubtless been drawn up in the dock offices before their submission to the men by the reverend and noble group of conciliation, yet Cardinal Manning still hoped to get the men to agree to a "reasonable compromise." Unfortunately, the leaders were too willing to listen to the right reverend conciliator. The boldest of them were worn out by the continual work which the strike had entailed upon them. Others, too, were doubtless awed by the rank and station of the right reverend conciliator, and perhaps, seeing that he was friendly to them, thought that he must be right in his well-meaning suggestions. They forgot that the Cardinal, being a man of the middle class, could not, however much he might sympathise, thoroughly understand the wants and the needs of the starving workers. He could not see that men who had been fighting desperately for a better life would hardly like to have their paradise put off for six weeks. The leaders, probably fearing that such a respectable person as the Cardinal should declare that they were "unreasonable," consented to the compromise. They feared to lose the support of the middle-class papers and the subscriptions of the middle classes,—precious few of the latter, by the by. They therefore agreed, and the Dock Company, delighted at the chance so kindly offered them of climbing down, and also of pocketing the increased profits consequent upon the resumption of work after its long cessation, with a well-feigned reluctance consented, only upon the condition that all the workers connected with docks and wharves should return to work. This the leaders agreed to do; and though they had a little trouble to get the lightermen and the South-side men to agree, yet rather than injure the dockers whose battle they had so gallantly fought, they agreed, and Burns and Tillett announced late on Saturday evening at West India Dock gates that the strike was ended. The men didn't like going back without their "tanner," but Burns by his "oratory and tact" gradually won them over, and they foolishly consented.

All London thought the strike was over; and the capitalist papers—Liberal, Radical, and Conservative, recovering from the pitiful funk in which they had been thrown, exhausted themselves in praise of the "moderation" of the men and their leaders.

It seems, however, that they won't praise the moderation of the men much longer, whatever they may say of the leaders. The men are intensely dissatisfied with the agreement; they say their leaders had no right to stipulate that they should work with "blacklegs." They will not see their comrades starve for the benefit of these wretches. They complain that when they get the advance they will no longer be paid for their dinner-time—half-an-hour—and that means a deduction of 3d. from the increased wage of 6d. an hour. Here is the new and old scale contrasted:

OLD SCALE.			
8 a.m. to 4 p.m.—Eight hours at 5d. per hour	.	.	3 4
No deduction for meal time.			
NEW SCALE.			
8 a.m. to 4 p.m.—Eight hours at 6d. per hour	.	.	4 0
Less half an hour for dinner	.	.	0 3
			3 9

This specially affects the regular hands, who are usually employed for the day, and will when they get the advance be much in the same position as they were before. The "tanner" has, therefore, not been obtained. An article in the *Daily News* of Tuesday, September 17th, will give the reader an idea of the intense dissatisfaction among the men. That dissatisfaction has found a vent in furious attacks upon the "blacklegs," several of whom have been sent to the hospital. The men accuse the leaders of climbing down, and very threatening cries were raised against Tillett on Tuesday when he recommended the men to go into work and treat the "blacklegs" as fellow workmen. At present, although work is partially resumed, matters look more threatening than they have done at any time since the beginning of the strike.

The conflict grows; "blacklegs" are chased; their legs are broken; they are thrown out of railway carriage windows; and they are having what the Yankees call a "high old time." Dissatisfaction with the leaders and the agreement is spreading, and the general idea is that Burns and Tillett were very foolish to agree to the strikers being forced to work with the mean sneaks who are depriving hundreds of honest men of their work, and starving their wives and families. The dockers are determined to get rid of the "blacklegs," and the "blacklegs" will have to go, and they are "going."

### Wage-Slavery in Sheffield.

Discontent is everywhere on the increase, and strikes are the order of the day. We have them in Sheffield. But it is the strike of the fibre-drawers to which I am going to refer, and to call attention to the rules and regulations attempted to be enforced by the Messrs. Laycock and Sons, of Sheffield. About two years ago, when trade was much depressed, every worker was required to sign a set of rules, of the most stringent character. How any man or woman could sign such I cannot understand. The rules are fourteen in number. Rule 1 provides for seven days notice on leaving or for dismissal; but *misconduct* subjects to *instant* dismissal. Rule 2 also provides for instant dismissal for certain offences. Rule 3 is as follows: "All work must be twice drawn (unless otherwise instructed), thoroughly solid, and well finished. Work in any way imperfectly done will be paid less an amount proportionate to the imperfection. The amount to be fixed by a member of the firm or the manager." Rule 4: Any drawer whose work is found damp will be paid 3s. per cwt. less than the regular rate of wages on cocoas, and 2s. per cwt. less on Mexican fibres, etc." By rule 5, any drawer making his bunches too large is fined 2s. or 3s. for each such mistake. Rule 6: "Any drawer filling a card more than 12 inches deep will be fined 2s. on each occasion." Rule 7: "All hacklings must be worked up short, and all hacklings and clippings kept separate and free from twine and rubbish. Any drawer not doing this will be fined 2s. for each offence. Any drawer bringing down work to weigh in without tickets on will be fined 2s. for each offence." Rules 10 and 11 also provide for payment of fines, and always of 2s. each; and rule 12 provides: "Any drawer unnecessarily burning gas will be fined 2s. for each offence." Rule 14 provides for fines of 2s. for mere neglect of duty; and rule 13 for fines of 5s. each. Now of the fourteen rules,

two provide for instant dismissal, one for unlimited fine, nine of them for fines of 2s. or 3s. for offence, and one for fines of 5s. each. Nothing less than 2s. fines will satisfy the Messrs. Laycock and Sons. What a monstrous system! And the workers having submitted to this heartless tyranny for two years, the Messrs. Laycock and Sons proposed another turn of the screw. Three weeks ago a notice was put up that from "on and after August 31," each drawer was to carry his work down to a lower room, there to be examined, etc., then carry it back, giving each a large amount of extra labour; and for what? To enable the firm to carry rule 3, as above. This, both men and women declare, means practically a reduction in their wages of from 20 to 30 per cent. What a state of things! Against this last act of tyranny both the men and the women turned out, and I hope will remain out till the above rules are swept away. Let every worker connected with the trade, directly or indirectly, note well the character of the rules, and any assistance that can be given will be most thankfully received by the workers.

J. S.

### Eight Hours.

The following list of the voting on the eight hours question among trade societies may be of interest to many of our readers, without mentioning its value for future reference:

Members.	Eight Hours.		Obtaining by Act of Parliamt.	
	For.	Against.	For.	Against.
Alliance Cabinetmakers' Association	1,700	436	31	391
Bakers of Scotland, Operative	3,214	1,271	—	1,181
Barge Builders	172	60	—	60
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers' Union	1,909	620	167	467
Bookbinding, Soc. of Women employed in	230	—	100	—
Boot and Shoe Makers, Amalg. Society	4,000	169	27	60
Boot and Shoe Riveters and Finishers, National Union of	20,117	629	162	584
Cabinetmakers, Amalg. Un. (Westminster)	38	15	—	6
Carpenters and Joiners, Associated	3,966	680	60	427
Compositors, London Society of	7,400	2,201	1,411	1,578
Coopers, Mutual Association of	3,744	3,744	—	3,744
Cotton Spinners, Amalg. Assoc. of Oper. Do. do. (Oldham)	17,125	—	17,125	—
Do. do. do. (Oldham)	5,660	—	5,660	—
Cigarmakers, Mutual Association	850	324	155	229
Hosiery Union, Amalgamated	800	697	5	697
Ironfounders, Friendly Society of	5,664	3,608	1,350	1,843
Ironmoulders of Scotland, Associated	5,500	358	928	—
Miners' Union, Ayrshire	1,000	10,000	—	10,000
Miners' Association, Cumberland	3,000	3,000	—	3,000
Miners' Association, Derbyshire	4,000	2,253	15	1,851
Plasterers, Edinburgh District Operative	250	250	—	250
Plasterers, Metropoli. Soc. of Operative	95	41	—	41
Railway Servants, Amalgamated Soc. of	13,000	3,344	350	2,190
Razor-Grinders' Protection Soc., Sheffield	150	150	—	150
Rotary-Power Frame-work Knitters, Nottingham	390	366	20	339
Scissor-Grinders, Society of	200	200	—	200
Shipwrights' Society, Associated	5,000	854	134	339
Steam-Engine Makers' Society	5,350	1,429	97	629
Stonemasons, Operative Society of	11,000	578	17	388
Typographical Association (H.R.S.)	7,590	1,505	1,191	1,269
Typographical Society, Edinburgh	740	371	42	239
Northern Counties Amalg. Weavers' Ass.	33,756	—	33,756	—
Zinc-Workers, London Operative	70	—	70	—
Associated Blacksmiths' Soc., Scottish	1,000	476	10	331
Liverpool United Trades Council	10,000	20	7	22
Wolverhampton do.	—	7	4,500	—
Accrington and District do.	4,500	—	—	—
	178,376	39,656	67,390	28,511
			12,283	

It is curious that the cotton-spinners of the Lancashire towns, who used in the times of the old Radical and Chartist movements to be in the forefront of the battle, should now prove so reactionary. Of course, I am not speaking from a revolutionary standpoint, but merely from that of the ordinary trade-unionist; for we must remember that though we may consider the eight hour question as the essence of moderation, yet from a trade-unionist point of view it is almost a revolutionary measure. The only conclusion I can come to with regard to the Lancashire men is that they have been spoiled by too much prosperity. They are too comfortable, that is all about it, and they want a severe depression in the cotton trade to wake them up. Only this will enable them to shake off their Manchester Radicalism, with which they have become inoculated by the great John Bright. This alone will arouse them from their comfortable creed of let them starve and die who will, as long as we are all right. It seems by no means improbable, through the beneficent operations of the cotton ring, that they may soon have a rude awakening from their creed of enlightened selfishness and unrestricted competition.

### Fair Wages.

Advocates of parliamentary and municipal action for Socialists are very fond of pointing to the good work achieved by Mrs. Besant and John Burns in the direction of forcing all governing bodies to pay fair wages to men employed by their contractors. Our reply to this theory is that it may be good work, but it is work which the ordinary Radical or trade-unionist can do just as well. Socialists can surely employ their time far more profitably in spreading their own ideas. That even the most reactionary of trade-unionists are in favour of "corporate and other bodies" insisting upon their contractors paying fair wages is proved by the fact that the recent Trade-Union Congress—the most stupid and pig-headed of all trade congresses—passed unanimously a resolution in favour of this exceedingly mild reform. If Socialists cannot find better work to do upon the School Board, Municipal Council, or in Parliament, than merely insisting that these bodies should carry out unanimous resolutions of Trade-Union Congresses, they had better stay outside. They will find more useful employment in organising the sweated workers to secure "fair wages" by their own action and not by grandmotherly beneficence of the governing bodies of this "free and happy" country.

### East-end Tailors.

The sweated tailors have gained a victory. In the early part of the week the number of the strikers greatly increased, and the masters, alarmed at the spread of the strike, have now granted most of the men's demands.

"The terms of the agreement were that ten and a half hours were in future to be the limit of a day's work, and that no overtime beyond the limit of four hours a-week could be demanded from the workers. As, allowing for half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner, this means work from seven in the morning until seven at night, with the possibility of four hours' overtime during the week, it cannot be said that the men's demands were otherwise than moderate, especially when it is recollected that the work is but too frequently carried on in close and ill-ventilated rooms." This is taken from a leader in the *Evening Standard* of Saturday Sept. 14. When a Conservative newspaper compliments workers upon being "moderate," they must make up their minds to be more "extreme" next time they come out. It is a great mistake to get praise from Conservative newspapers.

The strike is not over. On Saturday the masters shuffled out of the agreement; then on Sunday they agreed to everything but would not sign the agreement. Then they would not have anything to do with the Strike Committee because they objected to "agitators," and when the delegates of the London Society of Tailors, who have taken up the cause of their sweated brethren, wrote to them asking for an interview, they would only act with the Strike Committee. So up to the present the strike continues. The tailors, who are not patronised by Cardinals and Lord Mayors, have been boycotted by the *Star* and other papers, and have had to make a gallant fight for three weeks on very small subscriptions.

D. N.

### Tailors' Strike in Manchester.

Last Sunday a demonstration was held in Cheetham Hill, to support the claims of the tailors on strike. The meeting comprised between two and three thousand people, who were addressed by Diemshitz (London), Marshall (S. L.), Ritson (S. L.), Cannerick (S. L.), and others. The collection amounted to £4 4s. 10d., and over £10 has been collected for the strike fund. The resolution, which was carried unanimously, called upon all shades of workers to assist each other in the attempt to prevent capitalists from crippling them. The masters visited the committee last Saturday, and asked the men to return to work; the latter refused, except on condition that they were paid three days wages, which a few masters paid immediately, and the remainder are certain to follow their example. So strong has the union become, that those who refused to join when it was formed have found it to be to their advantage to remain no longer isolated from it.

J. M.

### The Printers' Labourers' Strike.

The strike among these workers is, for the present, at an end. About fifty of the largest printing firms have been compelled to grant an increase in wages, amounting to as much, in many cases, as eight and ten shillings per week. This has been done, too, by unorganised workmen, with but a small group of Socialist workmen directing and leading them. A strong Union has also been formed, cards and rules printed, and offices taken in the heart of the newspaper and printing metropolis, Fleet Street. Although strike relief has been granted to a large number of men, the agitation carried on and organisation has been successfully set on foot at the small cost of £25. If this agitation has done nothing more, it has at least taught these workers that they have the right and power to revolt against the oppression and exploitation of their masters.

G. C.

STRIKE IN DROGHEDA.—On Friday a strike took place at the Greenhills spinning works of Mr. Thomas A. Dickson, M.P., 600 hands turning out in protest against the system of imposing fines of 6d. for every five minutes late in the morning.

J. O'G.

SCOTCH STRIKES.—Strikes for increase of pay have been entered on by plasterer's labourers at Edinburgh, the Glasgow lathsplitters, the furnacemen at Coatbridge, and the joiners and plumbers at Falkirk. The lathsplitters, joiners, and plumbers have each demanded 7d. per hour.

G. McL.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 28, 1889.

22	Sun.	1792. National Convention meets; proclamation of French Republic; <i>L'era Républicaine</i> begins. 1822. Bories, Pomier, Gonbin, and Raoulx, sergeants in the 45th regiment of the line, guillotined at Paris for a republican conspiracy. 1855. Meeting in London to commemorate proclamation of the Republic. 1862. Lincoln threatens abolition. 1865. Two peasants, the brothers Unisoff, shot for refusing to pay taxes.
23	Mon.	1829. Major John Cartwright died.
24	Tues.	1798. Bartholomew Teeling hung. 1866. Great Reform meeting at Manchester.
25	Wed.	1870. Siege of Paris begun. 1877. Communist Club intervenes in strike at new Law Courts, and causes German masons to return home.
26	Thur.	1618. Sir Walter Raleigh beheaded. 1848. Trial of Chartists.
27	Fri.	1798. Thomas Muir died. 1803. Trial of Henry Howley at Dublin for high treason. 1830. Outbreak at Berne. 1885. Dod Street demonstration; 70,000 present.
28	Sat.	1792. Siege of Lille by Austrians begins; lasts till October 8. 1794. Trial of Thomas Hardy, secretary of the London Corresponding Society, for high treason. 1840. Trial of Louis Napoleon, before the Court of Peers at Paris, for Boulogne attempt. 1848. Trial of Smith O'Brien for high treason. 1862. Fight in Hyde Park between Garibaldians and the Irish. 1864. International founded. 1870. Capitulation of Strasburg; rising at Lyons. 1892. Miss Kutitomskaaya attempts life of the governor of Chita, Siberia.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday September 22, at 8.45 p.m., Mr. John Chandler, "The Labour Question of the Day."

YE OLDE RED LION DEBATING FORUM, Plumtree Court, Shoe Lane.—On Tuesday, September 24th, at 8.30 p.m., Wm. Blundell will open a discussion on "Something Good."

STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB, High Street, Streatham.—A Debate will be opened by Mr. Crickmay on Saturday evening—subject, "The Eight Hours Question." Local Socialists please turn up.

Anarchist meetings will be held at Princes Street Club, 3 Princes Street, Spitalfields, every Friday at 8. All comrades are invited to take part in the discussion. Speeches in English, German, and Yiddish.



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. Manchester, and North London, to end of July. Leicester, North Kensington, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Council collection, 6s. 8d.; C. Beckett, 1s.; Mitcham Branch, 2s.; and R. Turner, 1s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Fraser McFarlane, 2s. 6d.; Rose, 2s. 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack (4 weeks), 4s.; F. C. S. S., 1s.; M. M., 1s.; H. H. Sparling, 1s.; Samuels (2 weeks), 1s.; and J. B. G., 1s.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Battersea*—Kitz and Reynolds addressed a large meeting at Princes Head; 2s. 7½d. collected and 28 *Commonweal* sold. *Chelsea*—A splendid meeting was held here on Wednesday evening last, when Kitz, Mowbray, and Samuels spoke to a very sympathetic audience; 21 *Weal* sold and 4s. 4d. collected for dock strikers. Also good meeting on Sunday morning (when a comrade presented us with a fine platform), Samuels and Beckett spoke; sold 29 *Weal* and collected 1s. 4d. for propaganda. *Hoxton*—Mowbray, Kitz, and Parker addressed a very large meeting outside Hoxton Church on Thursday evening; *Weals* sold well. *Islington*—A capital meeting was held at Prebend Street on Friday night by Reynolds (Yarmouth), Mowbray, and Parker. *Mile End Waste*—A large meeting held on Saturday night, addressed by Mowbray, Davis, and some members of S.D.F.; 27 *Commonweal* sold.

**MITCHAM.**—Good meeting, collected 2s. 2d.; speakers, Kitz and Reynolds; *Commonweal* sold 37; we are organising the labourers hereabouts to obtain shorter hours and better pay.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, R. J. Lyne, Maughan, Charles Watson, S.D.F., J. F. Lyne; two quire of *Weals* sold; 2s. 8½d. collected; St. Anne Road, fine meeting; speakers, J. F. Lyne and Crouch; several of our members held a meeting in the Park in the afternoon; in the evening we held a good meeting at Cornwall Road; speakers, R. J. Lyne, Crouch, Maughan; we expected here that we would have had the order to move, but strange to say the police came and looked, but passed by on the other side.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meeting at Ossulston Street on Thursday; speakers, Cores, Mrs. Lahr and Cantwell; some opposition; collection for the Dockers, 5s. 7½d.; at Regent's Park on Sunday morning Mowbray addressed a splendid audience; good sale of *Weal*; 5s. 1d. collected for propaganda.—T. C.

**STREATHAM.**—Good meeting; speakers, Kitz and Reynolds; 27 *Commonweal* sold; Branch is increasing; 6 new members.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—A new station was opened at Union Street, Sunday morning; large audience addressed by Such, Turner, and Leggett, the last-named comrade having been discharged from his employment as carman, for daring to go on strike; good sale of literature; *Weal* and pamphlet on "Organised Labour" sold out, besides a good number of *Freedom* and League manifestoes. A concert has been arranged for the benefit of the Branch at the Berner Street Club on Saturday evening, the hall being kindly lent free by club comrades; for full particulars see elsewhere in *Weal*.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 2 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne, Downie, and Antony Smith spoke on Jail Square. At the same hour Glasier lectured to the Legislative Independence Branch of the Irish National League on "Ireland and Socialism." At 5.30 Joe Burgoyne, Glasier, Downie, and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road Toll to a large audience. Our ancient enemy the Orangemen, in the form of half-a-dozen by no means well favoured or well mannered specimens of humanity, turned up, obviously with the view of creating a disturbance; they expressed great anxiety to "debate" the question with us! As we have no ill-feeling towards the poor fellows, we could not of course think of being the means of displaying their ignorance and folly to the uncharitable crowd.

**MANCHESTER.**—Sunday morning at Philip's Park; meeting addressed by Mason and Stockton; afternoon, Stevenson Square; Speakers, Parkinson and Baillie; Chester Road, at 8 p.m., Baillie and Ritson spoke. At Oldham, in the morning, a meeting was held by Baillie and Oldham comrades; Heywood was visited in afternoon; good meetings addressed by Mason and Stockton; over 100 *Weals* sold altogether.

**NORWICH.**—On Saturday evening a large number of comrades went and heard Fred Henderson lecture in one of the local schoolrooms upon the Political Policy of Socialists. The meeting was well attended; chair taken by Mr. Burgess; the lecturer was opposed by comrades W. B. Parker (London) and W. Moore, Parker particularly pointing out the misstatements Henderson made in reference to the late strikes, and strongly condemned the use of politics. Henderson was subjected to much interruption from the audience; Sunday morning Parker addressed a good audience. At the Market Place, in the afternoon, a large meeting was held; Parker opened, followed by the Treasurer of the Local Trades Council, Mr. Crotch, and an Irish American, who spoke in favour of a resolution congratulating the dockers. In the evening another good open-air meeting held, comrades Parker, Hardy, and Poynts spoke; opposition was given by an individual who advocated thrift, etc., and advised the working-man to save up out of his weekly earnings. Parker replied at some length; meeting lasted over two hours; good sale of *Commonweal*.

**YARMOUTH.**—In the morning on Priory Plain the meeting was addressed by Ruffolds and Henderson. In the afternoon, at the same place, by Ruffold, followed by Adams; in the evening on Colman's Granary Quay. We opened by singing the "Starving Poor of Old England," followed by addresses from Ruffold, Moore, and Darley; we finished the day's propaganda with a song from Comrade Darley; 33 *Weals* sold, and fair collections for local propaganda. A meeting was held at Colman's Granary on Monday evening by Parker (London) and Poyntz; labour songs sung.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, September 14th.—T. Hamilton delivered an address on "Labour and its Remuneration," dealing with the various politico-economical theories. An interesting discussion followed; in which King, Graham, Wilson, O'Gorman, and others took part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—In Sneinton Market on Sunday morning Peacock and Proctor addressed good meeting. In the evening in Great Market Roodey-precided, and Peacock and Proctor spoke on School Board affairs. A local trades unionist who defended Broadhurst was snuffed out by Proctor; collection for School Board Fund, 5s.—P.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday September 22, at 8.15 p.m., H. Davis (S.L.) will deliver a lecture on "Communist-Anarchism—Defined and Defended." Members are requested to attend a very important Business Meeting on Sunday at 6.30 p.m., to decide about new branch premises and the putting of branch into more active work.

**East London.**—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 22, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening. Teacher, M. Des Roches. The fees are quite nominal; members of the League are invited to join.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8 p.m., Quarterly meeting of Members for election of officers and other important business; all comrades requested to attend. Hall open every evening from 8.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 21.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Reynolds  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Kitz and Mowbray  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Davis

### SUNDAY 22.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Crouch, J. F. Lyne, and Smith  
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment..... Samuels, Turner, Davis, and Mordhurst  
11.30..... Eelbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane..... Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road ..... Maughan and Lyne senr.  
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street ..... Mowbray  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Kitz and Reynolds  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Turner  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... The Branch  
3.30..... Victoria Park ..... The Branch  
7 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Nicoll  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Kitz and Reynolds  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

### TUESDAY 24.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church..... The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste ..... Mowbray, Kitz, and Parker

### WEDNESDAY 25.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment..... Samuels, Kitz, and Reynolds

### THURSDAY 26.

8 ..... Ossulston Street..... Parker and Nicoll  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Kitz

### FRIDAY 27.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Graham and Davis  
8 ..... Islington—Prebend Street..... Parker, Kitz, and Mowbray

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

**DEPTFORD LIBERAL CLUB**, Broadway, Deptford.—Sunday Sept. 22, at 8.30, W. S. De Mattos, "The New Radical Policy."

**STAR RADICAL CLUB**, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Sept. 22, at 8.30, Mr. P. Hennessy, "Strong Government in Ireland."

**WEST SOUTHWARK LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, Charlotte Street, S.E.—Sunday September 22, Graham Wallas, "Practicable Socialism."

**CENTRAL FINSBURY RADICAL CLUB**, 241 Goswell Rd., E.C.—Sunday Sept. 22, at 11.30 a.m., J. Hunter Watts, "The State and its Proper Functions."

**DUBLIN.**—Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, on Saturday September 21, at 8 p.m., H. Sutton Frizelle will lecture on "Hope for the Proletariat."

**SPECIAL NOTICE—A SOCIAL EVENING.**—A Benefit Concert and Dance, under the auspices of the St. Georges-in-the-East Branch, will be given at the Berner Street Club this Saturday evening, September 21, at 8 p.m. Comrades Mrs. Harris, Presburg, Mrs. Tochatti, Nicoll, Mrs. McKenzie, Turner, and others, will assist. Dancing at 10.30; comrade Rochmann, M.C. Admission by programme, 3d. All members of the League or other comrades invited, and it is hoped as many as possible will support, and so make it a success. Any information of the Branch Secretary.

# WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

## LONDON.

PUBLISHING OFFICE: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### N.

Gee, 56 High-street, Islington  
J. W. Miller, 76 Holloway-road  
Watson, 76 Hoxton-street  
Knox, 5 Mayes-terrace, Wood Green  
Vale, Stamford Hill

### N. W.

Clark, 63 Malden-road  
Wright, 167 Kentish Town-road  
Petherick, 29 Osnaburg-street  
Gibbs, Lisson-grove  
Wilson, 24 Highgate-road  
Meek, 132 Drummond-street

### S. E.

Drew, 52 Friar-street, Blackfriars-road  
J. Coster, 115A Blackfriars-road  
Ketteridge, 117 Broad-street  
Curwood, 4 Newington-causeway  
Wirbatz, 18 New Kent-road  
Hammond, 21 Standard-street  
Hill, 130 Great Dover-street  
Dunn, 24 Old Kent-Road  
Watson, 321 Old Kent-road  
Williams, 554 "  
Harrison, 621 "  
Williams, 375 St. James-road  
Clayton, 12 Clarence-place, Deptford  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE events of the Great Strike, the pushing forward of the lower part of the "lower orders," coming as a sequel to the agitation of the last six years in England, have much impressed the minds of that part of the public which thinks at all. Socialism, once a mere word to them, then a foolish fad, then a bugbear, bearing with it confusion and violence and nothing else, is at last presenting itself to them as a possible change in society which their own eyes may see, and which will perhaps be bearable to them.

Good so far. But what do they mean by Socialism, these well-to-do people who are beginning to think that it is coming and that it will suit them pretty well (as indeed it will, but scarcely in the way they think)? Doubtless if questioned on the point as to what they expect from Socialism, they will answer by a phrase or two like this from the *Pall Mall Gazette*: "From the point of view of political economy, Socialism means the collective instead of the individual administration of capital, rent, and interest."

Yes, yes; but what does the "collective administration of capital, rent, and interest" mean? I suspect to the *Pall Mall* writer, nothing at all; and that when he comes to find out that it means the abolition of private property, he will cry off his Socialism—if he can.

In fact, his jubilant satisfaction, shared no doubt by many of the cultured classes, at the aspect of things at present, rather shows what a very limited idea he has of the coming new society. He echoes Sir William Harcourt's humbug, "We are all Socialists now!" Are we indeed? Well, I must say in that case we need not have taken the trouble to become Socialists; since the days are still so hard on the workers that it is considered a great victory for them when the hardest worked people in London can screw a very minute gain out of their masters, who are still living in luxury earned by the employment of doing nothing; while the slums in all our big cities are just as bad as they were ten years ago, and there is no prospect of their being bettered perceptibly by our present masters in the next ten years. We may be preparing the kingdom of heaven on earth, but I think I can bring many credible witnesses to prove to the most sanguine that it has not reached them yet.

Again, if we are all Socialists now, how does it come that we of the well-off are not holding mass meetings, and appointing committees to look into the best method of relinquishing our privilege in favour of the disinherited? Surely if we have acknowledged the tremendous truths which modern Socialism has laid open to us, we ought to be busy acting on them, unless we are prepared to brand ourselves as the feeblest curs yet told of in history.

Our *Pall Mall* friend quotes Sidney Webb to show that we are all Socialists in his well-known platitudes about the individualist City Counsellor enjoying the advantages of Socialism without knowing it, and miscalling Socialism all the time. Of course our Fabian friend knew very well what a piece of claptrap he was putting forward, and that what the City Counsellor was really saying went rather in this way: "Ha, ha! So these damned fools think that all this municipal business is Socialism—what fun! And they wonder that I am pretty well satisfied with such Socialism, as I really think I ought to be, when they work to provide me with these fine things, and I enjoy them without working. Hurrah for Socialism of this kind, say I; so long as the word contents them!"

What is the real gate which will pull up these soft Socialists, who so long as they are allowed to steal the goose will not object to give the giblets to the poor? This is the barrier which they will not be able to pass, so long as they are in their present minds, the *acknowledgment of the class war*. The "Socialists" of this kind are blind as to the essence of modern society. They hope for a revolution, which

is not *the* Revolution, but a revolution which is to ignore the facts that have led up to it and will bring it about.

It is strange that they are so blind! Granted, as they must grant, the existence of a class which consumes without producing, and which, instead of being treated as a criminal class that has forfeited its rights of citizenship, is the master of the producing class, and has arranged all its law, religion, and morality to fit in with the theory of the beneficent eternity of privilege,—granted all this, how far can the class which supports these criminals, these violent robbers, go, without knocking up against the laws, the religion, the morality of robbery? Surely not a step. "Let us rob you a little less," say these Constitutionalists, "and then be contented. Or, at least, you who are most discontented, let us shuffle off some of your burdens on to another group of the disinherited, and then at least *you* can be contented."

It won't do! When one man employs another, and as a consequence of the "employment" takes from him a large part of what he produces, what is the use of telling him to go to a third person to recover the wealth he has been diddled out of? His resource is obvious and at hand in the form of the robber's purse, and nothing else can compensate him.

It is most important that young Socialists should have this fact of the class-war always before them. It explains past history, and in the present gives us the only solid hope for the future. And it must be understood that it is only by the due working out of this class-war to its end, *the abolition of classes*, that Socialism can come about. Suppose the whole of the middle-classes agreed on the necessity of Socialism, how are they going to realise it unless it is demanded by the workers?

Give up their privilege, as above said, you may say. Yes, but they live on that privilege, and if they attempt to give it up without the world of labour being prepared to receive them as workers, they simply throw everything into confusion by competing with the workers for the employment of the world-market, which exists only as a machine for keeping capitalism going. It is the workers only, enlightened as to the class-war, and therefore no longer carrying it on blindly, as they have hitherto done, who must make the machinery of free labour and mutual exchange, which will supplant the machinery of capitalist commerce, and at one stroke both *compel* the resignation of privilege and make it possible.

Deduction: the worker cannot better himself at his own expense but only at the expense of his master, who for his part, driven by competition, cannot help striving against the attempts of the worker to better himself. These two, therefore, are necessarily enemies, and to blink that fact does not render them less so, but only gives a little longer day to the enemy of the workman. Therefore it is that the middle-class semi-Socialists, driven by class instinct, preach revolution without the class struggle; which is an absurdity and an impossibility.

W. M.

### THE INTEGRAL CO-OPERATORS:

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THE CO-OPERATIVE  
COMMONWEALTH.

DEAR READERS,—We feel that you, in common with ourselves, have hoped to some day see evolved a truly natural, equitable and scientific educational, industrial and social system, wherein all public utilities should be free, and every article of personal consumption at cost; wherein there should be freedom from taxation, usury, and rent; wherein constant employment, and the enjoyment of the full product of his labour, should be secured to every member; wherein emulation should be encouraged, but competition should not be allowed; speculation and monopoly be impossible; ignorance and bigotry without a



foothold; vice unpopular; strife and crime without incentive, and poverty unknown.

A few years ago a hope of this kind would have been received with derision, and stamped as Utopian; but the rapid march of events has already demonstrated that industrial and social reform will soon attract the notice of all truly progressive minds, yearning to extricate themselves from the toils of wage-slavery, and giant monopoly, or, if they have escaped those evils, to lend their moral and financial support to those of their fellow human beings who are still groaning under the lash of cut-throat competition. It is the iniquitous competitive system that demands our attention, and not the slave drivers whom fortune has placed in command.

A few true humanitarian co-operators, intelligent, unselfish, and harmonious, graduates in the practical school of co-operative endeavour, several being recent officers or members of the two great attempts at co-operative colonisation on the Pacific Coast, viz., Topolobampo, Mexico, and Puget Sound, Washington, have organised as a membership co-operation, in order to evolve a scientific and practical industrial and social system that shall be at the same time equitable.

We do not make any claims to originality, but rather have obtained our co-operative education in the school of experience, aided by the teachings of such grand forerunners of social reform as Fourier, Robert Owen, Cabet, Laurence Gronlund, and M. Godin, nor do we intend in any way to underrate the value of any of the many thousand co-operative undertakings throughout the world, many of which have greatly benefited their members, and all of which are daily adding to our common stock of co-operative knowledge. It is rather for the reason that all have alike failed to see the importance of organising a progressive integral system, with responsible, unselfish, intelligent, centralised leadership as its guarantee of success.

The name of our organisation is the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Our organisation will be composed of Phalanxes, each Phalanx being resident upon a Homestead. Our general officers will be a President-General, Secretary-General, and Treasurer-General, elected by the Board of Directors from their number.

The Board of Directors will consist of five, who will be elected by the members of the Electoral College from their own number.

The general officers and members of the Board of Directors will hold office until removed by a majority vote of the members of the Electoral College.

Our local officers for each Phalanx will be a Phalanx President, Phalanx Secretary, and a Phalanx Treasurer, who will be appointed by the President-General, from those members of the Electoral College resident in the Phalanx, when any such are competent, and who will be entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Co-operation at the Homesteads of the respective Phalanxes, as per instructions received from the President-General.

The Phalanx officers are the agents of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and retain their position until removed by the President-General, or suspended by a vote of dissatisfaction by a majority of the integral members of the Phalanx.

The Commissioned Captains of Industry of each organised group in each Phalanx, will be elected by the members of the group, subject to removal for incompetency by the Phalanx-President.

Our system aims to furnish facilities for Partial, Associate, and Integral Co-operation, according to the applicant's fitness of inclination.

The associate, trial, or integral membership fee will be 250 dols. for either sex.

Any member can withdraw at any time, or may be expelled by a two-thirds vote of his Phalanx; and, in case of rejection of an applicant after probation as a trial member, or voluntary withdrawal, or expulsion, the membership fee without interest and any undrawn quota of allowances from the divisible products or profits to the members, shall be paid to him within ninety (90) days, if desired.

Partial Members are those who, resident or not, upon the Homestead, co-operate only in some of our industries or in distribution, pay no fee, have no vote or voice in the management, limit their co-operation at will, and receive rebates from those branches only in which they co-operate, in proportion to the extent of their co-operation in labour or patronage.

Associate Members are those who have paid their fee, reside on the Homestead, are self-sustaining without labouring in any of the co-operative industries, limit their co-operation to the distributive, social and domestic, have no vote or voice in the management, except the privilege of balloting on Character Rank, are not eligible to any office, and receive their supplies on the same basis as partial members.

Trial Members are applicants for integral co-operation, who are resident on the Homestead on probation, have no vote or voice in the management excepting the privilege of balloting on Industrial and Character Rank, and are furnished employment and supplies on the same basis as integral members.

Integral Members are accepted applicants for integral co-operation, who are entitled to co-operate in all things, receiving their supplies at distributive cost.

Applicants for associate or trial membership, will be received as resident members on trial, only as fast as they can be provided for in some Phalanx with comfortable quarters, and employment profitable to the co-operation, unless otherwise self-sustaining.

Applicants for integral membership will be received after a twelve months probation as trial members, and, while the membership in the Phalanx is less than ten, with the unanimous consent of the prior integral members of the Phalanx, and, as the number increases, none shall be accepted whose admission would mar the harmony.

All occupations being considered of equal value, shall be rated alike; and the individual worker graded according to skill and industry. All compensation for labour shall be the divisible product or profits of the combined industries of the entire co-operation, based upon, and in proportion to, the Hour Labour Record and the Industrial Rank of the member.

An Hour Labour Record will be kept in each Phalanx, of all time devoted by each member, to the labour and interests of the co-operation.

The Industrial Rank of each member will be ascertained yearly, by all co-workers, resident, trial, or integral members, uniting in their respective Phalanxes, in determining by ballot the comparative grade, according to skill and industry, as evidenced by the quality or quantity of work performed.

The Character Rank of each member will be ascertained semi-annually, or at any other time within ten days after a demand by twenty five per cent. of the integral members, who can judge intelligently, from personal acquaintance, uniting in their respective Phalanxes, in determining by ballot the comparative grade, in all those traits of character, industrial, social, intellectual, and spiritual, which constitutes a true and lofty manhood and womanhood.

The numerical power of the vote of each member shall be determined by the Character Rank.

All members whose Industrial Rank ranges between 55 and 65, shall be termed Cadets of Industry; between 65 and 75, Corporals of Industry; between 75 and 85, Sergeants of Industry; between 85 and 95, Lieutenants of Industry; between 95 and 100, Captains of Industry.

All members whose Character Rank is between 90 and 100, shall comprise the Electoral College of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Any one whose estimated Character Rank is less than 50, shall not be accepted by any Phalanx as an Associate or Trial Member; less than 75, shall not be eligible to election by any Phalanx as an Integral Member; less than 85, shall not be appointed as a Local Officer of a Phalanx; less than 90, shall not be eligible to the office of Director.

If any ballot lowers the Character Rank of any member five, it shall be considered a vote of censure, and if lowered ten, the right of voting shall be suspended until the censured member regains the confidence and esteem of his or her comrades; if lowered below 75, the comrade again becomes a Trial Member; if lowered below 50, it expels.

The Co-operative Commonwealth shall establish, manage, and maintain:—

All industries, controlling the character, amount, and disposition of their products.

A Commissariat and Co-operative Store, which shall furnish all needed supplies to the Phalanx Commissariats and Co-operative Stores, at distributed cost.

A Manual Training and Industrial Art University, in which all associate, trial or integral members, or their children, shall be entitled to receive instruction in any or all branches they desire, together with board at distributed cost, payable wholly or in part, by their labour, as they may prefer.

A Sanitarium, system of Insurance and Banking, and all Public Utilities for the benefit of the members.

A general fund for the purpose of establishing and maintaining the public utilities.

A general fund for the prompt payment of expelled or withdrawing members.

A general fund for developing the industries of newly organised Phalanxes.

Each Phalanx shall be independent in social and domestic matters; shall engage in such industries as may be established by the Co-operative Commonwealth; shall have a Unitary Home, Co-operative Dwelling or Social Palace, also a Cuisine Populaire, Nursery, Kindergarten, Manual Training School, Amusements, Public Hall and Library, also a local Commissariat and Co-operative Store.

All furniture in private use, and all personal effects, are the property of the individual member.

All purchases or sales must be for cash or its equivalent.

The necessary amount shall be annually taken from the divisible products of the entire co-operation, to make up to the worker any decrease in compensation, caused through any unavoidable lowering of the industrial rank, by sickness, accident, or old age.

Members may at any time, on giving a reasonable notice, leave the industries of the co-operation, and engage in work outside, without losing the privileges of membership, excepting of course, that during their absence, they can receive no credit for labour, unless by agreement between them and the co-operation they are to be credited with their labour outside, in which case the products of said labour shall be delivered to the co-operation; and, further excepting, in the event that the places they left have been filled during their absence, they will occupy the position of Associate Members until employment shall be found for them.

Every member must be self-sustaining, and during the pioneer stages, or until divisible products are earned, no member can be allowed by the co-operation, for maintenance, in excess of the sum that shall be ascertained by multiplying his or her hours of labour, by the cost of maintaining a member for each hour of labour, when all are working eight hours per day.

(To be concluded).

Some of our correspondents, discussing the political question, say that the workers should ask candidates to pledge themselves on the various planks in our platform. That would be better certainly than the old plan of blindly voting the party ticket. But has anyone invented a reliable plan of making a politician stick to his pledge after you elect him?—*Journal of United Labour.*

## A SOUTH AFRICAN INFERNO.

THE following passages occur in the report of the General Manager of the De Beer's Consolidated Mines, Ltd., to his directors, for the year ending March 31, 1889, printed in the *Wynberg* (South Africa) *Times* of July 27, a copy of which has reached us. The first should give pause to those pretended friends of labour who are so anxious for its expatriation.

"**MINE LABOUR.**—European as well as native labourers have been fairly plentiful throughout the year. For a short time the rush to the Gold Fields threatened to make European labourers scarce, but, before it had any serious effect on us, an influx of miners from England commenced, and at the present time the supply exceeds the demand."

These paragraphs do not seem somehow to read like the description of a free and happy place: rather do certain things in them look too near akin to items that used to appear in Southern papers during the old slavery days:

"**NATIVE LABOUR.**—The compound for free native labourers has been increased and new buildings erected so as to accommodate 600 men.

"**CONVICT LABOUR.**—Three hundred native convicts have been constantly employed during the year working on blue ground and at the pulsator. Arrangements are being made with the Government to supply us with a greater number of these men. Our convict station will bear favourable comparison with any like institution in the colony, if not with those in much older countries.

"**NEW STABLES** and a compound for native drivers are about to be constructed. "All the native labourers working on "blue," with the exception of drivers, are now compounded.

"A substantial barbed wire fence, seven feet high, is being built around our floors."

So as not to be unfair and unduly heighten the horrible nature of the implications that underly the foregoing quotations, we also quote as to

"**KENILWORTH VILLAGE.**—A village has been started for the better accommodation of our employés. Substantial brick houses are being erected, and the grounds laid out and planted with trees. The houses are to be let to the employés at a reasonable rental."

What is a "reasonable rental"? Half the wages?

"In conclusion, I desire to say that the system of mining now being carried on in the De Beer's Mine can be continued to any reasonable depth without increasing the cost except that of hoisting and pumping, which will naturally increase with depth."

The mechanical cost will increase with depth; but though danger and discomfort do so also, the rate of wages will remain at the present "reasonable" figure.

From a table of statistics relating to the same mine published in the same paper, we see that £901,818 0s. 5d. was realised by the sale of 914,121 carats of diamonds dug out: the amount realised per load being 25s. 3½d., cost of production per load being 9s. 10½d. After this we are not surprised that £188,329 10s. was paid in dividends for the year.

Add to the foregoing a couple of cuttings from the *Eastern Star*, another South African paper. On August 10, under the heading "A Prince in Johannesburg," this paper reports:

"The peaceful citizens of Johannesburg who went a-marketing this morning must have been somewhat startled as a rather singular procession made its way across the Market Square. At the head of this small army rode three of the Mounted Police. Behind them, on a shaggy Basuto pony, rode a short stout gentleman of dusky and dusty appearance. This was Mama, son of Letsie, Paramount Chief of Basutoland. Mama was immediately followed by four lesser native dignitaries, also mounted, and behind them marched some 150 Basutos in close order, with their polished kerries inclined at the same angle over their shoulders, with karosses or many-coloured blankets falling over their well-proportioned limbs, singing their marching song; while one finely-formed native executed the war-dance in front of them. The meaning of this *cortège* is speedily explained. Mama, the grandson of Moshesh, was bringing up 150 of his subjects to work in the mines. The procession made its way to Captain Von Brandis' office, where the leaders dismounted, and drew their men up in a semi-circle to have their contract confirmed, by which Mama engaged to see that his men did their duty for the next three months so far as the Jumpers Company was concerned. . . . Mama is an intelligent man, and has received a European education, and has rather a pleasant way of conversing. The formalities being concluded, the Landdrost shook hands with this potentate. . . . The band forthwith proceeded to the Jumpers Mine."

In its issue of August 12 the same paper says:

"A few days since, Mama, son of the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, arrived at Johannesburg with 150 of his fellow-countrymen, who were under contract to labour in the mine. Some difficulty, however, arose with regard to the terms of the agreement. The Basuto version is to the effect that the Kafir agent, who had been instrumental in bringing the Basutos up the Rand, had told them in Basutoland, by way of an additional inducement, that they would receive £1 5s. a-week from the companies. They came, and were grievously disappointed, as the Jumpers Company, on whose account they had been brought up, refused paying more than the current wages (about 15s.). Mama said he would take his men back rather than let them work for that, but through the Landdrost's representations that labour was really needed, and that it would be no difficult matter to obtain employment for his men, he decided to stay. The Landdrost gave him permission to seek labour for his men during the next two days; until then they could go about without passes, their Chief guaranteeing that the passes would be taken out in two days' time. This afternoon Mama was arrested for breach of contract."

## LITERARY NOTES.

We have received the second edition of *La Société au lendemain de la Révolution* (Society on the Morrow of the Revolution), by Jehan le Vagre (Paris, 140 rue Mouffetard, 165 pp., 75 cents). The first edition, published five or six years ago, was a small pamphlet which has been translated into most languages in which a Socialist literature exists, including Danish and Roumanian. This edition is much enlarged by the addition of articles reprinted from the *Révolte*, and now forms one of the most comprehensive and handy books on the subject. The matters discussed in it are: Authority and organisation—the measure of value and statistical commissions—class dictatorship—the public service—the lazy people—the period of education—free selection of work—harmony, solidarity—Communism and Anarchy—the moral influence of the revolution—the child in the new society—the revolution and Darwinism—the struggle against nature—the individual in society—autonomy according to science—conclusion. From these contents the usefulness of an English translation of the book is, we think, clear; it might put a stop to much misunderstanding and useless quarreling arising from insufficient information on the subject.

\* \*

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## GERMANY.

A general conference of the miners of Westphalia, in which delegates from other mining districts also took part, was held at Dortmund in August (200 delegates from 44 unions and 66 mines). It was resolved to form a general miners' union and to hold a congress of all miners in the country at Eisleben in 1890. The first number of the organ of the union, *Allgemeine deutsche Bergarbeiterzeitung* (General German Miners' Journal) has been published at Berlin.

## SWITZERLAND.

Comrade Albert Nicolet, engraver at Chaux-de-Fonds, has been arrested as the author of the manifesto of the Swiss Anarchists which we mentioned two weeks ago. The poor Social Democrats, also, who have been so busy demonstrating to the bourgeois the abyss between their innocent doctrines and those of the Anarchists, have had one of their manifestoes (A Word to the Swiss People) confiscated too, upon a formal point of law which is ordinarily not put into force. They have published at Geneva two editions of a pamphlet protesting against the late revolting expulsions of Russians (*Une honte pour notre pays: A Shame for Our Country*, by L. Héritier).

## RUSSIA.

Numerous arrests have been made of students at Charkov and Kiev; most of the arrested are Poles. Also two secret printing presses are said to have been discovered at Charkov. The latest figures to hand on political prosecutions in Russia are those: In 1886, 208 arrested for high treason, and 656 for "offences" against the Tsar (libels, etc.); in 1887, 186 and 833 respectively; 2,972 others were arrested in 1886 and 1887 for "political offences." Only a small number were acquitted; of the rest, 6 were hanged, 31 sent to the mines; the fate of the others is still pending, or they have been sent to Siberia or some other place of exile. The most atrocious details as to the treatment of political "offenders" on the island of Sakhalin have recently been published in a letter by one of them in a Polish paper. In Russia herself "reforms" are being made by which the whole management of the affairs of the peasants is put into the hands of officials who *must* be taken exclusively from the aristocracy. The office of justices of the peace is abolished with the exception of three towns, and all their functions are handed over to the aristocratic officials just mentioned. If the Russian Government so plainly marks out the class differences and antagonism, and singles the landlords out for the hatred and contempt of the people, they dig their own grave, and rightly so too.

\* \*

## A FELLOWSHIP SCHOOL.

SOME time ago, says *The Sower*, the New Fellowship issued a proposal for the establishment of a school on lines consistent with the principles which it advocates. Up to the present, circumstances have not admitted of the practical realisation of this scheme under the direct auspices of the Fellowship; but the members hail with great satisfaction a separate effort which some friends and associates are about to make, to establish just such a school as was contemplated in the circular which the Fellowship issued. An attempt will be made to develop harmoniously all the faculties of the boy—to train him how to *live*, in fact, and become a rational member of society. This harmonious development of all the faculties will be the foundation of the entire system of the school, and the training will therefore be (1) physical and manual; (2) artistic and imaginative; (3) literary and intellectual; and (4) moral and religious.

The physical training is to include not only games, but useful manual work, awakening a sounder conception of the conditions of labour and the processes of handicraft. The promoters rightly believe that "training in manual work produces a manipulative dexterity, a steadiness and concentration of mind and will, and a habit of exactness in practical matters, which mere scholarship seldom supplies," the experience so gained developing powers of resource and of self-reliance.

In the artistic and imaginative training the great aim will be to render the whole atmosphere of the school stimulating to the dormant æsthetic sensibilities. Believing "that the imaginative faculty is best developed by the education of the innate creative instinct, it is proposed to train the boys as far as possible in the creation of the objects of their daily lives, especially where these can be made more beautiful."

In literary and intellectual training, the progress of studies will be from the modern, concrete, and particular, to the older, more abstract and general; and this method will be adopted equally in the natural sciences, mathematics, history, geography, and language.

The moral training will be based on the principle that morality cannot be taught by sermons, but must rather be the outcome of the whole influence of the school, expressing itself in every act of school life. "It is necessary that ideas, example, and sympathy go together." The religious services will be made attractive and simple, and the instruction as unsectarian and undogmatic as possible. "The influences of music [the great importance of which is recognised] and art will be combined with practical instruction in the laws of right conduct."

It is intended that up to fifteen the education shall be practically the same for all; but that after that age the destined career of each boy should decide the nature of his studies.

Negotiations are almost completed for the lease of a commodious house called Abbotsholme, with adjoining land, on the banks of the Dove, near Rocester, in Staffordshire, a picturesque yet accessible region. There will be a lady matron who will take charge of the household life of the boys, and possibly also assist in the teaching. The school will be opened in October next. For further particulars we must refer enquirers to the prospectus already issued, and to the four friends named below, from whom all information can be obtained: Cecil Reddie (B.Sc.), University Hall, Edinburgh; R. F. Muirhead (M.A.), Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire; Wm. Cassels, 18 Carrington Street, Glasgow; Edward Carpenter (M.A.), Millthorpe, Chesterfield.

**MARRIAGE.**—On the 16th, at the Registry, Gateshead, Edward R. Pease, of Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fabian), to Marjory Davidson, of Kinfauns, near Perth (Fabian).



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN  
HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.*

*Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

FRANK KELLY (late of Leeds, England, last heard of in New York).—Your sister, Bridget Kelly, Gray St. Mills, West Street, Leeds, is anxious to hear from you. American papers please copy.

F. CHARLES (late of London).—Letter lying at this office addressed to you.

S. H. (Mendoza, Argentine).—Thanks for your letter, which will be used next week. You did not stamp it sufficiently, and we had to pay 7d. fine.

REPORTS from St. George's-in-the-East and Glasgow branches arrived too late for insertion.

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 25.

ENGLAND	ITALY
Brotherhood	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Justice	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Elector	SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Madrid—El Socialista
London—Freie Presse	Seville—La Solidaridad
London—Weekly Chronicle	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Railway Review	GERMANY
Sozial Demokrat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Seafaring	AUSTRIA
Worker's Friend	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
INDIA	DENMARK
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
UNITED STATES	SOCIAL-DEMOKRATEN
New York—Der Sozialist	SWEDEN
Freiheit	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Truthseeker	Malmö—Arbetet
Volkszeitung	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Twentieth Century	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
United Irishman	Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
Boston—Woman's Journal	
Investigator	
HOLLAND	
Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	
FRANCE	
Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	
La Revolte	
La Revue Socialiste	
Pobudka	
FRANCE	
Hague—Recht voor Allen	
FRANCE	
Ghent—Vooruit	

#### THE VITAL QUESTION AGAIN.

SOME of your readers on this western side of the waters have misunderstood the drift of "A Vital Question," and think the writer advocates palliatives, reliefs, etc. How such a meaning came to be advocated from the words I do not know; for certainly, to me, all ameliorative measures, charities, plasters of any kind, are only less mischievous than the exploiting schemes which make such things seem plausible. In urging on the attention of every thoughtful person the extreme misery which exists among the masses of the common people, there is no purpose of calling out temporary aid from the tender-hearted; it is impossible to take care of the drift-wood as fast as the whirlpool of greed and corruption casts it up, and I would not attempt it while the whirlpool is there. Even the "homes," "reliefs," and "institutions" which succour a few of the despoiled victims are mere conscience-salves, and serve, as well, to keep the wretched creatures from crowding too thickly around the luxurious palaces of the rich; and then, in the eyes of many, charity is a splendid substitute for justice.

I do not even urge political zeal. I do not believe the people can vote themselves bread and freedom, against a power which protects

itself with prisons, scaffolds, soldiery, and guns, any more than they can brush back the sea with petty brooms. They are fooled, amused, kept quiet with something called the franchise; but if the time ever came when the majority-vote really endangered the privileges of the wealthy classes, the revolution would be precipitated. But the "right of suffrage," in America at least, is a farce from the primaries to the final count. The "State" is made up by a few men before ever a caucus is held; the platform settled, and a political catchword—which passes for principle—conjured up at the last moment, when everything else is done. Then the two parties "go in" to win, and the one which includes the shrewdest schemers, the most seared consciences, and has the biggest barrel, working through "voters" who have only a choice between a job and idleness, comes out ahead. "Men who are economically slaves cannot be politically free," Albert Parsons said, and it is in all countries and all times true.

It is the hope of many sincere State Socialists in this country that by taking up the wrongs and needs of the people one by one, urging them upon city councils, legislatures, and congresses without ceasing, by making political issues of the principal wants of the hour, and keeping up a constant agitation, that gradually and peaceably the government can be changed into a good, safe paternalism, warranted to secure justice to all. "The people" have secured about one little favourable law, to ten powerful edicts that strengthen the classes in their vested rights, in the last twenty years. Where one poor working-man has received a straw's benefit from a statute-law, a hundred men have secured fat spoils through the "bills" our law-makers are paid to manufacture and pass. A sop is thrown to working-men now and then in the way of a law "looking to their interests," while "syndicates," "trusts," monopolies and corruptions, grow and swallow them all at a stupendous rate. It must look discouraging to one who hopes for relief through political action alone.

No; the "dear people" might vote till doomsday and not change the current of events; but there is another element creeping into the situation. The low ominous mutterings of discontent and desperation, coming with thrilling power through the false quiet, have struck the ears of the higher middle classes; they tremble and look about them, fearful lest the deluge may not wait to come after them. What can be done to stay the awful flood, which may sweep everything before it? What more easy than to grant a few of the measures demanded by many of the foremost agitators?

Place railroads, telegraphs, transportation lines in the hands of the government, pass more laws limiting land-ownership, and forbidding all money except government money. A "dangerous element" in society would be quieted, government be strengthened, the "ins" would be more securely in, the privileges of the "higher" classes would not be materially interfered with—indeed, they might find their interests greatly enhanced by having the means they must use to a great extent in one place, so as to secure them easily—and everything would be so lovely that "all might go on smooth and even" for another fifty years perhaps.

It may become a question in the near future whether it is best to take a few concessions, get the burdens shifted a little, and stave off a thorough, world-wide, radical revolution, or to ignore offered compromises and agitate for full and complete freedom.

If we do the first, we simply leave for our children the work we should do to-day. We "pile up wrath against a day of wrath." In the condition in which the world is at the present time, we ought to accomplish the great change in one generation. The commercial system is almost toppling over; the human race, all civilisation, is ready for a new régime. Of course the present system can be propped up, the miseries of the poor relieved, or rather, varied, and with a few changes we can drag along a short age more. But is it best? Can true lovers of perfect liberty and justice consistently work for a few concessions, then die and leave the world, with the day of reckoning yet to come? It is a question we should all ponder.

Any relief in the shape of charity is still worse. It seems to me that people who once submit to the receiving of alms, without a blush of shame, are doomed; they are hopelessly apathetic and degraded. The giving of alms satisfies the conscience of the rich exploiter, strengthens his position, widens the gulf between the classes, and renders the recipients more subservient and obedient than before. I confess I never had so little hope for the American people as since the recent occurrences among the starving miners of Illinois. The facts are appalling enough to thrill the stoutest heart; for here in this boasted land of the free, a country growing so rich and prosperous that it takes an eloquent orator three hours to expatiate upon it, are thousands of men, women, and children actually starving to death and dying of the diseases want engenders. The men are eager and willing to work, the coal lies in the earth in abundance, and the world's inhabitants need it; yet because some men own "the hole in the ground," poor people must freeze this winter, and the miners must go hungry all the time.

And so these workers must be kept barely alive by the kind charities of philanthropic people! When the relief trains came in, those starving men marched behind the "committee" riding in carriages (hired, it is supposed, out of the relief funds), headed by a brass band whose members had not strength enough to blow out the tune they commenced! They had lived on the wind for some time, but had none to spare for their big brass horns. Think of it! Making a parade of their degradation! Able-bodied men holding a celebration over their deep humiliation! Not one indignation meeting had been held; not a resentful word murmured over such a state of affairs! Not with bowed heads and sorrow did they accept the bread they were



forced to take or starve, but with a demonstration as if publishing their downfall to the world!<sup>1</sup>

It has long been a fixed idea with many that the American working-man would never suffer starvation quietly; that when trodden upon too sorely he would turn and rend his destroyer; but the day has come, and he licks the hand that first withheld, then doled out in charity, while he capers and shouts to his master's honour with all the little remaining strength that he possesses!

More cruel, greedy monsters never existed than the coal corporations in this State. Human life is absolutely nothing to them in their rapacious grasping for wealth. Their victims suffer and die in the midst of their property, and not a stick or stone is touched. The company's stores, filled with all they need, stand undisturbed amidst the starving.

All but a few Anarchists and Socialists have persistently hushed any enquiries into causes. "These people want bread, not discussions and resolutions," they say; and so, as the citizens keep their "hands" fed and above the dangerous point, and do not question the justice of the situation, the soulless corporations rest calmly on their privileges and wait their own sweet will to set their drudges to work on a miserable pittance.

Charity is a curse when substituted for justice. It is of no use expending it on those already lost—the wrecks of society must be society's charge. To teach strong independent men to accept it with public rejoicing is to degrade them many degrees below anything they have yet known.

But for the element of new thought awakened in the serious minds of middle-class people, the case would be well-nigh hopeless. So, again I urge greater zeal and earnestness; less care for conventionalities, respectability or personal consequences; more of the feeling of personal responsibility for the injustice and suffering society tolerates. I do not point out your work, or ask you to take up any particular phase of economic action, because I know that with a thorough realising sense of the *vital question* deep in your soul, you must *do good*. Keep awake, and be in earnest!

Maywood, Ill., U.S.A.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

### SOCIALISM IN SURREY.

ON Sunday 15th inst. Kitz and Reynolds held a very good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green in the morning at 11, and naturally the great strike of London dockers and the position of labour generally was largely discussed by both speakers. We sold a quire and a half of *Commonweal* and collected 2s. 7d. After the meeting, several carmen and labourers of the district complained of their low pay and long hours, and asked us when we were going to help them get better conditions. The appeal being so often made to us, and thinking that if we did not endeavour to do something for them we might to some extent lose touch with them, the question was brought before the Council, with the result that Reynolds was sent into the district on Tuesday the 17th inst. to ascertain as far as possible the views of the men upon the subject and the wages paid and hours worked. Well, speaking generally, I found that both men and women were dissatisfied with their lot, and anxious to alter it. I found that the wages of carmen ranged from 14s. to 23s. per week for hours ranging from 11 to 16 per day; and generally those who received the least wages worked the longest hours. The complaints among the laundry-women was very widespread. In one laundry especially the women have been compelled just recently to work half an hour longer per day, and have had their beer stopped, without any extra wages being paid them. Seeing that something ought to be done, a thousand handbills have been circulated in the district, announcing two mass meetings for Sunday September 29th on Mitcham Fair Green, in the morning at 11 and in the evening at 7, when a deputation from the Laundry-women's Association are expected to attend the evening meeting, and it is hoped that some definite plan will be adopted so as to enable the workers in this district to increase their wages and shorten their hours of toil.

Now so far as our movement is concerned, Mitcham and Streatham are very promising; there is plenty of enthusiasm amongst the members, contingents going from Streatham to Mitcham to attend the meetings, and the same of the Mitcham members. On Thursday evening, 19th, I gave an address at the Mitcham club-house, which was crowded, upon "The Necessity of Unity," at the end of which a good discussion took place. On Saturday evening the 21st, I attended, upon invitation, the Streatham Liberal Club, where an address was given upon the subject "Socialism Two Thousand Years Hence." The club-room was crowded. The opener dealt with Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and was altogether very favourable to Socialism. A splendid discussion followed, several of the speakers being dissatisfied with the essayist on the ground that he had not clearly defined what Socialism was. I therefore defined, as well as I was able, the principles of Socialism. I was kindly allowed extra time, and at the end of my speech was warmly applauded. Socialism was warmly defended by most of the speakers.

On Sunday morning, September 22nd, Kitz and myself addressed a large gathering in the morning on Mitcham Fair Green, when 42 *Commonweal* were sold and 8s. collected for propaganda. In the evening, a largely-attended meeting was held at Streatham Fountain; the speakers were Pillier, a Belgian comrade living at Croydon, Kitz and Reynolds; two quires of *Commonweal* were sold and 4s. collected.

Now I think this part of Surrey a splendid field for the spread of our movement. Certainly another determined attempt should be made to recapture Croydon, where I found several of the old comrades willing to make another start. In conclusion, I should not be doing my duty if I did not say that the growth of the movement in Mitcham and Streatham is in no small measure due to the efforts of our General Secretary, who lives in the district and is very popular among all classes of the workers.

C. REYNOLDS.

Labour is about the only commodity on which the seller does not fix the price when it is sold. Why? Is it not mainly because, the natural opportunities being monopolised, men who depend on their labour for a livelihood must sell it at the price capital offers or starve? The labourer of course does the first, if he be given an opportunity, which is not always.—*Journal of United Labour*.

### A WARNING.

(Translated by JOHN ACKERLOS.)

DEAREST friend, thy fate I see,  
If you write such books as these!  
Would you gold and honour win,  
Servile and humble you must be.

Surely you provoke the Fates,  
Thus to speak unto the people,  
Thus to speak of Priests and Parsons,  
Thus of Kings and Potentates.

Friend, your lot excites my fears!  
Kings and Princes have long arms,  
Priests and Parsons have long tongues,  
And the people have long ears!

HEINRICH HEINE.

### THE LABOUR REVOLT.

THE dockers have gained another victory. Not a peaceful one this time, but one accompanied by a certain amount of bloodshed, especially from the nose. Black eyes and cracked crowns have not been uncommon, but black-legs are beginning to lessen in number in the locality; perhaps that has been because the two first commodities were so very plentiful. In their case the supply certainly exceeded the demand. Some of the black-legs have been writing to the papers, especially to the *Standard*. What connection, by the bye, is there between the *Standard* and the black-legs. Is it possible that some of the black-legs are unfortunate country gentlemen reduced to abject poverty by the agricultural depression, or unhappy Irish landlords whose rents have not been paid with the old regularity, and who have therefore been compelled to seek a precarious existence at the dock gates? I know not; but this at least I know, the editor of the *Standard* might find it beneficial to engage one or two of these black-legs—who doubtless are now in search of a job, the climate of the docks having proved too close for them—as reporters upon his widely circulated paper. For vivid description, sensational interest, and graphic minuteness of detail, their pens lick those of the ordinary penny-a-liner into fits. One gentleman, with much simple pathos, tells how he was forced to seek shelter in a coal shed from the violence of a howling mob of strikers. Another relates how that after being chased by strikers, from whose violence he was only saved by a strong force of metropolitan police, he was lured by treacherous dock officials (who assured him and some companion black-legs that they had got a "special" train waiting for them) into a carriage filled with the *savage* dockers, the sort of person no respectable black-leg would lower himself to associate with. These "ruffians," I regret to say, fell upon the black-legs and their friends with yells of "Give it to the bloody scabs, boys," and I fear the black-legs got it. One of them was "chucked" out on the platform as the train was leaving the station, another was nearly shoved through the carriage window on to the line, and others only escaped with aching bones and faces covered with blood from their furious adversaries when the train stopped at the next station.

No wonder the black-legs are departing, filled with the sad conviction that their lives are not secure in the neighbourhood of the docks. Thus the dockers have by their own action retrieved one of the blunders of their leaders. Perhaps the Lord Mayor and Cardinal Manning have now come to the conclusion that the strike has a separate existence from even Burns and Tillett; and even the dock directors may at last understand that this revolt of labour was, instead of being the result of a deep laid Socialist conspiracy, a spontaneous movement among a people wearied of the miserable lives they were forced to lead through the greedy avarice of sweating contractors and wealthy directors.

The grand movement among the dock labourers and its partial success has awakened many other workers to a revolt against their misery. On Sunday, a big meeting was held in Hyde Park of the London bakers, who were addressed by John Burns, Champion, and others. The bakers want to decrease their hours from a 100 a-week down to 57. No one can say they are not moderate. They threaten a general strike of bakers on the 9th of November if their demands are not complied with. It is to be hoped that the postmen, who are also tired of their long hours for the magnificent wage of 16s. a-week, and who want eight hours a-day at 6d. an hour and 8d. for overtime, will come out on strike at the same period together with the tramway and railway men. Then, indeed, as John Burns said, "all the fat will be in the fire." For there is nothing like a general strike to bring the capitalists to their senses, and it is possible that the men might realise more than their present modest demands by striking hard and striking altogether.

### Intimidation.

We clip the following from the *Star*, which has behaved most pluckily in the recent great labour conflicts, and to whom the whole people of London owe an eternal debt of gratitude. We can say this without flattery, for we have never failed to criticise the *Star* unfavourably when we think it has done wrong.

We hope that a portion of the balance strike fund will be devoted to sustaining the wives and children of the men who are suffering shamefully long sentences for very trifling, and in some quite unreal, cases of intimidation. Here are some of them:

Bartholomew Harvey, 82, Lambeth Street, Whitechapel. No assault, but a month for being with men who intimidated.

James Clark, carman, intimidation, two months.

James Buck, assault and intimidation, three months hard labour.

James Stagg, carman, three months hard labour.

Cornelius Sullivan, two months hard labour.

We do not defend these men's conduct. But we do say that these sentences are vindictive and severe, and we think their wives and families deserve some consideration from the Strike Committee.

We agree with everything but the first line in the last paragraph. We say that these men's conduct needs no defence, and we know that but for the efforts of humble heroes like these men the dock strike would have been ended weeks ago. If a blackleg possessed any fine feelings of generosity

<sup>1</sup> Lucy E. Parsons drew a strong picture of this scene at Voorwards Hall, August 11th, for which she was promptly misrepresented and abused by all the leading dailies.

or kindness to appeal to, we should say "intimidation" was a mistake; but as he is always a mean cur whom nothing will impress but a jolly good thrashing, we say "Bravo" to every man that gives him his just deserts; that is the only way to cure him. And the man who thrashes one of these scoundrels thoroughly, ought not alone to have his wife and children well cared for while he is in prison, but ought to be well rewarded when he comes out.

#### Wake up, Railwaymen!

The *Railway Review* has an interesting article upon the docker's strike, in which it gives some good advice to railwaymen, and which we take the liberty of quoting:

"There are numerous railwaymen who are in no better position than the poor dock labourer; indeed, the latter, when he receives his advance, will be, in many cases, the better off of the two. Yet we find those slaves of the iron road resting contented, or, at the most, grumbling at their hard lot, without making any effort to improve it. Had the dock labourers kept on grumbling instead of breaking out in revolt against the harsh conditions of their employment, they would have continued in their state of bondage. If railwaymen mean to improve their condition they will have to act differently in the future to what they have done in the past. The old form of suppliant memorials and begging petitions will have to be thrown to the winds, and a more manly course will need to be adopted; they will have to muster up courage, and be prepared to fight for their rights. So long as they feel horrified at the sound of the word 'strike,' so long will their oppressors keep them down. If they have a good cause it is worth fighting for; for if it be not worth a struggle to obtain, it cannot be estimated as of much value. Working men have had to fight for their rights in the past, and will have to do the same in the future, as capital will not yield till it is forced."

We hope these poor slaves will pluck up courage and take this excellent advice, but don't let them rely too much upon the patronage of the middle-class "philanthropists," as the tramway men have done. If they do depend upon it they will find that these people will be a dead weight upon the movement when the time for action arrives, and will do nothing but protest their great desire to prevent anything so ruinous to the trade and commerce of the country as a strike. Dog doesn't eat dog; and you will never find a respectable middle-class man recommending anything that may interfere with the regular payment of dividends.

#### Death Traps.

Keir Hardie has a strongly written article upon the shameful arrangements that exist for the safety of the men in most of the Scotch mines. He declares that they are "death traps," and the following description of a case that is typical of many fully bears this out:

"Knockterra Pit, near Cumnock, the property of the Eglinton Iron Company, employs over one hundred persons, young and old. It is ventilated by means of a cube or furnace, which is built into the bottom of the escape shaft. There is no machinery connected with it, nor any guides in the shaft for a cage. Suppose a fire to occur in the main shaft. Before the men could make their escape they would require first to put out the cube fire and wait till the place cooled, then crawl through the furnace to the bottom of the shaft to be drawn up in ones or twos by a windlass or some other piece of improvised machinery. Before all this could be done there would be a hundred blackened and discoloured bodies strewn about the pit bottom, and the morning papers would tell of the 'Dreadful Accident at Knockterra Pit.' Accident! I would have another name for it. Murder would come nearer the mark. I want to repeat that this is not an isolated case. I cannot say the number of pits in Ayrshire similarly situated, but certainly there are not less than 12, and may be as many as 20."

It is fearful to think that when we see on the placards "Fearful Colliery Explosion," it too often means "Wholesale Murder by Greedy Capitalists." Will anything but the Social Revolution stop these butcheries? I fear not.

#### London Potters' Labourers.

On Sunday an enthusiastic meeting was held on the Albert Embankment. John Stanley, the secretary, George Bateman and Mr. Newstead (London Society of Compositors), and W. Parnell (Alliance Cabinetmakers) addressed the meeting. 11s. 1½d. was collected for union expenses. The chairman closed the meeting, after announcing that W. A. Chambers would speak on the same spot next Sunday morning, and that W. Parnell would address the Fulham men outside Fulham Pottery on Sunday Sept. 29th, at 2 p.m. The men evidently mean business; many of them had come all the way from Bow to attend the meeting. Meetings of the Union are held every Tuesday at the "Windmill," High Street, Lambeth.

#### Trades Demonstration in Glasgow.

An enthusiastic trades demonstration took place on Saturday in Glasgow, when from 1,200 to 1,500 members of some 30 trades societies marched with bands and banners through the principal streets. The object of the demonstration was to express sympathy with the employés of the Tramway Company, and to insist that the Corporation, on the expiry of the company's lease, should take over the tramway system and work it for the benefit of the community. The demonstration was organised by the Trades Council—chiefly at the instance of our comrade George Carrow and other advanced members. Although the demonstration was a large and imposing one, only a fraction of the actual workers of Glasgow took part in it, the great majority preferring to attend football-matches or stand outside as mere spectators of the procession. The joiners, masons, and engineer societies refused to join in with their comrades. It was the poorly-paid trades—dock-labourers, united labourers, moulders, and seamen—that made up the great mass of the processionists. The processionists, after parading the streets, gathered round four platforms on the Green, where they were addressed by trades representatives, and resolutions in favour of the object of the demonstration were put and carried.

J. B. G.

#### The Printers' Labourers'.

We are asked to announce that the Printers' Labourers' Union, the outcome of the recent strike in the printing trade, has secured offices at 4, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street. The entrance fee is 1s., and the subscription 2d. weekly. No sick, burial, or out of work benefits are to be given, as it is to be purely a labour combination. A conference of delegates from "fair" houses has been held, at which a union committee of twelve was elected to organise the union. This has certainly been the cheapest strike

on record. Only about £30 has been received from all sources, out of which £25 has been expended in printing, relief, etc. The accounts have been audited by Mrs. A. Besant and Mr. G. Z. Chesterton (of the *Star*), and laid before the conference of delegates and received with approval.

The strike in the linen factory of Thomas Dickson, M.P., Drogheda, has ended in the resumption of work on the old system, the clergy and the local shopkeepers bringing such pressure on the strikers as to make them surrender.

SCOTCH MINERS.—The price of coal has considerably advanced, but the insignificant fraction of the increased value of their product, which generally falls to the miners on such occasions, is withheld by the great majority of masters. A sort of guerrilla struggle is consequently going on over the whole of Scotland for a "sixpence" advance per day. If the miners of Scotland had been properly led they would have, ere this, been discussing a more important and revolutionary point than that eternal "sixpence" per day. If a miner produces value for 10s. more per day this month than he did last month, the leaders think it a great thing to do after much cry and starvation, to agitate for, and sometimes get, "a sixpence per day"—the twentieth part of their increased gains—but oftener they have to content themselves with the half of that. The time has surely come when they should make a more staggering demand; the more they fight for, the greater proportion they will receive.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 5, 1889.

92	Sun.	1783. Hussey Burgh died. 1887. Northumberland miners' gala.
30	Mon.	1791. Constituent Assembly proclaims that its sessions are all ended, and disperses. 1793. Riot at Bristol. 1830. Belgium separated from Holland. 1857. Auguste Comte died.
1	Tues.	1791. Legislative Assembly, first and last under Constitution of Sept. 14, meets; sat till Sept. 21, 1792. 1803. Trial of John McIntosh at Dublin for high treason. 1825. First number of the <i>New Harmony Gazette</i> , published at New Harmony, Indiana. 1839. The Queenwood Community take possession of their estate at East Tytherley, Hants. 1842. Trial of rioters, Stafford. 1843. Repeal demonstration on the Rath of Mullaghast. 1849. Klappa surrendered Komorn. 1876. J. A. Khudiakow, a writer of great talent, died in the asylum at Irkutsk, whither he was banished as an accomplice of Karakozov.
2	Wed.	1803. John Adams died at New York. 1853. D. F. Arago died. 1865. O'Donovan Rossa and other Fenians committed for high treason.
3	Thur.	1536. "Pilgrimage of Grace" begins at Caistor, in Lincoln. 1789. Dinner at Versailles of the officers of the Regiment de Flandre. 1803. Trial of Thomas Keenan at Dublin for high treason. 1846. Sir Charles Wolseley died. 1883. Pittsburgh Convention of Socialists of U.S.
4	Fri.	1810. Felix Pyat born. 1871. "Seven points" excitement.
5	Sat.	1789. Rising of women of Paris, who march on Versailles and bring the king and royal family back with them to Paris. 1795. "Insurrection of Vendémiaire," last attempt of the Sans-culottes, suppressed by Napoleon. 1803. Trial of D. L. Redmond at Dublin for high treason. 1822. Berton guillotined at Poitiers. 1840. Lassalle born. 1862. Renewed fighting in Hyde Park between Garibaldians and the Irish. 1884. Charles Bray died. 1887. Revolt of 6,000 work women in Madrid.

It is said that Dr. McGlynn's case will be reopened and he will appear before the propaganda at Rome in October.

CO-OPERATIVE COLONIES.—We are sometimes asked for particulars of co-operative colonies in the United States. Those of which we know are: The Co-operative Commonwealth, Grass Valley, California: secretary, M. C. Dwight.—The Credit Foncier of Sinaloa, Topolobampo, Sinaloa, Mexico: Office, Room 708, 32 Nassau Street, New York: Secretary, D. D. Chidester.—The Kaweah Co-operative Colony, on Kaweah River, Tulare Co., California: Office, Box 427, Visalia, California: Secretary, J. J. Martin.—Puget Sound Co-operative Colony, Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash: Secretary, Thomas Malony.—Terms and conditions of membership may be obtained from the respective secretaries.

PROPAGANDA IN SHEFFIELD.—The open-air propaganda has been continued very successfully during the summer months, and will be as long as the weather permits. The sale of the *Commonweal* has very largely increased; other literature also sells fairly well. During the strike of the London dockers we held several meetings each week, and over £30 was collected. But we have now strikes in Sheffield, and during the last fortnight we have taken up the case of the fibre-drawers, about seventy men and women being on strike. We have held several meetings each week on their behalf, and organised assistance for them, with good results. We shall continue to help them as long as the strike lasts. At the same time, we do not neglect our propaganda. While doing our best to guide the workers in their struggles for temporary relief, we always explain to them that Socialism in all its fulness is the only possible permanent remedy. The fibre-drawers deserve all the help friends can give.—J. S.

DEPTFORD LIBERAL CLUB, Broadway, Deptford.—Sunday Sept. 29, at 8.30. J. C. Foulger, "Practicable Socialism."

STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Sept. 29, at 8.30. Seymour Bartlett, "City Guilds and their Misused Funds."

CENTRAL FINESBURY RADICAL CLUB, 241 Goswell Rd., E.C.—Sunday Sept. 29, at 11.30 a.m., Graham Wallas, "A Socialist Programme for England."

WEST SOUTHWARK LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, Charlotte Street, S.E.—Sunday September 29, at 8.30, J. R. Macdonald, "The Socialist Programme for London."

YE OLDE RED LION DEBATING FORUM, Plumtree Court, Shoe Lane.—On Tuesday, October 1, at 8.30 p.m., E. Clark will open a discussion on "The Influx of Labour in Big Towns."

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

*Commonweals* for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. Manchester, to end of July. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collection at Plough, Kilburn, 8d.; Mrs. Edwards, 1s.; R. Turner, 6d.; Campbell (Streatham), 6d.; Victoria Park, 2s. 3d.; and North London Branch collection, 9s. 8d.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Oct. 1, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. Comrade Mowbray will address the members on "The Best Method of Propaganda." The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; F. C. S. S., 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; R. Unwin, 2s.; Mrs. Edwards, 1s.; J. W. Cooke, 10s.; A. Scheu, 7s.; James Thomson, 2s. 6d.; J. B. G., 1s.; and Blundell (5 weeks), 2s. 6d.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Chelsea*—Good meeting held on Wednesday evening last, when Mowbray gave a lengthy address; 10 *Commonweal* sold and 6d. collected—Sunday morning, good meeting addressed by Davies, Mordhurst, Smith, and Samuels; 38 *Weal* sold and several "Chants." *Old Plough, Kilburn Lane*—A good meeting held here at 12.30, and 20 *Commonweal* sold. Help to sell the paper would be very acceptable. *Victoria Park*—Good meeting here on Sunday, addressed by members of S.L. and S.D.F. It was arranged to divide collection between Socialist League and Social Democratic Federation; *Commonweal* sold out.

**MITCHAM.**—On Saturday, a number of our members visited the Streatham Liberal Club, and took part in a debate on "Socialism." On Sunday morning, Kitz and Reynolds addressed a good audience on Mitcham Fair Green; 42 *Commonweal* sold and 8s. collected. In the evening in our rooms, Gregory spoke by request to a sympathetic audience consisting of general labourers and mechanics, H. Ward in the chair, subject, "Organisation."

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Turner and Crouch; 56 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 7d. collected for propaganda. At St. Ann's Road a good meeting was also held; speakers were Dean, R. J. Lyne, and C. Weardale (S.D.F.); Turner also spoke here; 20 *Commonweal* sold. In the evening we made an attempt to hold a meeting at Cornwall Road; Crouch spoke for a few minutes, but we were again moved by the police.

**STREATHAM.**—A large meeting held on Sunday at the Fountain, addressed by Kitz, Reynolds, and Pillier; 54 *Weal* sold and 4s. collected.

**ABERDEEN.**—During the past week we have been very active. At the indoor meeting on Monday, Duncan read a paper on "The Relation of Capital and Labour"; brisk discussion. On the same evening, Leatham delivered a stirring address to the bakers, who are preparing to strike for a reduction of hours. On Friday evening, at 46, Marischal Street, a meeting was held to bid farewell to our comrade Leatham; speeches were made, revolutionary songs were sung, and he was presented with a purse of money as a testimonial of respect and admiration from our members. On Saturday, 21st, we held our usual meeting at Castle Street; there was a good audience; choir sang "Hark the Battle Cry" and "No Master," after which the meeting was addressed by Aiken and Duncan; fair sale of literature.—D.

**EDINBURGH.**—Of late, open-air work has been done in conjunction with S.D.F. On 22nd Leatham, of Aberdeen, addressed two meetings in Meadows; Leslie, McKenzie, and Smith also spoke. At evening meeting a capitalist named J. D. Christie offered some noisy opposition. The local branches of S.D.F. and S.L. and L.L. are going to dissolve at end of month and form one organisation. Under its auspices indoor meetings in Moulders' Hall will be resumed, the first lecture being given on October 6th by Bruce Glasier of Glasgow.—J. H. S.

**LEICESTER.**—Good meetings at Russel Sq. and Humberstone Gate, addressed by Barclay and Nicoll. *Commonweal* sold out; 10s. 6d. collected for local propaganda.

**MANCHESTER.**—Meeting held at Middleton on Saturday night in very bad weather. At Philips Park on Sunday morning a good meeting was addressed by Ritson, Marshall, and Bailie; 35 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 3d. collected. On Stevenson Square at 3 o'clock, Mason, Marshall, and W. K. Hall (S.D.F.) spoke; 20 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 6d. collected. At Chester Road, Stockton and Barton held a short meeting at night; 6 *Commonweal* sold.—W. B.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday morning two comrades went to Diss and distributed a large quantity of old *Commonweal* and announced meeting for next Sunday. In the afternoon an open-air meeting in the Market Place was held, addressed by comrades Swash, Darley, and W. Moore; good sale of *Commonweal*.

**YARMOUTH.**—Comrade Beckett of London was with us on Wednesday, and gave us some good advice as to local propaganda, etc. On Sunday morning on Priory Plain our usual meeting was held by comrades Ruffold, Headley, and Annis; good attendance and good sale of *Commonweal*. In the afternoon another meeting was held at same place, comrades Ruffold and Adams (of Norwich) being the speakers. In the evening at Colman's Granary Ruffold and other comrades held a meeting for a short time. 25 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 3d. collected for the day.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, H. Sutton Frizelle lectured on "Hope for the Proletariat," in which he graphically reviewed the forces that fight for the coming change. King, Hamilton, Wilson, Kavanagh, and others took part in the discussion.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—In Sneinton Market on Sunday morning Proctor opposed a secularist who was advocating the claims of the Liberal party, and subsequently, with Whalley and Rooke, held a meeting. In the evening Peacock and Proctor spoke in the Great Market.

**LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY,** 1, Stanley Street, Dale Street.—We held our second meeting last Tuesday, at the Vegetarian Restaurant, 1, Stanley Street, when three new members joined us. Next Tuesday, after business is concluded, a paper will be read by E. C. Chapman and afterwards discussed. Members are invited to bring as many enquiring friends as they know.—E. C. CHAPMAN, sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

*Clerkenwell.*—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

*East London.*—26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. Business meeting will be held on Sunday Sept. 29, after meeting in the Park. Members please attend.

*Hammersmith.*—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 29, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening. Teacher, Mmlla. Des Roches. The fees are quite nominal; members of the League are invited to join.

*Merton.*—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

*Mitcham.*—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc. On Thursday Sept. 26, a lecture by C. Reynolds—subject, "Fallacies of Palliatives."

*North Kensington.*—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

*North London.*—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

*Streatham.*—Meets every Wednesday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

*Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.*—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

*Aberdeen.*—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

*Bradford.*—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday 7.30.

*Glasgow.*—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

*Halifax.*—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

*Leeds.*—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

*Leicester.*—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

*Manchester.*—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

*Norwich.*—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening, 8.30

*Oxford.*—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

*Walsall.*—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

*Yarmouth.*—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 28.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Cantwell and Samuels  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church .....Kitz and Parker  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Reynolds

SUNDAY 29.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Lyne senr. and Dean  
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment .....Samuels  
11.30..... Eelbrook Common .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Lyne junr. and Maughan  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street .....Turner  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green ...Mrs. Schack, Mowbray, Kitz, and Cantwell  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....Cores, Evans, and Bonfield  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Cores  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....Davis  
7 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall .....Samuels  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....Nicoll  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Demonstration of Labourers  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street.....Kitz, Reynolds, and Mowbray  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....The Branch

TUESDAY 1.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church.....The Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste .....Mowbray, Kitz, and Parker

WEDNESDAY 2.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment.....Samuels, Kitz, and Reynolds

THURSDAY 3.

8 ..... Ossulston Street .....Parker, Nicoll, and Mowbray  
8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Kitz, Mowbray, and Davis

FRIDAY 4.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....Davis and Reynolds  
8 ..... Islington—Prebend Street .....Cores and Parker

PROVINCES.

*Aberdeen.*—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

*Edinburgh.*—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

*Glasgow.*—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

*Leeds.*—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

*Leicester.*—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

*Manchester.*—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

*Norwich.*—Saturday: Haymarket, at 8. Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30. Diss, on Denmark Green, at 11 and 3.

*Yarmouth.*—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.—W. B. Parker, of London, will address three meetings next Sunday.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,** "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday September 29, at 8.45 p.m., F. Pincock, "The Downfall of Human Slavery."

**SPECIAL NOTICE.**—Comrades desiring to assist in the formation of a South London Branch of the Socialist League are requested to communicate with Geo. Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E., or care of the Secretary of the S. L., 13 Farringdon Road, or attend at the open-air meeting at Flat Iron Square on Sunday next at 11.30 a.m.

**A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.**—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. October 4, William Clarke, "Early Radicalism." 18th, Frank Podmore, "Early Socialism." Nov. 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.



# WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

## LONDON.

PUBLISHING OFFICE: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### N.

Geo, 56 High-street, Islington  
J. W. Miller, 76 Holloway-road  
Watson, 78 Hoxton-street  
Knox, 5 Mayes-terrace, Wood Green  
Vale, Stamford Hill

### N.W.

Clark, 63 Malden-road  
Wright, 167 Kentish Town-road  
Petherick, 29 Osna-burg-street  
Gibbs, Lisson-grove  
Wilson, 24 Highgate-road  
Meek, 132 Drummond-street

### S.E.

Draw, 52 Friar-street, Blackfriars-road  
J. Coster, 115A Blackfriars-road  
Ketteridge, 117 Broad-street  
Curwood, 4 Newington-causeway  
Wirbatz, 18 New Kent-road  
Hammond, 21 Standard-street  
Hill, 130 Great Dover-street  
Dunn, 24 Old Kent-Road  
Watson, 321 Old Kent-road  
Williams, 554  
Harrison, 621  
Williams, 375 St. James-road  
Clayton, 12 Clarence-place, Deptford  
Chambers, 3 Greenwich-road  
Mears, 328 Walworth-road  
Buist, 43  
Hasken, 5 Trafalgar-street, Walworth-road  
Elhison, 34 High-street, Peckham  
Fish, 25 Queens-road, Peckham  
Chambers, 18 Church-street, Greenwich

### S.W.

Stowe, 103 Pimlico-road  
Tims, 338 Battersea Park-road  
E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie-street  
Head, 290 York-road, Wandsworth-end  
Plimpton, 41 York-road, Battersea-end  
Baker, Church-street, Croydon  
Bush, Wellfield-road, Streatham

### E.

Schweitzer, 43 Commercial-road  
Hades, 219 Whitechapel-road  
Kerbey, 118  
Hofaville, Triangle, Hackney  
Hickling, Bishops-road  
Thoday, 443 Hackney-road  
Daniels, near Shoreditch Church  
Hammond, Goldsmith-row  
King, 68  
Bouohard, 157A  
Bevis, 4 Old Ford-road  
Platt, Bonner-Street, Bethnal-green

### E.C.

Cason, 64 Leonard-street  
Fowler, 166 Old Street  
Wilkins, Leather-lane  
Twigg, Clerkenwell Green  
Fox, 48 Penton-street  
Forder, 28 Stonecutter-street  
Simpson, 7 Red Lion Court  
Reeves, 185 Fleet-street  
Freethought Publishing Co., 63 Fleet-st.  
Farrington, Fetter-lane  
Brandon, Wine Office-court  
Appleyard, Poppins-court  
Hurlstone, 5 Bath-street

### W.

Wilson, 620 Harrow-road, Queens-park  
Hebard, 49 Endell-street  
Gardner, 32 Lexington-street  
Loffnagun, 17 Carnaby-street  
Stocker, 30 Berwick-street  
Bard, 20 Cleveland-street  
Kates, 51  
Manly, 113  
Goodblood, Foley-street, Cleveland-street  
Ascott, 59 Upper Marylebone-street  
W. Cutting, 20 Gt. Marylebone-street  
Haffendon, 3 Carburton-street  
Hanstein, 51 Charlotte-street  
Farley, 6 Charlotte-street  
Hoffman, 13 Francis-street  
Smith, 2A Chapel-street, Edgware-road.  
Cooper, 7 Fouberts-place

### W.C.

Anderson, 15 Grays Inn-road  
Jones, 9 Little Queen-street  
Varley, 24 High-street, St. Giles  
Nye, Theobalds-road  
Vernon, 40 Lambs Conduit-street  
Haarham, Little James-street  
Shirley, 169 Kings Cross-road  
Stubbs, 33  
Truelove, 256 High Holborn

And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Stations  
of the Socialist League.

## PROVINCES.

[First List.]

### Bristol.

Little, 18 Narrow Wine-street

### Bolton AND Little Bolton.

J. Atkinson, 8 St. Helens-road  
D. Cordingley, 34 Bath street, L. B.  
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G. Winterburn, 65 Deansgate

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### Cork.

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Mrs. Wishart, 169 Dundee-street  
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### Grimsby.

W. A. Lee, 2 Central Market

### Halifax.

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Flanagan, Woolshops

### Leeds.

Watson, Market-street  
J. G. Fisher, 1 Coburg-terrace

### Liverpool.

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Socialist Society, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley-st.  
Fraser, 54 Tithebarn-street  
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Sweetman, 319  
Callaghan, 313  
Newsagent, 267  
Tierney, 216  
McKeon, 8 Exchange-street  
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Seafaring, Trades Hall, Duke-street  
Newsagent, 32 Duke-street  
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Emery,  
Newsagent, Chatham-street, corner of Granby-street  
Crane, 23 Belgrave-gate  
Holyoake, Secular Hall, Humberstone-gate  
Wallace, Carlton House, Granby-street  
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Clarke, 652 Rochdale-road  
Grant, 324 Rochdale-road  
A. Heywood, 56 Oldham-road  
D. Kelly, 82 Rochdale-road  
S. Renshaw, 32 Oldham-road  
Turnbull, 238 Rochdale-road  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 195.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### FACTS FOR LONDONERS.<sup>1</sup>

THE march of civilisation as expressed in such inventions as gunpowder, dynamite, roburite, melinite, and such kindly compounds, makes it quite impossible to utilise off-hand the name of the latest form of concentrated power as a simile for this pamphlet. Certainly, Andrew Carnegie's phrase, "paper bullets of the brain," is quite out of the running, as it is in no way full enough to express the blasting power of this fifty-page onslaught on monopoly of every kind.

Arranged under the following heads: London's Size and Growth; The Social Condition of Londoners; London's Annual Rental; London's Unearned Increment; Municipal Reform; Poor Law Reform; Hospitals; Public Schools; Housing of the People; London's Water Tribute, Gas Supply, and Tramways and Markets; The River and the Docks; Baths, Wash Houses, and Libraries; Church Rates and City Guilds; The Property of the Poor; Police and Police Courts; Public Houses, and Cabs and Omnibuses; and The Burial of the Dead, we are presented with details and statistics which cover practically the whole public concern of the capital.

The whole library of the Statistical Society seems to have been put into a Papin's "Digester" to present to the public in the form of a *piece d'accusation*, which, if studied by all concerned, would bring about a(n economic) revolution inside of twelve months.

It may be boldly stated that there has never been produced in such compass such a telling exposition of the power—and the weakness—of monopolism as is this last production of the Fabian Society.

Possessors of those giant minds who love to deal only with the broadest of generalisations, and the most abstract abstractions, will of course look down with contempt upon such a trifling detail as given in, say, the two pages dealing with the burial of the dead; but those unfortunate people who can only deal with the concrete and prefer to work upwards from particulars to generals, will be glad to find in those two pages, matter which it would be difficult to find in a pretty well-stocked library of the average class, and in which can be found one or two sentences that suggest some far-reaching speculations as to the ultimate economic changes which in a short time must come about.

Just as a square blow on the nose will make a foot-pad appreciate the force if not the beauty of your protest, which your previous lecture on morality had failed to do, so can at times a few figures expose a gigantic swindle and a rotten system of society and commerce.

Who can work out all connexions between the facts that there are close on 12,000 licensed drink shops in the administrative county of London—one to every 358 persons—that there are 14,028 licenses for the whole metropolitan police district, and only 3,346 bakers; with the fact that 2,797 prostitutes were arrested for annoying male passengers and other offences (representing a probable total of 20,000 to 25,000 living by prostitution), and connect these two facts with the fact that some parishes are populated at a rate of over 200 per acre; and that this overcrowding arises from that other fact that a Land Tribute of thirty-seven millions annually, and a Water Tribute of close on two millions, is being raked in by a handful of Benzons to squander and riot with. Thirty-nine millions per annum seems to be much too high a price to pay for the privilege of standing on one another's heads, emulating the men on the wall described in 2nd Book Kings, xviii., which, according to Local Government Report, 1887-8, c. 5,526, we have to do.

It should surely strike a nation of shopkeepers as a trifle wasteful, that after granting £2 16s. 8d. per head for education out of a gross of £3 4s. 1d., that a whole staff of teachers should have to expend ten hours a-week in book-keeping over the odd 7s. 5d., besides the labour of remitting committees and outdoor officers. It should surely strike a nation of missionary exporters as absolutely damnable that there should be at their own doors 25,000 school children with minds wandering because the body is starving.

The "Facts" being all connected with Londoners, must somehow or

the other all have a connection, however remote any one "Fact" may seem from another; it is possible that if all the "Facts" were fully appreciated by even some of the Londoners concerned, the results might be rather striking.

There are roughly 400,000 paupers relieved every year. One person out of every five will die in workhouse, hospital, or asylum; one out of every three adults. The assumption is that they have little to lose, come what may.

Tram Companies control 122 miles of tram lines producing dividends in some cases of 9 to 10 per cent., earned by some 4,000 men, who themselves receive in many cases not more than 4s. for 16 hours labour, Sundays and holidays being extra—slavery, not pay. Probably they could not be much worse off if the 940 tram-cars—slave galleys—were one day found across the streets instead of longwise the streets.

There are probably 20,000 casual applicants at the dock gates daily who get hardly anything, besides some 4,000 or 5,000 who get a little—irregularly, and another 4,000 or 5,000 who get a little regularly, but who may some day think that the chance of an improvement is worth more than the possible loss of their little.

That "law-n'-order" is represented—civilly—by 14,261 men and officers, spread over a circle thirty miles across, an area of 688 square miles cut into sections by miles upon miles of roads, streets, and alleys; 1,853 miles of new streets formed by the building of about 520,000 houses since 1849. That the cost of this army was, for 1888-9, £1,597,832, for which sum of money they apprehended 75,807 persons, 207 for every day of the year. That 4,400 were "run in" for being beggars, and 481 for "having no visible means" of subsistence, for which crime 295 were punished—by being fed and housed.

Looking at the section dealing with the Docks, we learn that by a paltry outlay of £20,000,000 a handful of men have secured the power of practically dominating two-thirds of the food supply of the population and the whole of our commerce.

By the General View, with which the pamphlet closes, we learn that this £20,000,000 has just now an estimated value of only £15,000,000, which is worth taking notice of. That Water Companies represent a reported capital outlay of £14,140,434, with an estimated value of £30,000,000; Gas Companies, outlay, £13,654,237, estimated value, £30,000,000; Tramways, outlay, £3,316,459, estimated value, £4,000,000; a total outlay of £51,329,710, and estimated value of £79,000,000, with a present income of £3,385,023.

The suggestion is then made that even to buy up these concerns at the inflated value of £80,000,000, Londoners could save a million a-year; to pay the shareholders out at cost price would be to save a million and a-half sterling, but as this would deprive some 10,000 shareholders and bondholders of an invisible means of subsistence, it is a "Fact" which is not yet digested and appreciated at its full value.

In the words of Tchernychevsky, "What's to be Done?" Shall the kingdom called London, with a population of over five and a-half millions, continue at the mercy of an irresponsible band of muddlers and freebooters? Or, will the sufferers take up arms against their sea of troubles? Assuredly the present condition of unreason will not obtain for very many years longer, and there can be but little doubt that the Fabian Society's "Facts for Londoners" will, if only fairly well circulated, considerably help on the much-to-be-desired change, and when London shall no longer be such a hideous wen as now, so exact a type and capital of

"A land whose children toil and rot like beasts,  
Robbers and robb'd by turns, . . . . .  
Land of poor-grinding lords and faithless priests,  
Where wisdom starves and folly thrones at ease  
'Mid lavishness and lusts and knaveries;  
Times out of joint, a universe of lies."

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

<sup>1</sup> Fabian Society Tract, No. 8. 8vo., pp. 55. London, 1889. Price 6d. 180, Portdown Road, W.

Capital can only dictate to labour while one half of the workers are willing to sell themselves to keep their fellows from earning a respectable livelihood.—*Journal of United Labour.*

## THE INTEGRAL CO-OPERATORS:

### AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

(Concluded from p. 306.)

Of the divisible products 50 per cent. shall be devoted, in such proportion as may be deemed best by the Co-operative Commonwealth, to the Increase of Industry, the Public Utilities, and the Insurance and Withdrawal Funds; and 50 per cent. shall be divided among the workers, in proportion to the hours of labour they have severally contributed to its production, modified by their Industrial Rank.

The compensation and prosperity of each member will be dependent upon the prosperity of the entire co-operation.

Members may, under proper regulations, transfer from one Phalanx to another, for change of climate, association, or occupation.

All differences between members shall be settled by arbitration.

Associate, trial, and integral members shall enjoy their separate apartments in the Unitary Home, Co-operative Dwelling, or Social Palace rent free during their membership.

Our work is to establish a progressive system, adapted to the varied developments of the members, as few are yet fitted for integral co-operation; hence the true system should provide for their evolution.

All past co-operative organisations have retained some of the vital errors of the competitive system, and also have served to overlook the importance of, or ignore entirely, the great fundamental principle of commercial, industrial, and social justice, impossible of application under competition, but on which all equitable co-operation must be based—to wit, "*Cost the equitable limit of price.*"

Our plan bases membership, the franchise, all leadership, authority, and compensation upon merit alone, and will ever keep the worthy at the helm.

Our basic principles are industry, economy, liberty in unity, unselfishness, and justice; its one law is *equity*; and we believe the result will be harmony, prosperity, true progress and happiness.

The Homestead of the Central Phalanx of the Co-operative Commonwealth will consist of 800 acres.

Our first building, which we have termed our Co-operative Dwelling, was erected in the summer of 1888, and was simply intended for the pioneer stages, and we trust will, as the organisation prospers, be succeeded by the more commodious and handsome structure which we shall call our Social Palace.

The location of the Homestead of the Central Phalanx is in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, four miles from the railroad and flourishing little city of Grass Valley (6,000 pop.) in Nevada Co., Cal., about 2,000 feet above the sea level; free from the fogs and raw winds of the coast; free from the malaria, and torrid heat of the great interior valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin; free from the storms and colds of the mountains. Our climate is ever mild, healthy, and delightful; our scenery varied and very beautiful; our large tract sufficient not only for present purposes, but for future needs as well; our soil is varied and retentive; our gentle slopes, sheltered valleys, and high plateaus adapted to the successful culture of every fruit grown in California, except, perhaps, the semi-tropical; favoured with a yearly average rainfall of from 40 to 50 inches, irrigation is not required for fruit, and crops of superior quality and ever commanding the best prices, are reliable.

The Central Phalanx will engage in the growing of California fruits—as figs, olives, English walnuts, pears, apples, quinces, apricots, nectarines, etc.—and will prepare for market by reducing bulk and increasing value through drying, preserving, glacing, making olive-oil, raisins, and wine; we shall also engage in poultry and stock raising; also in such manufacturing as may be deemed best for the interest of the organisation and may be established by the Co-operative Commonwealth.

All expenses must be paid, and resident members maintained, from the products of established industries, and all membership fees shall be used in building additions to accommodate the new members, and in establishing new, or increasing the productive capacity of present industries, sufficient to maintain them.

To this end, one acre of land to each person shall be prepared, set out in long-lived fruit, if in a fruit country, and properly tended, as a sure basis of maintenance, and, in case of withdrawal or expulsion, if the Treasurer General cannot promptly refund the membership-fee, and all divisible products earned, in lieu thereof the said acre shall be deeded to the retiring member, should he or she so desire, and also tended without charge, until in bearing.

As every acre of well-chosen California fruit, in full bearing and good condition, yields a yearly income greater than the membership-fee, their security for the investment is ample here, and for local Phalanxes, where fruit-growing is not sufficiently remunerative, other suitable guarantees shall be adopted.

We intend to secure immediate and profitable employment for some of our members in the Central Phalanx, by setting out and tending California fruit, and making other improvements according to the owner's fancy, for partial co-operators, who wish to own land near our Homestead, in order to avail themselves of some features of our Commonwealth, but the preference shall be given to such as possibly may eventually (by our progressive co-operative educational system) become integral members.

The Co-operative Commonwealth makes the following offer, for the benefit of any who are desirous of helping the cause, and securing a home with us, and future membership in our organisation, but who

are barred at present by business or other causes—to wit: In consideration of seventy dollars down, and five dollars per month per acre for the term of three years, to give a bond for the deed on completion of payment, for not more than one acre for each member of any one family, and contract to set it out in fruit and properly tend for three years, and after that time as much longer as they may wish, for the crop or cash, at the option of the owner. If the owner applies for membership and is accepted, the Commonwealth will accept in lieu of the membership-fee the amount paid for the land, and its improvements by the applicant; or should the owner prior to receiving the deed and taking possession, become dissatisfied with the purchase for any cause whatsoever, the Co-operative Commonwealth will, on return and cancellation of the bond, after sixty days' notice, refund all payments made on the same.

Those of our co-operative friends who already possess homesteads and desire to organise Trial Phalanxes of the Co-operative Commonwealth, can do so as follows: They should elect from their number a Trial Phalanx President, Secretary, and Treasurer, selecting them with special reference to their fitness for their respective positions; their President should send to the President-General a full and careful statement of the natural capacities of the Homestead, together with his views of the best crops to be grown, or industries developed; their Secretary should send to the Secretary-General a list and description of the members, also a list with specific cash valuation of all the property, real and personal, comprising the Homestead and its equipments, excepting furniture in private apartments, and the personal effects of the members; their Treasurer should send to the Treasurer-General a statement of all monies in his hands.

The Co-operative Commonwealth, if satisfied that the elements of success are present in the Trial Phalanx, will then assume the responsibility of the industrial affairs of the Trial Phalanx, will furnish its supplies at distributed cost, receive all its products in its commissariat and co-operative store, and compensate its members from the divisible products of the Commonwealth in the same manner as are trial members in an organised Phalanx.

At the end of one year's trial, the members of a Trial Phalanx shall decide by ballot whether they desire to join the Commonwealth as an organised Local Phalanx, when, if the majority favour so joining, the Commonwealth assents thereto, the members of the former Trial Phalanx shall pay their membership-fee to the Treasurer-General and the Commonwealth shall purchase at its lowest cash value the homestead and all stock, machinery, and tools, and the former Trial Phalanx shall come into the General Co-operation as an organised Local Phalanx of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Our co-operative friends will note that in the Co-operative Commonwealth taxes, usury, wage-slavery, rent, and the private ownership of land are eliminated; that office-holding is made a duty, and confined to those strictly qualified by character and ability, while no spoils-system makes it desirable from a selfish standpoint, the compensation of officers and members alike being dependent upon their hours of labour in the interest of the Commonwealth; that, as our system aims at absolute equity, there can never be any discrimination between individuals on account of age, sex, colour, nationality, or religion; that character and capacity determine occupation, compensation, privilege, and authority; that the functions of production, transportation, and distribution are managed by the Commonwealth; that all investments are equal; that memberships are non-transferable; that members are the same as equal partners, whose allowances from the business are proportioned to the time that each devotes to the common interests; that all criticisms of personal motives or private actions are prohibited, except as the latter may affect the public welfare; that the Co-operative Dwellings, and more particularly the Social Palace, will afford facilities for association, as well as the privileges of the isolated home; that by harmonising human interests through integral co-operation, the wastes of human energy through antagonism, injustice, poverty, and crime, that are the natural and inevitable result of the present competitive methods, will be avoided, and there can be built up prosperous, harmonious, and happy homes, in which the highest possible physical, intellectual, and spiritual developments of men and women may be attained.

We do not expect to be ready to receive many more resident co-operators before the fall of 1889, as we prefer to make haste slowly, carefully selecting our early membership, studying and testing every move, and laying the foundation broad, deep, and strong.

We are now pioneering, and our accommodations are limited to the needs of our present membership, hence any person who comes uninvited will find neither work nor shelter.

However, a few persons who can pay their membership-fee in full, and can bring an organised industry, can be accommodated on short notice. The following occupations, especially, should correspond with us: Shoemakers, potters, cutlers, laundresses, shirt-makers, cooks, over-all makers, machine hosiery knitters, fruit canners, dryers and crystal-lisers, sheet-metal-workers, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, wagon-makers, horticulturists, gardeners, and harness-makers.

Those of our industrial readers who desire to make a thorough study of co-operation, whether or not they contemplate availing themselves of any opportunities that may be offered for engaging in co-operative enterprises, or think of applying for membership in the Central Phalanx, or of organising a Local Phalanx of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we would suggest that they subscribe for *The Integral Co-operator*, an exponent of the principles of Integral Co-operation, and a journal devoted to the interests of every phase of co-operative endeavour. Every subscriber to *The Integral Co-operator* will be enrolled, without



additional fees, as a member of "The Co-operative Brotherhood," an organisation engaged in making a scientific study of Co-operation, with a view of thereby benefitting its members, as well as the rest of the human race.

The members of the Co-operative Commonwealth are also members of the Co-operative Brotherhood, and propose to aid their fellow members of the Brotherhood, to the limit of their desires, in comprehending and realising the grand possibilities of equitable co-operation. The General Officers of the Co-operative Commonwealth are *ex officio* the officers of the Co-operative Brotherhood.

As the membership of the Brotherhood increases, means will be co-operatively devised whereby valuable aid may be rendered to its members. If you desire to become identified with the purest, grandest move that has attracted the attention of thinking minds for centuries, enroll yourself without delay in the truly great cause, and prepare to march in the triumph of the Industrial Armies.

This is our life-work, and to it we have pledged all we have and are.

We will be pleased to receive any and all criticisms and suggestions prompted by a love for the cause, and will gladly correspond with all true co-operators who favour our plan.

As we are neither capitalists nor speculators, our propaganda must be self-sustaining. Persons desiring answers to their letters should enclose five cents for postage and stationery. Copies of this propaganda are five cents each, and will be mailed to any person on receipt of the price. For further information, address—The Co-operative Commonwealth, Central Phalanx, Grass Valley, Nevada Co., Cal., U.S.A.

[The above letter has been printed to provoke discussion, first of all on the advisability of such attempts as that it deals with, and secondly upon the merits and demerits of the particular plan which it sets forth. For the present we withhold editorial comment further than saying, that in our opinion any *a priori* plan of such complexity must necessarily result in a disastrous failure.—ED.]

### TRAMWAY SERVANTS' GRIEVANCES.

In a letter to the editor of the *Liverpool Daily Post*, a "Checker" says that he "can say from experience that there is not a more downtrodden and crushed class of men than these." "I have been," he continues, "a servant of the company for some considerable time, and must say that I have felt disgusted at times with the orders I have received as to the treatment of my fellow working-man. When I first entered the service of the company as a 'checker' my instructions were to treat no man in the service, either guard or driver, as being honest, but to report everything that might be irregular, and to look upon nothing as a mistake. After I had been in the service a little while I found that it was very easy for a guard to make a mistake, particularly a new guard, which a checker could easily set right, and so put the guard out of a muddle, which I often do. For instance, a guard may in confusion use the reverse end of his tickets, after which a checker jumps on and finds that he has so many tickets in excess, which number he takes from the guard after they have been punched. He is then reported for having a quantity of tickets in his possession after having all his fares taken, besides losing the amount of money represented by those tickets. I am sorry to say that there are only too many checkers ready to avail themselves of cases of this kind, and follow up new guards for the purpose of tripping them up. I would ask if this is justice either to the company or servants? I for one would never stoop to this dirty work." In consequence, the number of his reports against the men have been lower than those of many other checkers, and for this he has been severely called to account.

Some time since he was summoned down to headquarters, and there told that: "I had not been sending in sufficient reports against the guards, and when I explained that I had sent in all reports of legitimate cases of neglect, etc., I was told that it was not for me to decide as to what was a mistake or not with a guard, and that I must in future send in more reports. A colleague of mine was taken down to the office not long since to explain the reason that he gave a familiar nod to one of the drivers as he passed along the road. In fact, if a checker is known to pass a friendly word to a guard or driver, it is immediately construed into conspiracy."

"I assure you," he goes on to say, "that a guard's berth is no sinecure, what with looking after his harness, his tickets, way bill, then, as in some cases, punching each ticket as many times as there are pence in the fares he receives, and watching for both passengers and the checker, he is kept busy, particularly when fresh at the work. . . . The men have formed themselves into a society of their own, and so soon as it began to operate the company suddenly thought that it would be a good thing for the men if they started another, which they have done, and their chief superintendent is daily amongst the men inducing them to join. The reason for this, I think, is obvious. I would conclude by urging every man to join the union they have formed amongst themselves, and I avail myself of every opportunity of urging them to do so, for I think that the Liverpool tramway men should now be on a par with those of Glasgow, Cardiff, Bristol, etc."

The September *Statesman* (*Statesman* Pub. Co., Chicago) opens with a readable article on Danton and Camille Desmoulins, by Brown Forester. Assessment Life Insurance is attacked by Miss M. Dawson. This is one of a series of articles to cover every phase of the insurance question, and will be answered in the October number by Gen. W. F. Singleton. Henry George comes in for adverse criticism at the hands of Judge Fontaine T. Fox, of Louisville. The editorials discuss the Enforced Sunday Labour question and the Farmers' Alliance.

THE PROPAGANDA IN EAST LONDON.—The report of last week was received too late for insertion. All comrades who assisted at the benefit concert accept thanks on behalf of the branch. It has added considerably to the funds. A good members' meeting on Wednesday; transacted important business re banner and platform. On Saturday a splendid meeting held on the Waste, comrades Reynolds, Davis, and Cores speaking to a most sympathetic meeting; 21 *Commonweal* sold. A short meeting held at Union Street Sunday morning, opened by Such and continued by Turner, till compelled to close on account of the rain. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. Most of our comrades assisted at the tailors' strike demonstration in Hyde Park in the afternoon.—J. T.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The French elections ended in a victory of the present ruling clique of Opportunist "Republicans" of the Ferry type. Those Social Democrats who took part in them played the worst possible rôle: partly they were hangers-on to the Governmental, and partly to the Boulangist parties. So on one side Boulangist "Blanquists" like Granger, and on the other side Governmental "Possibilists" like Joffrin were elected, the latter by the annulling of Boulanger's election, as the Government is, of course, less afraid of a "revolutionary Socialist" in Parliament than it is of a reactionary like Boulanger. This shows that the Government is at any rate right in one thing, namely, in considering the existence of a few Social Democrats in Parliament as perfectly harmless and of no danger to it. The Possibilists scored about 44,000 votes. The Marxists chose to stand by themselves, and had no more success in consequence of this than the few independent Blanquists had. In those electoral districts where second ballots take place, we see the Possibilists urge upon their electors to vote for the Republicans; here and there where a Possibilist heads the vote the Republicans will vote for them; in short, a perfect harmony between bourgeois and proletarians prevails, or is at any rate advocated by the official leaders of the parties. What a humbug then is the supposed creation of class-feeling and intelligence of Socialism during election time which we are so much told of!

A new paper, *Le Proletaire du Nord*, is published at Lille and Roubaix.

### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM.

The early history of the Rotterdam dockers' strike, on which the daily papers report more fully, is as follows: On September 18, some hundreds of dock labourers held a meeting, and, after being addressed by the Socialist Helsdingen, elected a committee which drew up a list of demands. This was adopted at a large meeting on Friday, September 20, and the demands having been rejected by the employers, it was resolved on September 25 to begin the strike the next day, Thursday, September 26. At the meeting of September 25, it was stated that the strike movement originated with the workers themselves, and that they asked the Socialists to help them in their struggle. If the capitalist papers now publish reports to the effect that the strikers disavow any connection with Socialists, we know that these reports come from Holland, a country in which the police is used to hire people who are made drunk to attack and assault Socialists, which happened just two years ago in Rotterdam, in Leyden, and Amsterdam. They also like to fire on the people, and tried last week to repeat the butcheries of Amsterdam in 1886. It is already stated, even in the bourgeois papers, that on Friday, September 27, the police assaulted the people first.

We learn from the *Werker* that last week a union of the dock labourers of Antwerp was founded, but the local Socialists dissuade them from taking part in the present strike movement.

One of the editors of the Social Democratic daily paper of Ghent, *Pro-cureur*, was sent by the Belgian party to the Argentine Republic to study the emigration fraud. He has just returned, and besides his many letters to the Belgian papers during his travels he is going to publish a pamphlet on the subject.

\* \*

### SWEDEN.

The not abundantly rich socialist literature of Sweden has just got a valuable addition. It is a scientific pamphlet, *Socialismens Hörnsten* (The Corner-stone of Socialism), by the imprisoned editor of *Arbetet*, Axel Danielsson. It is cleverly written, full of excellent remarks, rich in well chosen quotations, and to every ignorant reader, be he bourgeois or worker, it must be a revelation—as is necessarily the case with every truly historical and logical explanation of the existing productive system. But it strikes me that Danielsson—like most educated Swedish Socialists—greatly overrates Karl Marx's importance for the true science of political economy. I have heard orthodox admirers of Marx among our comrades in Berlin, who do not regard Marx's theory of value as so well proved and so important as our excellent Swedish comrade. Of course, the truth must lie on the side of Marx (and not on the side of his bourgeois antagonists, who are mostly mere idiots and sycophants)—but is Marx's theory the whole truth? Is there not for modern Socialists something suspicious in the close relationship of Marx's theory to the theories of so narrow bourgeois and in their whole line of thought, so non-evolutionistic (*i.e.*, *metaphysical*) thinkers as Adam Smith and Ricardo?

### DENMARK.

The quarrel between the Danish papers, *Social Demokraten* and *Arbeideren*, continues—and it is well. For the sake of a healthy evolution of Socialism in Denmark, an opposition in the spirit of *Arbeideren* is undoubtedly necessary. The last great event in the battle (in which *Social Demokraten* defends political tactics, that very closely resemble compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie) is that our German comrade Bebel has written a letter to *Arbeideren*, in which he repudiates every insinuation that German Socialists (an authority out of which *Social Demokraten* has made much capital!) compromise with bourgeois parties. German Socialists always act as an independent political party, Bebel says (and *Arbeideren* states that the Danish party does not). They have sometimes, when they in the second poll (*Stichwahl*) could only choose between a conservative and a liberal or radical candidate, given their votes to secure the election of the least objectionable of the two. But this tactic has been condemned by the Congress of St. Gallen.

A comrade who wants that the Socialists should carefully analyse the value of political action, and always make propaganda against its anti-Socialistic sides, will certainly with great interest follow the struggle in which comrade Trier (of *Arbeideren*) has so ably engaged. STN.

SOCIALISM IN LEEDS.—We are working hard. On Sunday morning, Sept. 22, we held a meeting and collected 9s. 3d. for the proposed agitation amongst the tailoresses. In the afternoon W. Thorne, of London, paid us a visit, to help us organise the gas-workers, and at a meeting at which Thorne, Paylor, Maguire, Sweeney, and Hill spoke, a collection of £1 5s. 4d. was made. In the evening another meeting of gas-workers was held in our club-room. On account of ill-health, Corkwell has been compelled to give up his post as secretary to the Yorkshire Socialist Federation, and T. Paylor, of 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds, has been appointed, to whom address all communications.—T. P.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN  
HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"STATESMAN" PUBLISHING Co. (Chicago).—Your circular "For the Literary Editor" subjected us to a fine of 6d. by being insufficiently stamped. CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITIES.—We shall be glad to receive letters from other communities similar to that published in our last two numbers. If they gave more facts and less principles it would be an advantage.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 2.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	ITALY
Brotherhood	Investigator	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Church Reformer	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Die Autonomie	Chicago—Knights of Labor	SPAIN
Justice	Detroit—Der Arm Teufel	Barcelona—Revolucion Social
Labour Elector	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Labour Tribune	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	Porto—A Revolucao Social
London—Freie Presse	St Louis—Anarchist	GERMANY
Railway Review	Philadelphia—United Labour	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Sozial Demokrat	Ybor City (Fla.)—Revista	AUSTRIA
Seafaring	FRANCE	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Worker's Friend	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Brunn—Volksfreund
NEW SOUTH WALES	Le Proletariat	DENMARK
Hamilton—Radical	La Revolte	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Sydney—Australian Standard	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Social-Demokraten
INDIA	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
UNITED STATES	BELGIUM	Malmo—Arbetet
New York—Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	WEST INDIES
Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	Cuba—El Productor
Twentieth Century	Bulletin Continental	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Workmen's Advocate		Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts

NOTES ON NEWS.

IN the current number of *Unity* there is a reply to our "assault" of September 21 upon it and the societies which it represents, that requires more extended comment than can be made within the limits of a note, and I will try to deal with it in our next number. But I may say at once that what we Socialists object to in friendly societies, trade unions, and other combinations for mutual benefit, is not their carrying out the special—and for the most part laudable—objects for which they are organised, but the tendency to sit still in selfish isolation and twiddle complacent thumbs when those special and partial ends have been realised. They are too much content with all members; we think of all men.

This is taken from the *Star* of the 25th: "Mark Barnett, of Corsham, was charged before the Chippenham magistrates with cruelly illtreating his wife, who swore that he came home at one o'clock in the morning, threatened to cut her throat, tore the hair off her head in handfuls, knocked her down, knelt on her, and kicked her, the evidence of which she showed to the police inspector when she complained the following day. This treatment she swore she had been subjected to for the past five years. The magistrates declared themselves satisfied that an assault had been committed, which they did

not consider an isolated one. They therefore considered it necessary to fine the prisoner 1s. 6d., with costs, and grant a judicial separation. One of these lights was a parson, Rev. J. J. Daniell."

From the same paper the same day comes this also: "This morning John Russell, farmer, of Offchurch, was charged on remand before the magistrates at Leamington with having unlawfully killed Edward Brooks, whom he found with others poaching. The coroner's jury found a verdict of *justifiable homicide*. The solicitor who now appeared to prosecute on behalf of the Treasury said that department was unaware of the verdict of the jury, and he expected to receive instructions to withdraw from the case. Russell was again remanded, bail being allowed."

Is there any comment needed on these two cuttings? Do they not speak, when put near together and so contrasted, more forcibly than any pen could do, of the hideous inversion of all that is human brought about by the present system?

An Indian journalist has written the following letter to the English press: "Sir Lepel Griffin in his recent lecture at the Royal Colonial Institute described the Maharaja of Kashmere, who has been deposed, as a 'drunken debauchee' and 'a man of the vilest passions.' I am a subject of the good Maharaja who is, I am greatly pained to find, so grossly libelled by a high Indian functionary like Sir Lepel. Far from the statement of Sir Lepel Griffin being true, the Maharaja is, as everybody in India knows, a rigid Hindu, very devout and pious, and he never touched a drop of wine in all his life. He abhors sensuality. He is kind, affectionate, generous, and forgiving, and not at all the monster he has been depicted by those who are trying to justify his violent deposition from the throne."

Does this need any explanation or comment, any more than the items which go before it? When covetous eyes are being cast upon the land of "uncivilised" folk, whom the benevolent Englishman would like to bring beneath the mild and blessed sway of law'n' order, it is always easy to prove somebody in the wrong, and that England's intervention is imperatively needed in the interests of humanity and mercy and half the calendar of virtues. S.

Mr. G. R. Sims, in the *Referee* this week, remarks upon the fact that "We are to be treated this winter to a series of sensational strikes. When the postmen, the railwaymen, the tram-car men, the omnibus men, the cabmen, and the bakers are all "out," the correspondence on the great question of 'Is life worth living?' will be doubly interesting."

Then follows this very significant sentence: "*It only wants perfect organisation to place the metropolis absolutely at the mercy of the working classes.*" We ask the working classes to remember this important truth which Mr. Sims's brilliant intellect has so promptly grasped, and set about getting that perfect organisation which will place London at their mercy. They will not then need to go to Parliament to redress their grievances. D. N.

It is to be regretted that from time to time writers in the democratic newspaper, *Reynolds*, should descend from the high pedestal of international solidarity of the working-classes, which the paper is supposed to champion, in order to add to the inordinate anti-foreign-Jewish feeling so often displayed by the ignorant English workman.

In "Stories for the People," on Sunday, September 22nd, we have an unworthy revival of this mania, a disease, it appears, which has overtaken many otherwise good men on the staff of *Reynolds*.

In this case the writer is just a wee bit inconsistent; a failing, I have noticed, most peculiar to gentlemen whose calibre is tainted and narrowed by national and creed hatred. Jewesses are here especially condemned for wearing "ribbons of all hues in and out of the rainbow," while their "breadth of body" is equally offensive. The male Jews, on the other hand, we are told, "is not fond of bodily labour," hence his liking "for the lazy life of tailoring, cigarette making, fur dressing, stick making, and so forth." The "so forth" comprising such idle occupations as boot finishing, which is a good type of other equally idle occupations in which they engage. The inconsistency I have just noticed as peculiar to writers of this character comes out quite plainly.

In the letter to "the Social Democracy," Professor Jevons is quoted to prove the originality of the "English blackguard," the writer agreeing that this individual is alone in the wide, wide world in his depravity. "If a factory girl or housemaid dress tidily, Mrs. Grundy at once shakes her stupid head and talks of 'love of finery'," is another choice passage approvingly quoted from Jevons.

But then our writer may very logically contend that when he approves of the dress and ribbons of the factory girl, he was referring to an Englishwoman, not a foreigner. Of course this makes all the difference! However, wonders never cease. One can decide, it appears, in favour of international solidarity of the working classes without being an international Socialist. H. D.

## IN THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

A few words with regard to this country may be of interest to the readers of the *Commonweal*.

On the 14th of July last the anniversary of the Bastille was celebrated in almost every town of importance in the Republic. The Socialists of Buenos Ayres sent round a circular on the occasion. I have not a copy of it by me, or I would send it to you, but the following extract from it, which I cull from a newspaper, is very appropriate to the condition of affairs actually existing in this new "El Dorado":

"The native race has almost entirely disappeared, and the white man has become the owner of the land. Thousands upon thousands of acres of land have been presented by Government to their favorites, or sold at a trifling price. What now remains of the enormous territory and that incalculable wealth for the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who come to us from the Old World? Nothing but the sale or letting of small patches at impossible or absurd prices, so that the working-man has no hope to raise himself above the position of a permanent wage-earner; and while the labourers are in this sad plight, Government stimulates immigration by artificial means and at the expense of the people. For what purpose? Simply to raise still higher the fictitious price of land, and to increase the fortunes of the rich, without any regard to the sad lot of the thousands of immigrants who come to be the victims of the most unbridled and inhuman speculation. The same thing occurs in the city as in the camp. The rents in the city are exorbitant in consequence of the artificial immigration. But this is not all, for then the Government comes to suck the proletariat by the imposition of innumerable taxes."

The *Southern Cross*, the clerical organ in this country, in commenting on the above, completely endorses it, but, as might be expected, warns its readers that "the evil is certainly not to be remedied by Socialism and Anarchy!"

The greatest evil in this country is the money. Gold is at a premium, and the money of the Republic (a paper currency) depreciated and at a discount. When I came to this country, in the latter end of May last, the premium on gold was 150 per cent.; it is now, at the date of writing, at 185! The paper dollar is now worth very little more than 50 cents. As the premium on gold rises, the prices of food and all the necessities of existence rise also. This presses very severely on the workers, who are all paid in paper money. So much is this so, that it is almost impossible for any working-man with a family to exist. The people who alone make fortunes in this country are the great English and European capitalists, who have contracts with the Government and who get paid in gold, but pay the workers in paper, so that each time the premium on the precious metal rises the amount of the wages they have to pay their wage-slaves decreases. Any worker who comes out here with the object of bettering his position in life makes a huge mistake, as he actually receives less wages than at home and has to pay most exorbitant prices for everything he needs. The purchasing power of a dollar here is not as much as that of a shilling in England. The Argentine Republic is like Egypt, in the hands of usurers and bondholders who must have their pound of flesh. Here the two first necessities of life, bread and meat, are heavily taxed. One does not expect to find virtue in any Government, but that of this country is most shamefully corrupt, and has brought it to the verge of bankruptcy.

In consequence of this state of affairs numerous strikes are taking place. There are several thousand carpenters, stevedores, sailors, stokers, etc., on strike at the Boca, in Buenos Ayres, and some 2,000 labourers on the port works in the Riachuelo. "The stevedores, sailors, and stokers on strike at the Boca," says the *Southern Cross* of August 9th, "as yet show no sign of yielding. The employees of the Mihanovich Steam Tug Company have returned to work at increased wages, but 350 carpenters employed on the port works left their posts yesterday and joined the strike. An attempt made at arbitration came to nothing, the employers offering 30 dollars to 32 dollars, whilst the men are divided, some demanding to be paid in gold, others asking an increase to 35 dollars or 40 dollars. As yet there have been no disturbances, but the authorities have taken precautions in case of an outbreak." The *Southern Cross* also says: "Some 2,000 labourers on the port works in the Riachuelo went on strike last week for an increase of wages. Their salary was only 24 dollars per month, which in these times is certainly starvation wages." The Buenos Ayres *Estandard* has a leader on the strikes. After remarking that what with gold premium at 75 per cent. and the consequent increased cost of living, the strike for higher wages is not surprising, the writer adds that "the immigrant who comes to this country expects to better his condition, and, though that improvement may take place in the colonies of Santa Fe, in the rural districts of this province, and in the distant territories near the frontiers, it may fairly be doubted that the new-comer is any better off in the capital of this republic than in the slums of Naples."

Smouldering disaffection is the order of the day all over the Republic, and if only the workers could be organised there would be a crash. The stream of population still pours in. During the month of July, 16,569 immigrants arrived in Buenos Ayres, of whom 13,060 were brought in foreign steamers. Of these 6,483 were men, 3,135 women, and 3,432 children. Since January 1st, 157,681 immigrants have arrived.

The paper dollar of the neighbouring Republic of Chili is also depreciated considerably, but there are signs of improvement. In the Republic of Uruguay the money is at par. The language in almost every part of South America is as you are aware Spanish. I will write you again soon.—With greeting to all comrades, fraternally yours,

SAMUEL HAYES.

Mendoza, Argentine Republic, August 22, 1889.

ANOTHER NOTE FROM THE ARGENTINE.—Writing to comrade Kitz, comrade F. H. James, a member of the North London Branch, now in Buenos Ayres, says:—"If any of the members who are mechanics think of coming out here, tell them it is a great mistake to do so, they are far better off at home. I know several who have gone back just lately, thoroughly disgusted with the place. The fact is that Italians, French, and Spanish come here by the thousand every other day, and as they, by the mode of life to which they have been accustomed, can live at less than half the expense of the average Englishman, they are willing to work at a rate which he would starve at. Added to this there is an utter absence of the most simple comforts, a most disheartening lack of sympathy on the part of English people who have been here a little time, and a language entirely different to their own. The climate, however, is grand, quite equal I should imagine to some of the most favoured spots in the old world. Socialism is steadily making its way here, and indeed, for such a young country it is surprising the advances it has made and is still making. Only a day or two ago I read a terrible article in the leading English paper here, warning the

government that unless they took speedy measures to repress it by instituting better laws, there would soon be a revolution; for the working-classes were groaning under the oppression of innumerable taxes on all sorts of food and necessities to their existence. The police have found out that Socialists have been at the bottom of the recent successful strikes, and that the workers are quickly adopting Socialist views; so we may look forward to a system of police surveillance such as exists on the Continent of Europe. I feel confident, however, that nothing can stop the onward march of the Cause, and I believe that the workers of this country will take a very prominent part in bringing about that new order for which we all work and live."

## THE MARCH OF THE STRIKERS.

Tune—"Drink Up, Boys!"

WORKMEN, down with your tools,  
Throw them to the ground,  
Workmen, ye are not fools,  
In your ranks men may be found;  
Take ye the rifle now,  
And drop the saw and plane,  
The rich man soon shall bow,  
And Freedom be our gain.

Chorus—Shout hurrah! the Revolution comes,  
Its thunder of the cannon, and the  
rumble of the drums;  
Shout hurrah! the tyrants all shall flee,  
And the people live together, all in love  
and liberty!

Storm through the streets in fury,  
Low in the dust shall tyrants be,  
We seek not gold or glory,  
But yet we will be free;  
Pile up the barricade,  
Death to all tyranny,  
See the red flag bold displayed,  
Upon its crest shall be.

Chorus—Shout hurrah! etc.

Policemen! our own flesh and blood,  
The people are one with you;  
Soldiers! slaughter is not good  
Of your kin and loved ones too;  
Down, down with rifle and sabre,  
And clasp our hands with glee!  
Ye are one with the sons of labour—  
The people shall yet be free!

Chorus—Shout hurrah! etc.

On! on! to the mansions high,  
Ye people who live in slums!  
We will have freedom or we'll die—  
The revolution comes!  
The rich man cowers in fear;  
Let him loud for mercy pray,  
The people answer, Freedom's near,  
And you shall live and say—

Chorus—Shout hurrah! etc.

D. J. NICOLL.

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

THE demonstration of the tailors on Sunday was a great success. The poor wretches who slave in sweating fever dens of the East-end turned out in strong force, and the middle and upper classes of the West-end were startled at seeing a procession of the miserable men, with wan hunger-stricken faces, marching through the richest streets of the wealthiest city in the world. The police had taken especial precautions; not only was there an abundant supply of police on foot, but the procession was further honoured by a strong escort of mounted men. Probably a small red flag carried at the end of the procession, and the announcement that several "extreme" Socialists were to speak at the demonstration, had something to do with this. Some labour leaders seem very much afraid of Socialists and the red flag, and some workmen appear to share their fears. They dread that the presence of these wicked people, with their revolutionary standard may "compromise" them. It is not generally known that the most successful attempt of the London workers to improve their condition was headed entirely by avowed Socialists. I need scarcely say I allude to the strike of the printers' labourers. These men have gained advances of 5s., 6s., and 7s.; and although their leaders were avowed Socialists, yet the men do not appear so dissatisfied with the result of their agitation as many of the dockers do. This proves at least that Socialist speakers do not injure a labour agitation.

We are glad to see that the tailors are not afraid of Socialists, nor even of the red flag, which floated from their principal platform while the speeches were delivered. In Regent Street the procession was joined by West-end tailors. The contrast between the physique of these stalwart trade unionists, who marched in most admirable time, and the poor wretches from the East-end, was most striking. A comical incident occurred as we entered the Park. A body of burly policemen stood by the Park gates; a witty London *gamin* who was in the procession called out to them, "I say, you won't get no clothes now!"

There were at least ten thousand people round the three platforms in the Park. They were addressed by Hunter Watts, Lewis Lyons, and Hicks (S.D.F.), Macdonald, and O'Connor (Amalgamated Tailors), J. Turner, D. J. Nicoll, and S. Mainwaring (S.L.), A. Borgia (Patriotic Club), and Tom Mann (Labour Electoral Association). A resolution was carried unanimously pledging the meeting to support the tailors in their struggle.

The postmen held a large and most enthusiastic meeting on Clerkenwell



Green at 8 p.m. The spirit of the men is excellent. The speakers were Michael Henry, Tom Thorne, W. A. Chambers, A. K. Donald, Tom Dredge, and others. The Union increases in numbers daily, and the men are determined to "come out" if they do not get their demands.

1,500 indiarubber-workers at Messrs. Silver's works at Silverton are still out for increase of wage from 4½d. to 6d. an hour. The Gas-stokers' Union are supporting them, and have generously voted them a contribution of £250.

The Bakers' Union is also thriving, and there is no doubt that the men will strike on the 9th November if their demands are not conceded.

### The Strike at Thornycrofts.

Thornycroft's men are still out, though the firm has offered a further compromise. On Sunday afternoon a large meeting was held on Acton Green, addressed by John Williams, and Tochatti and Lyne, S. L. Mrs. Tochatti opened the meeting with the revolutionary song, "When the Loafers are Somewhere Down Below." The men hold out firmly, but the masters show signs of yielding, and victory is certain in the near future.

### The British Association and the Workers.

It is now very different to what it was a few years back, when only a few despised Socialists dared to discuss the great Condition of the People question. The fight for free speech, West-end riots, battles in Trafalgar Square, great strikes in the East-end, have awakened even the most callous of the middle-classes to the fact that we have immense suffering in our midst. Social questions are coming to the front; and the British Association, together with other scientists, clergymen, and all the other pretentious nobodies whose importance exists only in their own imaginations, are busy discussing the new phenomena which threaten their existence as privileged idlers. Several important social questions were discussed by the British Association, among them being the housing of the poor, the industrial relations, the difficulties of arbitration, the relations between wages and the economic product, and the social industries in their social and pathological aspect. According to the opinion of the workman contributor to the *Labour Tribune*, these good people's discourses upon these varied subjects were very useful in displaying their ignorance of the matters in question. There were at least some workmen in the audience who could have given them some very authentic information, gathered from bitter experience, and not culled from blue-books and other sources of "official" information, upon the housing of the poor, industrial relations, and the relation between wages and the remainder of the economic product, etc. The gentleman who spoke upon the housing of the poor gave some very startling figures, which we fear, however, are not likely to bring forth any startling action on the part of either spectacled savants or smooth-tongued politicians. Here are some of the figures relating to Glasgow and London: One-fourth of the inhabitants live in single apartments, nearly 70 per cent. in houses of one and two rooms, often with lodgers. The death-rate in such one and two roomed houses is 24.74 per thousand, in three and four roomed houses 19.45, in houses of five rooms and upwards 11.23. In dealing with this subject he stated a number of reasons why this poor accommodation existed, the cost of ground rendering it inevitable that many such houses should be erected in a limited space. Here is a delightful state of things in a Christian country in the enlightened nineteenth century! The poor wretches who live in single apartments are cheated out of more than half their lives as compared with even the respectable citizen and lower middle-class man. Is it not time something was done? High rents and low wages—these are the causes why the poor are thus foully and treacherously murdered beneath the poison-tree of middle-class greed and avarice. The people have struck and are striking against the low wages, is it not time that they had a turn at the high rents? Will the men of the district of St. George's—the St. Antoine of London—lead the way in this battle, as they have done in the past conflict?

### English Waiters on the Wrong Track.

A meeting was held in Hyde Park last Sunday afternoon by a newly formed body calling itself the "English Hotel and Restaurant Servants' Association." Speeches were made by waiters and others exposing the scandalously low rates of wages paid to hotel and restaurant servants, and the fines for the breakage of glasses, etc., which they are forced to pay out of their already small wages, one speaker saying that after deductions had been made on various pretexts he had found himself possessed of as low as 5s. 6d. as a week's wage. But instead of recognising that the shareholders of Spiers and Pond (a firm in question), and of other companies and hotel proprietors generally were the gainers from their low wages and long hours of work, and speaking accordingly, they made a bitter and foolish tirade against their Continental fellow-workers, expressing their determination to deny them admittance to their organisation, and even refused a hearing to comrade J. Turner. Eventually, on the formal closing of their meeting, a Scotch friend got a hearing to plead for internationalism and fair play; Doughty (of the anti-Coercion Committee) and George Cores (of the S.L.) also spoke. The speakers pointed out to them the part Internationalism had played in the dockers strike, and the action of the East-end Jewish tailors who were demonstrating there that afternoon, contending that there were but two nations in the world, the rich idlers and the poor workers, and appealed to the waiters and waitresses to join hands with their fellow workers of all nationalities and fight the real foe—the capitalist sweater. The Italian waiters have had a strong organisation in London for a long time past, and are perfectly prepared to co-operate with their English fellow workers on terms of equality—a very fair proposal. Also these "English" waiters and waitresses should remember that there is a colony of English waiters in Paris who are received with open arms by the Parisian Waiters' Society. There is to be another meeting held in Hyde Park on Sunday next, at 3 p.m.

G. C.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 12, 1889.

6	Sun.	1642. Parliament raised army. 1822. Jaglin and Sauge guillotined at Thourar. 1842. Trial of Cheshire rioters, 1843. Revolt in Vienna. 1849. Louis Batthyany shot at Pesth.
7	Mon.	1831. Reform Bill rejected by the Lords. 1843. Proclamation of the Clontarf Repeal meeting.
8	Tues.	1866. House of Fearnheough, a "rat" saw-grinder, blown up. 1887. Gweedore evictions.
9	Wed.	1793. Gorsas, a Girondin, guillotined; first Deputy who died thus. 1843. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others, tried. 1856. N. Cabet died.
10	Thur.	1794. Kosciusko defeated. 1831. Nottingham Castle burnt by "rioters." 1837. Fourier died. 1842. Trial of Lancashire rioters. 1884. Trial of so-called "military conspiracy," almost all prisoners being military officers. Sentences: Stromberg and Rogachev, death; Ashenbrenner, Miss V. Tigner, L. Volkenstein, Pokhitonov, and two others, hard labour in Siberia.
11	Fri.	1797. Alison Duncan, Neil Redpath, and Robert Mitchell tried at Edinburgh for resisting the execution of the Militia Act. 1831. Reform riots in London. 1884. Explosion at Quebec: 14 Nihilists sentenced at St. Petersburg.
12	Sat.	1660. Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered. 1797. William Orr hung at Carrickfergus for high treason. 1819. Richard Carlile sentenced for publishing "Age of Reason." 1849. Trial of Petrashevsky and twenty comrades for propagating Socialist ideas and forming a secret society. Sentences: hard labour in Siberia, 10; prison, 2; enlisted as soldiers, 8; went mad, 1. 1857. First Social Science Congress opened at Birmingham. 1866. Flogging of Private Curry for Fenianism, Dublin. 1871. Fenian raid into Manitoba. 1879. Re-burial of the bones of the Martyrs of Liberty at Rome.

### SOCIALISM IN SURREY.

On Wednesday 25th Reynolds went to Croydon, and visited several of the members of the old branch. There is a chance of reviving the old propaganda here. Pilliers thinks that he can get his trade society club-room for our meetings.

Thursday evening, 26th, Reynolds gave an address at the Mitcham clubhouse on "The Fallacies of Politics"; there was a good attendance and good discussion; several new members made.

On Sunday 29th we held two large meetings on Mitcham Fair Green. In the morning 500 attended; Kitz and Reynolds were the speakers. In the evening there was a fine demonstration, which Reynolds, Kitz, Mrs. Schack, and Cantwell addressed. We sold 63 *Commonweal*, and collected 12s. for propaganda. Good meeting at Streatham; two quires of *Commonweal* sold, and 2s. 6d. collected. The large sale of *Commonweal* and big collections show that we gain by helping them to get better pay and shorter hours. Several men have already enrolled themselves members of the labour union we are forming. Reynolds is secretary and Sheppard is treasurer, *pro tem*.—C. R.

ERRATUM.—In note referring to Glasgow Trades' Demonstration in last week's *Commonweal*, I inadvertently wrote "1,200 to 1,500" instead of 12,000 to 15,000 as the number of processionists.—J. B. G.

SOMERSET MINERS.—These brave men have now gained a complete victory. The miners held together, but the forces of the masters began to split. One master after another yielded to the demands of the men, and now they have all surrendered, and the men return triumphantly to their work.

San Francisco may be said to come near London for civilisation. The latest news is that it has one criminal for every twenty-three citizens, one saloon for every sixteen voters, 4,000 grog shops 10,000 courtesans, and, of course, about 40,000 men of equally bad character.

The European despots are bent on suppressing Socialism by imprisoning and exporting the leaders. It is a case of piling more weight on the safety-valve, and some day when the inevitable explosion comes and blows them into the middle of a second edition, enlarged and improved, of the French Revolution, the crowned fools and their fool ministers will blame it on providence, or fate, or the innate depravity of man, or anything but their own mulish stupidity.—*Journal of United Labour*.

Speaking of the Hungarians in the coke regions the Philadelphia *Ledger* says: "The companies that have employed them to break the wages of other labourers will probably regret before they are through with them that they ever had anything to do with such dangerous tools." Whereupon the *Journal of United Labour* retorts: "Yes, it is not unlikely that the companies will understand what chickens coming home to roost means. But what shall we say of the men who have through their unholy greed reduced the 'standard of living among American working-men'—how familiar the old worn-out cant is, to be sure!—so far below the 'standard of the pauper labour of Europe' that even half-civilised Huns rebel rather than submit to it?"

DEPTFORD LIBERAL CLUB, Broadway, Deptford.—Sunday Oct. 6th, at 8.30, J. R. Macdonald, "Socialist Programme for London."

STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday October 6, at 8.30, Mr. Vaughan Nash, "Co-operation and Democracy."

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday October 6th, at 8.45 p.m., Professor Lenie, "Freedom."

STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB.—A Debate will take place on October 5th, on "Wages." Opener Mr. Saunders, L.C.C. Comrades, turn up strong.

CENTRAL FINCHLEY RADICAL CLUB, 241 Goswell Rd., E.C.—Sunday Oct. 6, at 11.30 a.m., Sydney Olivier, "A Socialist Programme for London."

DUBLIN.—Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, on Saturday October 5th, at 8 p.m., J. O'Gorman will lecture on "Strikes—their Cause and Cure."

YE OLDE RED LION DEBATING FORUM, Plumtree Court, Shoe Lane.—On Tuesday October 8, at 8.30 p.m., F. Kitz, "A Short Retrospect of Socialism."

FRANK KELLY (late of Leeds, England, last heard of in New York).—Your sister, Bridget Kelly, Gray St. Mills, West Street, Leeds, is anxious to hear from you. American papers please copy.

STRIKE OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.—Rebellion spreads; even the youngsters in the schools are turning out. A large number of the school children in the higher standards at Wilton and Trinity Board Schools, Hawick, have come out on strike, and marched in processional order between the two seminaries, denouncing the school discipline and calling names at the headmasters. The pupils state that they want shorter hours, fewer and easier lessons, and better teachers. Not a few were desirous of resuming their school work again in the course of the afternoon, but the spirit of revolt is strong; there are to be no blacklegs, and they were prevented from doing so.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. Manchester, to end of July. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

**Propaganda Fund.**—S. Mainwaring, 5d.; North Kensington, 2s. 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Streatham, 2s. 6d.; Mitcham, 3s.; and Leicester, 5s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; F. C. S. S., 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; J. B. G., 2s.; Nicoll, 6d.; and North Kensington, 2s. 6d.

### REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Chelsea*—Good meeting held on Wednesday night on the Embankment; Reynolds and Mowbray spoke. Sunday morning a very good meeting was held at same place, when Smith and Samuels spoke to a very sympathetic audience; 28 'Weal' sold. *Hoxton*—On Thursday, Cores, Parker, and Davis spoke here to a very good audience; several new members joined and good sale of 'Weal'. *Mile End Waste*—Reynolds, Leech, Cores, and Davis addressed a good meeting on Saturday; *Commonweal* sold well.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday evening, comrade Davis lectured on "Anarchist Socialism Defined and Defended"; lecture very interesting, and good discussion followed; 2s. 4d. collected. **Banner Fund.**—A fund has been started for obtaining a banner for above branch. Members of the branch are asked to send in their subscription for same however small. The following subscriptions have been received:—R. Turner, 10s.; W. H. Henry, 5s.; C. Seglie, 5s.; S. Presburg, 2s. 6d.; and C. C. Tilley, 2s. 6d. All subscriptions should be sent to S. Presburg, secretary.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Good meeting held at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Lyne, sen., Tochatti, and Dean; 'Weals' sold well. A good meeting at St. Ann's Road also; speakers were Maughan, Crouch, and Lyne, jun.; sale of 'Weals' fair. We held a good meeting at one of the roads leading from Ladbrooke Grove Road; speakers were Maughan, Crouch, and Dean. The members of the Colbourne Liberal Club who were present at the meeting, kindly asked us into their lecture room to open a discussion, and we accepted the invitation; we were re-inforced by comrade Davis and Tochatti. The subject chosen for discussion was "Strikes and the Events of the Week." The discussion, however, had more to do with the respective merits of Radicalism and Socialism; Davies, Maughan, and Lyne, jun. took part. At the close of the discussion we challenged them to debate "Radicalism v. Socialism."

**SOUTHWARK.**—On Sunday morning a good number of comrades, chiefly printers' labourers, gathered at Flat Iron Square; Cores and Holloway spoke (the latter making a very good maiden speech, being only a recent convert); fair sale of 'Weal', and several gave in their names towards forming a branch in this neighbourhood. We have not secured an indoor meeting-place yet, but expect to shortly.—G. E.

**STREATHAM.**—At the Fountain on Sunday C. Reynolds spoke on organisation of labour for Streatham, he being convinced in his own mind of the success of the movement by the ready response of the Mitcham labourers. Mr. Bootle also spoke. Good sale of *Commonweal*—54 for the meeting and Branch—and 2s. 6d. propaganda. Good Branch meeting last Wednesday, at which officers were elected. The labour question will be taken up in a practical manner during the week in Streatham.

**GLASGOW.**—The Branch is extending its propaganda. On Tuesday evening a meeting was held on Cathedral Square—Joe Burgoyne, Tim Burgoyne, and McKenzie (Edinburgh) being the speakers. On Sunday at 2 o'clock Glasier, Gilbert, and Downie spoke on Jail Square. At 5 o'clock Joe Burgoyne and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road Toll. At 7 o'clock Gilbert lectured to the Secular Society, where his extreme views roused discussion. During the week comrade Leatham, of Aberdeen, visited Glasgow, and on Wednesday night met a number of members at a social gathering.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 29th, usual meetings held on Meadows.

**MANCHESTER.**—A meeting was held at Middleton on Saturday night, when Barton and Baillie spoke. At Philips Park on Sunday morning our meeting was addressed by Baillie. In the afternoon Stockton, Barton, and Baillie spoke to an attentive meeting on Stevenson Square.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday afternoon a meeting was held in the Fishmarket, opened by comrade Swash, and followed by Mowbray (London), who delivered a stirring address, and gave an account of the recent strikes in London. Good audience, considering the weather; audience very attentive. In the evening Mowbray lectured in the Gordon Hall to a very fair audience, Lenneying in the chair. Mowbray spoke at some length, especially dealing with the Eight Hours Bill. At the conclusion several questions asked, and discussion followed; comrades W. Moore, Adams, Mills, and others took part. Mowbray replied at some length. 50 *Commonweal* sold, and 8s. 9d. collected for propaganda.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Wednesday night, at the Working Men's Club, Headley and Ruffold defended Socialism against capitalism, when one of our opponents gave Jay Gould credit for his excessive brain-power and cunning; but our comrades seemed to be too much for them. On Sunday we had comrade Thomas of Ipswich with us, but we could not hold any out-door meetings, owing to the inclemency of the weather, so we met at comrade Headley's in the afternoon, where we had an enjoyable hour or two in singing revolutionary songs, recitations, and discussing Socialism. 7 *Commonweal* sold.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Sept. 28th, A. Shields lectured on "Socialistic Experiments," describing the formation and growth of the various Communistic societies in the Old and New worlds. Hamilton, Wilson, Kavanagh, O'Gorman, King, and others, took part in the discussion.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Meeting in Great Market on Sunday night, Rooke presiding. Proctor and Peacock spoke, the latter dealing with the cotton-corner and the bread ring.—P.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—This Branch is now forming. All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

**East London.**—26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 6, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Wednesday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Edinburgh.**—In Moulders' Hall, on 6th, Bruce Glasier lectures on "Radicalism, Irish Nationalism, and Socialism." On 13th, W. Davidson, on "The Wage System." On Sundays, at 5, French Class. Business Meeting on Fridays. At 35 George IV. Bridge, Class for study of Lassalle's 'Capital and Labour,' on Tuesdays at 8.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

#### SATURDAY 5.

8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church .....Reynolds  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Cores

#### SUNDAY 6.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Maughan and Dean  
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment .....Samuels  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Lyne senr. and Lyne jun.  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street .....Mowbray  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Reynolds  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Davis  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....Banfield, Parker, and Holloway  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Cores and Davis  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....Mowbray  
7 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall .....Samuels  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Kitz and Reynolds  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Reynolds  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

#### TUESDAY 8.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste .....Mowbray

#### WEDNESDAY 9.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment .....Samuels

#### THURSDAY 10.

8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Davis

#### FRIDAY 11.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....Davis and Cores  
8 ..... Islington—Prebend Street .....Mowbray

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 8. Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7. Diss (Denmark Green), at 11.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

**CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.**—Sunday October 6th, at 8 p.m., Herbert Burrows, "Three Aspects of Socialism—Political, Social, and Moral."

**SPECIAL NOTICE.**—Comrades desiring to assist in the formation of a South London Branch of the Socialist League are requested to communicate with Geo. Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E., or care of the Secretary of the S. L., 13 Farringdon Road, or attend at the open-air meeting at Flat Iron Square on Sunday next at 11.30 a.m.

**A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.**—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. October 4, William Clarke, "Early Radicalism." 18th, Frank Podmore, "Early Socialism." Nov. 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portadown Road, W.

# WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

## LONDON.

PUBLISHING OFFICE: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### N.

Geo, 56 High-street, Islington  
J. W. Miller, 76 Holloway-road  
Watson, 76 Hoxton-street  
Knox, 5 Mayes-terrace, Wood Green  
Vale, Stamford Hill

### N. W.

Clark, 63 Malden-road  
Wright, 167 Kentish Town-road  
Petherick, 29 Osnaburg-street  
Gibbs, Lisson-grove  
Wilson, 24 Highgate-road  
Meek, 132 Drummond-street

### S. E.

Drew, 52 Friar-street, Blackfriars-road  
J. Coster, 115A Blackfriars-road  
Curwood, 4 Newington-causeway  
Wirbatz, 18 New Kent-road  
Hammond, 21 Standard-street  
Hill, 130 Great Dover-street  
Dunn, 24 Old Kent-Road  
Watson, 321 Old Kent-road  
Williams, 554 "  
Harrison, 621 "  
Williams, 375 St. James-road  
Clayton, 12 Clarence-place, Deptford  
Chambers, 3 Greenwich-road  
Mears, 328 Walworth-road  
Buist, 43 "  
Hasken, 5 Trafalgar-street, Walworth-road  
Ellison, 34 High-street, Peckham  
Fish, 25 Queens-road, Peckham  
Chambers, 18 Church-street, Greenwich

### S. W.

Stowe, 103 Pimlico-road  
Tims, 338 Battersea Park-road  
E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie-street  
Head, 290 York-road, Wandsworth-end  
Plumpton, 41 York-road, Battersea-end  
Baker, Church-street, Croydon  
Bush, Wellfield-road, Streatham

### E.

Schweitzer, 43 Commercial-road  
Hades, 219 Whitechapel-road  
Kerbey, 118 "  
Hoinville, Triangle, Hackney  
Ackland, 4 Bishops-road  
Thoday, 443 Hackney-road  
Daniels, near Shoreditch Church  
Hammond, Goldsmith-row  
King, 68 "  
Bouchard, 157A "  
Bevis, 4 Old Ford-road  
Platt, Bonner-Street, Bethnal-green

### E. C.

Cason, 64 Leonard-street  
Fowler, 166 Old Street  
Wilkins, Leather-lane  
Twigg, Clerkenwell Green  
Fox, 48 Penton-street  
Forder, 28 Stonecutter-street  
Simpson, 7 Red Lion Court  
Reeves, 185 Fleet-street  
Freethought Publishing Co., 63 Fleet-st.  
Farrington, Fetter-lane  
Brandon, Wine Office-court  
Appleyard, Poppins-court  
Hurlstone, 5 Bath-street

### W.

O'Neill, 69 Farnhead-road, Harrow-road  
Wilson, 620 Harrow-road, Queens-park  
Hebard, 49 Endell-street  
Gardner, 32 Lexington-street  
Loffnagun, 17 Carnaby-street  
Stocker, 30 Berwick-street  
Bard, 20 Cleveland-street  
Kates, 51 "  
Manly, 113 "  
Goodblood, Foley-street, Cleveland-street  
Ascott, 59 Upper Marylebone-street  
W. Cutting, 20 Gt. Marylebone-street  
Haffendon, 3 Carburton-street  
Hanstein, 51 Charlotte-street  
Farley, 6 Charlotte-street  
Hoffman, 13 Francis-street  
Smith, 2A Chapel-street, Edgware-road.  
Cooper, 7 Fouberts-place

### W. C.

Anderson, 15 Grays Inn-road  
Jones, 9 Little Queen-street  
Varley, 24 High-street, St. Giles  
Nye, Theobalds-road  
Vernon, 40 Lambs Conduit-street  
Hanraham, Little James-street  
Shirley, 169 Kings Cross-road  
Stubbs, 33 "  
Truelove, 256 High Holborn

And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Stations  
of the Socialist League.

## PROVINCES.

[First List.]

### Bristol.

Little, 18 Narrow Wine-street

### Bolton and Little Bolton.

J. Atkinson, 8 St. Helens-road  
D. Cordingley, 34 Bath-street, L. B.  
T. Coulston, 114 Deansgate  
W. B. Farrell, 12 Church Whf., L. B.  
James Heap, 78 Blackburn-road  
John Holt, 60 Higher Bridge-street  
J. Pendlebury, 17 Blackburn-road  
G. Winterburn, 65 Deansgate

### Bury (Lancashire).

J. Barlow, Heap Bridge  
T. Brooks, 42 Rochdale-road  
J. Holden, 39 Princess-street  
A. Veevers, 57 Bolton-road, Elton

### Brighton.

Thacker, Oxford-street

### Colchester.

F. Collison, 43 St. Botolph-street

### Cork.

Guy and Co., 70 Patrick-street

### Dublin.

Wheeler, North Earl-street  
J. J. Lalor, North Earl-street

### Edinburgh.

B. Given, 20 Bristo-street  
Mrs. Wishart, 169 Dundee-street  
J. Weir, Freethought Depot, 39 Rose-street

### Grimsby.

W. A. Lee, 2 Central Market

### Halifax.

A. Hargreaves, 6 Francis-street, Gibbet-lane  
W. H. Hancot, 76 Freemans-street  
Flanagan, Woolshops

### Leeds.

Watson, Market-street  
J. G. Fisher, 1 Coburg-terrace

### Liverpool.

Stocker, 29 Vauxhall-road—Agent for Liverpool  
Socialist Society, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley-st.  
Fraser, 54 Tithebarn-street  
Travis, 87 Scotland-road  
Sweetman, 319 "  
Callaghan, 313 "  
Newsagent, 267 "  
Tierney, 216 "  
McKeon, 8 Exchange-street  
Newsagent, 73 Paradise-street  
Seafaring, Trades Hall, Duke-street  
Newsagent, 32 Duke-street  
Newsagent, 86 Paradise-street  
Newsagent, 63 Kirkdale-road  
Malia, Cook-street

### Leicester.

Crofts, 21 Willowbridge-street  
Oldershaw, Granby-street  
W. Smith, 202 Belgrave-gate  
C. H. Merrick, 248 "  
Emery, "  
Newsagent, Chatham-street, corner of Granby-street  
Crane, 23 Belgrave-gate  
Holyoake, Secular Hall, Humberstone-gate  
Wallace, Caxton House, Granby-street  
J. Clarke, 19 Applegate-street

### Manchester.

Ashcroft, Rutland-street, C.-on-M.  
Ashworth, Loudon-road  
Clarke, 652 Rochdale-road  
Grant, 324 Rochdale-road  
A. Heywood, 56 Oldham-road  
D. Kelly, 82 Rochdale-road  
S. Renshaw, 32 Oldham-road  
Turnbull, 238 Rochdale-road  
Usher, Downing-street  
Walker, Gorton Brook, Gorton

### Oldham.

News-stall, Covered Market

### Plymouth.

Ley, Russell-street

### Warrington.

A. Downes 1 Church-street

### Yarmouth.

H. E. Howes, 67 George-street  
C. Brightwell, Pier-place, Goleston  
J. Headley, 48 Row, George-street

## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

**Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,**

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS  
CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING  
TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 196.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

AN immense noise is being made over an article in the *Contemporary* of this month, which is said to be by Mr. Gladstone. It is no very wonderful thing in itself, unless it be held as wonderful that a politician can speak the truth; it is merely a statement, by no means too strong or too clear, of the policy which has led Italy, or its bourgeois government, into the toils of the Central League, and a warning, none too outspoken, against the English people's tolerating on the part of Lord Salisbury a revival of the Pitt policy of a century ago. Among the many parallels that exist between the happenings of a hundred years since and those of to-day, there are few more striking than that between the coalition, then and now, of kings and scoundrels against France, the "danger-spot of Europe." Bismarck and Boulanger, Crispien and the Count of Paris, and all the rest of them, are of one mind when the French Republic is in question.

Salisbury, a true "sneaking Cecil," without courage and without ruth, has entered on the path which will lead him, as it led Pitt, into playing catpaw to the crowned apes of the Continent. Seeing this, as all thinking men must see it, Mr. Gladstone has been honest enough to write it and print it, though not bold enough to put his name to it when done. Whereupon all the tongues of Babel are let loose, and the chattering of half Europe have a new sensation. If it really meant anything, one would be pleased to hear and see attention given to the subject; but every one knows right well that if war broke out, the English Government, Whig or Tory, would be on the wrong side, inevitably, and that only the un-governmental and generally unrespectable and un-responsible people would protest against it. And the un-respectable people have very little voice in such matters, which are managed for them by Pecksniff, Podsnap, and the Tite Barnacle family.

Two men who have had much to do with the late strike have given their version of it to the public. Here in interesting contrast stands the Dock Committee:—

AS SEEN BY CARDINAL MANNING.

And I am bound to bear witness not only to the self-command of the men, but also to the measured language and calm courtesy of the employers. They have maintained an attitude of resistance to what they judged to be excessive, or, at least, inconsistent with the grave interest of those for whom they were trustees. Now, happily reconciled, the conduct on both sides gives the surest pledge of peace.

AS SEEN BY JOHN BURNS.

As an old agitator, I am bound to express my own personal feeling that in this strike I have had to deal with men who, from first to last, seemed to me to have a very imperfect appreciation of their own best interests, and very little regard for the feelings of others. In my dozen years of agitation I do not remember to have had relations with men more completely imbued with the spirit of pure "cussedness."

The articles in the current number of the *Universal Review*, from which the above are taken, should be read by all Socialists who can get hold of them. They tell the story of the strike from entirely dissimilar, even opposite, points of view; and when they are both read, leave upon one's mind an impression difficult to altogether analyse, but deepest in which is the feeling of how tremendously fast and far we have progressed of late years—while hardly knowing that we moved at all. And when it is possible, which it is not yet, to think over the late strike in cool blood and with calm deliberation, there will be many lessons to be drawn from it that have been missed in the heat of the fray.

Not least among these will be the lesson that it is not well to listen to the flying tales which the enemy, within or without our gates, may float on the chance of disuniting us; and the further lesson that however true these tales may seem to be at the moment, there should be a decent amount of delay in acting upon them; that amidst a heated battle is no time for quarrelling in the ranks; that we shouldn't "swap horses in mid-stream," as Lincoln said. A good deal was made while the strike was going on of certain alleged acts of tyranny, treachery to

his convictions, etc., etc., on the part of John Burns; that he had denounced Socialists and the red flag, said that they should have no place in "his" processions, and so on. It has now become clear, as the Editors of the *Commonweal* have all along believed that it would, that these tales were simply—LIES!

Those who originated these reports for campaign purposes, or retailed them in the vain hope of revenge for private injuries, or those weak-headed and hot-tempered persons who too readily believed in and helped to spread them, do not need us to characterise their action. It is enough for us to feel that we were in the right to act as we have done; to wait for evidence, and to weigh it before we spoke, lest we should lightly and without thought condemn one whom we had long known as a good comrade and sincere co-worker in the Cause.

Those who like to buy things which are honestly made and the price of which reaches the worker in much higher proportion than is possible by any other plan while the present system lasts, can get by sending a stamp for it the catalogue of the recent Productive Exhibition at the Crystal Palace. H. E. Ivimey, Secretary of the Labour Association, 1 Norfolk Street, Strand, will send it them, and in it they will find details of the various co-operative societies which exhibited goods there. It is not all mere sentiment that makes it more comfortable to use a co-operative product than a capitalist one. Everything bought of a sweater helps the sweater and injures labour. And every time one avoids the sweater and seeks for some other quality than mere cheapness, a blow, if only a little one, is struck at capitalism.

Besides, the mere effort at getting honestly face to face with the actual producer is good moral medicine, and worth making for one's own soul's sake. The sentiment is a healthy one which makes a coat the more comfortable because you have spent some pains in seeing that the tears and blood of no man have gone to the making of it. It is impossible in so complex a society as that in which we live under the present system to wholly do without the sweater, but it is only the coward, the fool, or the cold-hearted who makes that an excuse for never attempting it. S.

Our politicians have been talking again. As in the whole course of their existence they have never done anything else, perhaps the fact is hardly worth recording. The gentleman engaged in that agreeable occupation on this occasion were Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Labouchere.

It was all the same old tune, the same refrain. Lord Hartington—Mr. Balfour—Mr. Chamberlain—The Wrongs of Ireland—The Wrongs of Ireland—and again, The Wrongs of Ireland. One would think that these honourable gentlemen were as sick of this dismal old ditty as the general public are. But they still grind it out, with the pertinacity with which a persevering organ-grinder pours out a dreary stream of the hackneyed melodies of bygone years. If Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Labouchere were only as weary of their eloquence as their audiences are, the poor gentlemen must be martyrs to the cause of the Great Liberal Party. Only fancy having to give the same worn-out old speech night after night to yawning audiences, who have read it again and again in the columns of the daily press.

Wrongs! Yes, we admit Ireland has wrongs; but, unfortunately for our palavering politicians, Ireland's wrongs are not so much in evidence at the present time as the wrongs of Englishmen. And yet Sir William Harcourt could only find a couple of lines in which to speak of the Labour Revolt at the East-end; and then he was good enough to say that the dockers had acted with "great moderation."

Even this was only dragged in as an illustration of the eternal Irish question, for he pointed out that "the victory was only accomplished by the force of combination, which it is the object of coercion to put down in Ireland." If Sir Vernon Harcourt wishes to ascertain whether you can be coerced in England, let him start a "Plan of Campaign" among the inhabitants of the rack-rented, fever-stricken

dens of the East End. It strikes me very forcibly that he would then find that there is the same law in England as there is in Ireland. The experiment would be worth trying, if only to prove this interesting fact, Sir William Harcourt: It was capitalists, and not landlords, who suffered during the late strike, and that makes all the difference with a Tory Government.

It is a curious thing to note that the mention of the London Strike was the best received passage of Sir William Harcourt's speech. In the midst of the two-line reference a stentorian voice called out for three cheers for "John Burns," which was liberally responded to. This at least should give Sir William Harcourt and people of his kidney a much-needed lesson. John Burns at least, whatever may be his faults, has done and suffered for the people; but how many moderate liberals of the William Harcourt type would even run the risk of a crack on the head from a policeman's bludgeon in Trafalgar Square or six weeks in Pentonville? Why, they won't even run such risks for their beloved Ireland, which they can never talk enough about in their involved and musty rhetoric, while a couple of lines suffices for the needs of the London poor. What chance, then, is there of their suffering for the people whom they can hardly mention?

But I forget. Sir William Harcourt did say a little more about the needs of labour. He pointed out what a shameful thing it was that sailors should be drowned at sea in considerable numbers through the avarice of shipowners, who persisted in overloading their vessels. To alter this state of things Sir William Harcourt is anxious that a compulsory load-line should be enforced by Act of Parliament.

I wonder if Sir William Harcourt is a shareholder in one of the dock companies, and is now anxious to pay the philanthropic ship-owner back in his own coin for taking the side of the dockers during the late strike? "When respectable middle-class gentlemen fall out"—you know the rest of the proverb.

Still, there is something about this compulsory load line which I should like to mention. They were discussing this question in Parliament when I was a little boy at school, and I have not the least doubt that, unless the Social Revolution intervenes—or, say the Seamen's Trade Union refuses to allow the men to go to sea in ships that are overloaded—that prominent politicians will still be discussing it when my hair is turning grey. So much for Parliamentary methods for saving the lives of the people.

D. N.

## SOCIALISM AND STRIKES.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

COMRADES,—It has been thought advisable at this period of agitation amongst the workers, to say a few words as to the attitude which we of the International Revolutionary Socialist Party should assume towards Strikes and the Labour Struggle generally. Some amongst us would seize every opportunity afforded by labour troubles to organise the hitherto unorganised portion of the workers, to wring even partial concessions in the hope of shorter hours and better pay from their masters, and justify this line of action on the ground that organisation in itself is good and raises the mass; also that it will tend to lead to higher results after the first demands have been won. On the other hand, a number of our comrades are opposed to joining in a demand for palliatives, and assert that such a line of agitation is liable to obscure the higher ideal, viz., the complete overthrow of the wage system, and to cause our speakers to temporise and form questionable alliances for the sake of gaining minor points. And if we review the situation as we find it to-day, after one of the most singular strikes of modern times, there is some ground for the fears of the last-mentioned section.

We have seen a replication of the proletariat and aristocrat even in the proletarian upheaval. The men who did the pioneer propagandist work amongst the masses at the East-end and other parts of the metropolis, did it at a time when the word Socialist meant to subject him to whom it was applied to hatred and execration, and not plaudits. They laid under the folds of the red flag the foundation for that change of ideas and conversion, the first fruits of which was the revolt of labour in East London.

Now we have seen a strange spectacle. A bishop, endowed with thousands per annum, as the exponent of the doctrines of the Nazarene who knew not where to lay his head, a prince of the church of another sect, a chief magistrate of at once the richest and poorest city on earth, suddenly develop an interest in the docker, and the conflict between him and his oppressors is brought to an end. The docker is said to have won, and perhaps he believes it. And still stranger spectacle, a commissioner of police, under whose orders numbers of workmen have been bludgeoned, suddenly withholds his aid to capital and stands on one side; the capitalist press, choking with suppressed rage, half curses the principal figures in the strike for the terrible shock the strike has given them, and the force with which the truth of the axiom, "that labour and not money is the source of all wealth," has been driven home. Their utter impotency in face of this stupendous movement on the part of an hitherto despised class has exasperated them, and yet they can find breath to

praise the "moderation," tact, and generalship of the leaders, and singularly enough the police commissioner shares this praise with the "leaders." It is related of a traveller in a strange land, ignorant of both its language and currency, that he detected when he was being robbed by the smiles of those with whom he had to deal. Has there been any smiling in this case? and has it been concealed by a keen sleeve?

I have said that the revolutionary Socialists of London, when only a handful of men, and far from the presence of disappointed middle-class parliamentary candidates and would-be candidates, who are now rending the air, that these men, gathering their inspiration from pure enthusiasm and honest conviction, went into the byways and highways of this huge city and spoke their gospel without fear, established their presses and scattered their literature broadcast; that subsequently, when from a handful they grew into a power, these men, obscure and without ostentation, still exercised a potent influence in the revolutionary movement. Time has wrought many changes in the movement, but a few of the pioneers remain; and I appeal to the young men of our party when I ask: Will they help to push forward by steady and persistent agitation the principles of international revolutionary Socialism, symbolised by the red flag, and by self-education and sacrifice spread them? If so, then I ask them not to allow the results of revolutionary agitation to be turned to account by designing men for the purpose of defeating the revolution. We have seen during the late labour agitation the red flag rigorously excluded from having a place in the processions, and speakers who were likely to draw a moral from the strike in favour of the overthrow of the whole cursed system which breeds the misery of the workers were bidden to stand aside. Why? What is the price of the compact which has caused this exclusion? when and where was it agreed upon, and what are its main purpose and results?

The price of the compact is that the capitalist may be attacked in the towns. Some concessions may be wrung from him, and urban life made tolerable to a larger number than at present. Even Lord R. Churchill is in favour of parish-built barracks, "suitable to the class who would inhabit them"; and why? Because the capitalist, by his overreaching greed, has jeopardised the whole position of privilege and power. He is the hasty clumsy thief who betrays the whole gang, and the landlord portion of the gang are willing that the capitalist shall lose a little that they may not lose all. A section of advanced Tories—for the "old order changeth"—more prescient than the fossils who would still pursue the methods of Castlereagh and Sidmouth, see in the condition of East London and similar districts of our large towns the glimmering light of a social revolution; and they would go the length of making a Jonah of the capitalist to save the ship of State with its aristocratic places and emoluments. And hence we see a group of men who once were under the red flag, hastening to avow their severance from it and its associations, and acting the part of saviours of society amid the plaudits of a corrupt press and class. "To what base uses may we not come, Horatio," when we cheer the bludgeoners of Trafalgar Square!

I wish it to be clearly understood that I am not joining in or echoing the pitiful complaints that have emanated from another quarter upon the same matter. For whilst I have no quarrel with the rank and file of the S.D.F., except for their subservieny and lack of independence, and the ready manner in which they lend themselves to spread the slander of their leader (having had some personal experience of the cowardly unctuous methods by which the machinery of the S.D.F. can be used to spread slanderous tales, headed "Dear comrade" and finished "Yours fraternally"), I do not wonder at the secession of robust men from a circle whose methods of propaganda closely resemble the efforts made by cheap-jacks or the vendors of the latest soap to draw attention to their wares. In their hands the red flag has been associated with schemes of the model dwelling and parish soup kitchen order.

Looking back over the past years, and knowing something of the origin of the "only Socialist organisation in Great Britain," and being fully aware how time and outside educational influences has mellowed and refined the undoubtedly strong Jingo-Tory flavour it once possessed, and knowing also the close connection which existed between one at its head now and another who is supposed to be behind the secessionists, one can only come to the conclusion that a game has been played in which the most astute has won.

Extremes meet, and after all there exists a close connection between the phalansterie and the model industrial dwellings which certain Tory-Democrats would see established, in order to bolster the present system and give it a renewed lease. But every lover of freedom must view with apprehension the remotest possibility of their realisation, and—saying to either "A plague upon both your houses!"—we will pass on to the consideration of the position which, in my opinion, Leaguers should take up in the future. I hold that by organising the disorganised workers, and by strikes and combinations leading them to revolt against their taskmasters, and still on to the Universal Strike that shall put an end to the wage system itself, we are doing distinctly revolutionary work.

Passing from the crowded cities and towns out into the broad fields, amidst the overworked and insufficiently fed agricultural labourers, lays our sphere of action. The peasantry have been made the stepping stones, upon which men like Arch have climbed to St. Stephens. The Liberal and Tory would give a few small patches of land as a sop, the one as an electioneering dodge, the other as a Conservative measure, and basing his calculations upon the known selfishness of a small-minded class, would make them a barrier to the fulfilment of the wider

aspirations of the landless, whether of town or country. Our provincial comrades should sally into the villages and fields with the cry of "Back to the Land! The Land for the People!" Our peasantry have sturdy revolutionary traditions, and can be stirred anew to action by earnest, hearty, and breezy watchwords; a vigorous unpromising agitation upon the Irish pattern but with higher aims, the enfranchisement of all, and not, as in Ireland, for a small farmer class, would bear speedy fruit. The urban workman would be freed from the fear of competition on the part of his agricultural comrade, and would be induced to assist him in his efforts towards freedom.

By education, agitation, and organisation, we should then complete the circle closing in upon both landlord and capitalist, and effectually defeat any attempt to avert the Revolution.

F. KITZ.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

During the present election period, the anti-electioneering agitation has been carried on upon a larger scale than ever before. Two placards, *Le Père Peinard au Populo* (for September 22nd and October 6th), were spread all over the country; others like *Des Anarchistes aux électeurs, A bas la Politique* (Down with Politics!), *Candidature anti-Anarchiste* were published by Parisian groups; Saint Etienne, Bordeaux, Lyon, Marseille, and Carcassonne also had placards of their own. Numerous cases of police brutality against the comrades who pasted them up are recorded; here and there prosecutions will take place on one or another pretext, at Nantes the *Père Peinard* placard is prosecuted as an outrage on public morals! 130,000 copies of the leaflet, "The Strike of the Voters," were distributed. Revolutionary speakers went to the meetings of candidates, and gave in many cases satisfactory reports on the eagerness with which the people listened to their teachings, being disgusted with the common party politics. Thus the revolutionists are not idle at such times and let them pass by; on the contrary, they are the only party which brings new ideas, a fresh element which makes people think, in the worn-out struggle of bourgeois and pseudo-Socialist office-hunting politicians.

A new Anarchist paper, *L'Associazone*, is being published at Nice (12, Rue Halévy), beginning Oct. 6th.

### SWITZERLAND.

The Social Democratic party, desiring that the creation of the new office of a public prosecutor for political offences should be put to the vote of the people, collected 24,845 signatures in favour of this, amongst them 6,750 in the canton of Zurich, 4,193 in Berne, and 2,036 in St. Gallen. As 30,000 signatures are required the proposition is lost, which was expected beforehand. The party will hold its annual Congress on October 27th, at Bern.

Comrade Janner was wanted by the Swiss authorities to give up the addresses of the Swiss subscribers of the *Révolution*, a paper not at all prohibited in Switzerland. Of course he refused to do this, and, also of course, the police did not find the addresses on a perquisition made at his house. New arrests have been made at Bâle, Luzern, and Zurich. The Anarchist trial is likely to take place at Neuchâtel.

### AUSTRIA.

Twenty miners of Kladno, in Bohemia, were tried two weeks ago at Prague for having taken part in the riots during the strike of last June; fourteen were sentenced to penal servitude for terms varying from 8 to 18 months, and five to hard labour from 5 to 13 months. This is neither the first nor the last of the number of the Kladno trials, for hundreds of persons were arrested at that time.

### AMERICA.

The *Freiheit* announces the impending publication by the committee of the I.W.P.A., of an eight page leaflet on the Chicago martyrs in the English, German, Bohemian, and Yiddish languages. They will be sold at cost price, and the first page being left empty, can be used for the announcements of meetings to celebrate the memory of the 11th of November.

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## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 19, 1889.

13	Sun.	1881. Arrest of C. S. Parnell. 1883. Ladies' School at Warsaw searched.
14	Mon.	1797. William Orr hung. 1814. Thomas Davis born. 1815. Strike riots of all the sailors on the Tyne, suppressed on 21st by military and naval forces. 1817. J. P. Curran died. 1842. T. Cooper tried for treason.
15	Tues.	1326. Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, Lord Treasurer of England, beheaded at the Cross in Cheapside by the London 'prentices. 1794. Robert Watt hung for high treason. 1817. Kosciuszko died. 1819. Carlile tried for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason.' 1842. <i>Nation</i> founded by T. Davis, J. B. Dillon, and C. G. Duffy. 1853. Great strike at Preston, lasts to May 1, 1854; 14,792 out at once.
16	Wed.	1660. Cook and Peters, regicides, hung. 1791. L'Escuyer killed in a church at Avignon; massacres in the Ice Tower follow. 1792. Society of the "Friends of the People" founded at Edinburgh. 1793. Marie Antoinette guillotined. 1817. Jeremiah Brandreth and others tried for high treason.
17	Thur.	1660. Scott, Scroop, Clement, and Jones, regicides, hung. 1760. St. Simon born. 1803. W. Smith O'Brien born. 1859. John Brown at Harper's Ferry.
18	Fri.	1794. Suppression of the Jacobin Club. 1861. W. Sharman Crawford died. 1881. "No Rent" manifesto issued.
19	Sat.	1660. Axtell and Hacker, regicides, hung. 1852. Death of Courmet in a duel with Barthelemy. 1887. Fight between police and unemployed in Dover Street, Piccadilly.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### A FEW WORDS BY AN OLD SOCIALIST.

I am pleased to notice the increasing number of attempts now being made at formulating socialistic ideas, and I hope speedily to see some of them at least put to a practical test. In the last speech I ever made on a platform devoted to the spread of Socialism, I complained of the plethora of theoretic ideas, and the entire absence of aught that could be considered to have a practical tendency. I neither am nor was then ignorant of the value of theoretic ideas, but I then saw and now see the necessity of convincing opponents that we are practical as well as theoretical. I know that I am open to the *tu quoque* argument, and that it might be asked what have I done to make Socialism practical. Still, it is possible for an ordinary mortal to see a fault, and desire to see it remedied without being able to contribute thereto. Robert Owen tried, and the result was failure, or at least partial failure. New Lanark simply proved that by employing machinery against manual labour, large profits might be made; Harmony Hall, that the men engaged in that experiment still longed for the flesh-pots of the individual system. What is written regarding the latter effort may be said with equal truth of the attempt at Christian Socialism and Co-operation generally. I did not enter into the latter movement from any religious motive, but what I saw convinced me that the Christians and non-Christians had not cut themselves adrift from old world selfishness. My friend, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, has over and over again lamented the same fact with regard to the co-operative movement. The whole of the attempts to which I have referred were intended to show practically that socialistic theories could be reduced to practice. To that extent they are valuable to me. I must confess that their failure had the effect of impressing me with the belief that little could be done without State aid, and that State aid could only be got from a Parliament selected from widened constituencies, or rather constituencies in which the toilers were in a position to bring their influence to bear. I therefore determined to throw what power I had into the political scale, and for some thirty years at least I have done my best to carry out this resolve. I now hold that it rests with the working classes only to use the power they have obtained wisely, in order to make Socialism a reality. I do not mean to be understood to say that the political position they have attained is perfect, but that it gives them enough power to enable them to give Socialism a fair stage. If I could get a new lease of the health, strength, and ability to work that I once had, I would willingly join any organisation to bring this about; but I am not "a grand old man," and I feel the steel has been taken out of me, though I am hardly entitled to call myself old. Indeed, I know that many men much older than myself are foremost in the good work. While I cannot do as they are doing, may I be permitted to envy them, and, may I add, applaud, as I watch them in my humble garret in Drury Lane. I am not sorry for the decision I made. I feel, justly or unjustly, that the pathway has been cleared of many encumbrances, and that Socialistic progress will be easier; that much has become possible that would have remained impossible if this clearance had not been made. In a few years, if I mistake not, the political revolution will have been effected, and men's minds will be free to work out their social redemption. How it will be brought about I know not, nor whether the right mode has yet been hit upon.

In the many schemes I have recently consulted, or rather taken note of, I see much to admire and much to condemn, and my earnest hope is that their authors and advocates should consult together, and, without prejudice, endeavour to eliminate the most practical and sensible portions of the whole. That land should revert to the people is now very generally agreed upon by all advanced minds; that the private right to mineral stores is no longer tenable, and is in an equally advanced condition for settlement, is also true; ground rents must go, with the private right in land; it is plain also that market-dues will not much longer be tolerated, and the same may be said of house-rents.

I consider these questions to be as good as settled. I would I could see my way as clearly with regard to others. Still, I do not despair of seeing the rest of the unstated monopolies fall. Take away the support of these, the removal of which has been rendered easy, and they are bound to follow, many of them from their own innate rottenness, or from the undermining and underpinning they retain so long as the questions now ripe for settlement remain as they are.

With the franchise as it even now exists the working-classes have only to will. Their will must be an established fact, or they must be content to remain slaves, as most of them are. I came to London in '51, then the City, Finsbury, Westminster, Marylebone, Lambeth, and Southwark returned either Progressive members or advanced Liberals. At that period the franchise lay with the middle-class. Now, the chief power it gives is with the working-class, and what do I find? That the majority of members returned for the metropolis are Tories. If any inference is to be drawn from this, it must be that the working-class have used their enfranchisement to effect their own impoverishment. We who struggled to obtain their political freedom anticipated a far different result, but still hope they will eventually see their error and vote for candidates who see at least the necessity of great social changes.—Respectfully yours, JOHN B. LENO.

One of the most prosperous organisations of women wage-workers in New York City is the Shirtmakers' Assembly, Knights of Labour. It owns and operates a factory in the city which fills orders from all parts of the country. All union shops are carefully guarded so that no non-union workers may creep in.

SOCIALISM AT BRIGHTON.—F. Cooper writes from Brighton and informs us that they are carrying on a steady propaganda with good results. A few days since a debate took place between Comrade Barker and a middle-class politician, in which Barker was completely victorious. A Labour Emancipation League is being formed. A code of rules and manifesto has been drawn up, based on the first principles of Socialism.

CLERKENWELL BRANCH BANNER FUND.—A fund has been started for obtaining a banner for above branch. Members of the branch and sympathisers are kindly asked to send in their subscriptions so as to enable branch to have banner ready for "Chicago and Bloody Sunday Commemoration." The following subscriptions have been received:—R. Turner, 5s.; W. H. Henry, 5s.; C. Seglie, 5s.; S. Presburg, 2s. 6d.; C. Tilley, 2s. 6d.; and John Greaghe, 2s. 6d. All subscriptions should be sent to S. Presburg, Secretary, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ABSENCE, and pressure of work for the past few weeks, has caused a delay in acknowledging or returning contributions. All arrears shall be cleared up by our next issue.

“SOCIETY ON THE MORROW OF THE REVOLUTION” (first instalment) is unavoidably held over for a week.

WIDE-REACHING ARRANGEMENTS have been made for a large and varied supply of original and telling contributions from all parts of the world on all phases of the labour problem; but until members and branches do their duty better in supporting the paper we shall be unable to carry out the improvements for which we are prepared.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 9.

ENGLAND	Volkszeitung	BELGIUM
Brotherhood	Twentieth Century	Antwerp—De Werker
Christian Socialist	Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir
Labour Elector	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	SWITZERLAND
Labour Tribune	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Arbeiterstimme
London—Freie Presse	Vorbote	ITALY
Personal Rights Journal	Baecker Zeitung	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Railway Review	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	PORTUGAL
Sozial Demokrat	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	A Revolta
NEW SOUTH WALES	Philadelphia—United Labour	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	Ybor City (Fla.)—Revista	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Bohar Herald	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
UNITED STATES	Le Proletariat	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Freiheit	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen	WEST INDIES
		Cuba—El Productor

IN AUSTRALIA.

THE South Australian Government has promised one of the best sites in Adelaide whereon to build a trades' hall. This has raised the ire of the ultra conservatives, who point out that Church of England authorities were refused a site on which to build a cathedral. Evidently the objectors forget that there are many rival churches in that colony, all on an equal footing, but the S. A. Trades' Council represents the organised workers of the whole of the colony.

In addition to reorganising themselves, the Brisbane tailors have a committee of three hard at work organising the tailoresses, who, though skilled workwomen, only earn from 20s. to 25s., occasionally up to 30s., per week, for about ten hours work daily. It is hardly necessary to remark that no individual employer is responsible for this as competition is keen all round. There are some 140 tailoresses in the city, and most have expressed themselves in favour of a union, to consider which a meeting of them will be called in two or three weeks to be addressed by prominent labour men and some ladies interested in women's work. Tailoresses' organisation has been several times unsuccessfully attempted in Brisbane, but it now bids fair to go through, thanks to the tailors.

It is generally said that the boilermakers and wharf labourers will speedily join the new Labour Federation, which already numbers nearly 2,000 members. Each society affiliated pays 6d. per month per member, of which only 1d. can be used for working expenses, the remaining 5d. going into a reserve fund, which is already of respectable proportions.

The knights of the cleaver are sending round a circular for the purpose of obtaining signatures petitioning the master butchers to grant a weekly half-holiday. Petitions are useful, but if all the men were unionists petitions would be obsolete.

The Day Dawn (Charters Towers) mining strike arose so suddenly and was settled so quickly that there is little to be said about it. The facts are simply that a big syndicate wanted to treat honest miners like serfs and the miners wouldn't have it. The lesson is that the old pick and shovel days are passing and that gold-mining is drifting into the hands of soulless companies, to withstand whose aggression the diggers must close up the ranks and stand together in organisation just like other classes of labour. The Australian Miners' Association should get energetically to work, or the £2 a-week of Mount Morgan will soon be the rule and not the exception.

It is said that one of the causes which led up to the strike was the publication of a report from the Transvaal gold-fields, in which it was stated that the Kaffir miner worked naked and received 75 cents. per day. This set one of the directors thinking, and after half a day's labour in figuring out the Australian equivalent for 75 cents he came to the conclusion that miners on the Towers were too independent, and that if they couldn't change the colour of their skins or live on 75 cents he would have them stripped or know the reason why. And it's very probable that his thirst for knowledge will very soon be gratified if the miners only hang together.

Says the *Australian Christian World*:—

“A WORKINGMAN'S PARADISE.—Queensland is the elysium of the working man. His hours of labour are short and his wages high, and he can generally dictate his own terms to his employer. He is the petted child of the community. Tradesmen cater for him, the Press counsels and backs him, politicians tickle his vanity, and statesmen legislate on his behalf. His interests are watched with keen eyes on all sides.”

Now, although perhaps, as a body, men may be a trifle better off here than in Siberia, or Russia, or even England, yet there are hundreds out of work, and the number is steadily increasing. Eight hours work under a midsummer sky is like stoking for old Nick, yet the *Australian Christian World* calls it “an elysium.” Down in a wet mine at 10s. a day is a “Paradise.” On the wallaby with hard-headed and wooden-hearted squatters refusing tucker—Paradise. If these be Paradise, then what in the name of the *Australian Christian World's* burlesque humanity is Sheol? We pause for a reply.

The wharf labourers at Freemantle, W.A., recently formed a union. One firm, the Adelaide S.S. Co., conceded and at once recognised it; but three other firms not only decline to recognise the organisation but have announced that all union men in their employ will be discharged. In retaliation, one body of lumpers have taken the bull by the horns and declined to work with non-unionists. A strike has resulted, which is watched with interest by maritime men down South.

The master printers object to the Government Printing Office. Do the journeymen printers? In the Government office fair wages are paid to fair workmen, and there is no attempt at grinding. In private offices there is necessarily a continual pressure in the direction of cheap labour. This alone should induce workmen to throw their weight in favour of the former, and to insist that any reform should be in the direction of economic administration thereof, and not in restricting government work in order that cut-throat competition should have enlarged scope at the expense of workmen, their wives, and their families.

BOOMERANG.

Brisbane, Queensland, August 3, 1889.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

THE PROPAGANDA IN SHEFFIELD.—Good meetings held on Sunday at Hill-foot Bridge in the morning, addressed by Bullas, Carnall, Charles, and Mr. Usher; also at Mars Hill, Attercliffe, by Bingham, Smith, and Green; some opposition from a trades-unionist ably met by Bingham. In the afternoon, a good meeting at Rotherham College-yard, addressed by Bullas, Sketchley, Carnall, and Charles. In the evening, another meeting at Rotherham, addressed by Fox, Charles, and Carnall; and we finished up with a fine meeting at the Westbar later on, addressed by Charles, Sketchley, and Bullas. *Commonweal* and *Freedom* sold out, and other literature sold well. Collected during the day £2 0s. 7d. for local strike fund in aid of fire-drawers at S. Laycock and Sons. We have further meetings at Dove and Partridge Assembly Rooms on Tuesday night; and at Temperance Hall, on “Housing of the Poor,” at which Rev. C. Peach speaks for us, on Wednesday; also another meeting on behalf of strikers at Hallamshire Hall.

## IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

DESPITE the cablegram of Mr. G. Kynoch, M.P., of January last, there is little in the way of inducement to tradesmen to emigrate to South Africa. Of gold-miners there is more than enough; this is admitted even by officials of gold mines, managers of companies, and others. As Mr. Kynoch happens to be a large shareholder in several companies, whose interest it is to have more labourers on the spot than there is labour for, perhaps that will explain his cablegram. There is just now no demand whatever for miners or engineers, and but a very slight demand for carpenters, masons, bricklayers, etc. In fairness, however, let me say that the curse of enforced idleness is not so much to be dreaded here as in Britain. All the same, unskilled labourers ought not to come to South Africa. Native labour is so cheap, that white labourers have no chance whatever. There is an ever-increasing number of white men appearing as prisoners before the "Landrost" daily. A few days ago (27th August) eight of these were charged with vagrancy, and were told "that if they did not procure work before morning the police would arrest them and they would be ousted out of the town." What chance a white labourer can have of procuring employment "before morning" can be better imagined than described, when one reads the following advertisement in the same paper, the *Diggers' News*: "KAFFIRS.—The undersigned begs to inform the public that he is prepared to supply Kaffirs. For particulars apply to J. C. Tomlin, Orange Free State"; or when, further on, one again reads that "Mama Letseia, Basuto chief, was charged with breaking a contract for the delivery of native employees, and has made tracks for his native land. The gentleman who entered into a contract with Mama for the delivery of a number of Kaffirs on the Rand has suffered severely financially." The particulars of this case are as follow: The gentleman referred to above, or his agent, had gone into Basutoland and made overtures to the chief to induce him to send 160 or 200 of his tribe to work in the gold mines, offering him by way of inducement a bribe of 25s. per week per man supplied. I suppose Mr. Bradlaugh would call this "free contract"! However, the bribe was more than the chief was proof against, and about 160 natives were ordered to Johannesburg, where they were to work for three months at 25s. per week. On arriving here, the Jumpers Company—an appropriate name!—refused to pay them more than 15s. per week. Result: Mama refused to allow his men to work for less money than what had been promised them in Basutoland. Result again, that Mama was arrested—I suppose for intimidation—and lodged in prison. On coming out—he had promised compliance—he at once made tracks for Basutoland, no doubt impressed with the "honour and integrity" of gold-company officials and British capitalists in general. That the companies get natives to labour for them after the knowledge has got abroad of the treatment to which they, the natives, are subjected, is a wonder, and can only be explained by the fact that the natives are for the time slaves to their masters, the shareholders and mincowners, who are pleased to condone this form of slavery, since it increases their dividends considerably.

Speaking of the treatment of the native slaves employed in the mines, I read in the same paper, *Diggers' News*, that the "contractor for Boksburg Tramway admits that hundreds of natives die on their works and are buried without certificate of death." The opening-up of Matabeleland by the "Rhodes Matabele Syndicate" is giving rise to a deal of talk just now amongst diggers and Boers also, who make no secret that, despite the granting of the special charter by the British Government, they will refuse to admit the claim of the syndicate; and one speaker at a large meeting earned a round of applause by declaring—"Gentlemen, when the spoil falls to be divided, we will be there too!" As it is, the poor Matabeles are between the devil and the deep sea. Their country is likely to be torn from them by the Rudd-Rhodes Company on the one hand, and the individual gold-diggers on the other, who appear to be fully determined to "jump" the claims of the syndicate and "rush" the company as soon as ever the weather will admit of them "treking" that way. A Pretoria paper, the *Press*, edited by Baron Glückstein, in commenting on the Rhodes Matabele matter, says that colonisation of this kind and spoliation are synonymous terms—which is pretty true, as things go. Sir Gordon Sprigg and Sir Sydney Shippard are both freely blamed for having helped the Rhodes Syndicate to smuggle a thousand stand of rifles into the country, which are presumably for use in "opening up" Matabeleland. But what could poor Sir Gordon or Sir Sydney either do against a company whose chairman is the Prince of Wales's son-in-law, and of which the directorate is made up of earls and lords? No, no; these men know their work too well to refuse such a powerful and influential band of robbers anything they might require to "open-up" the country of the Matabeles. If the news just to hand from Matabeleland is correct, then more than the country will run a risk of "opening-up." It seems that Lobengulu's Impis—fighting regiments—are beyond the chief's control, and are now driving the white men, a number of whom they have "opened-up," out of the country, believing—and very naturally too—that when the Rudd Rhodes Company comes in they must go out, and they don't seem to relish the idea of an enforced "trek" across the Zambesi. However, a few months more will see a move being made into Matabeleland, and then—

Another extract from the advertisement column and I have done. In a sale of building plots in one of the townships round Johannesburg, the auctioneer says: "It is admitted on all sides that Johannesburg is fast growing into a second London, and as a matter of course all those business men who have made or are making their fortunes will seek a picturesque spot where, after the toils of business, they may enjoy the quiet retirement of repose amongst their family." To men such as these "Heights Township" offers every inducement; a water supply is arranged for; trees are being planted in the streets; and the company winds up by saying that they will at once proceed to build English and Baptist churches, and that plans for the erection of a splendid hotel are being drawn up. Nothing, however, about the poor devil of a Kaffir or white labourer being able to seek the "quiet retirement of repose amongst their family." No! a slum is good enough, in the "second London" as in the first, for the workman. Let him say nothing, but slink into it, and all will be well.

Cape Town, Sept. 4, 1889.

JAMES BAIN.

If we are set in earnest on escaping from delusions and sins, we cannot afford to wait for the multitude. If we would walk with clean steps we must gird ourselves for a solitary march. The world's mightiest tasks of reformation and regeneration have to be wrought out when lookers-on refuse their friendship, and the workers in them stand misunderstood, misinterpreted, reviled, persecuted, alone.—*Huntington*.

## MARGUERITE.

TO MY DAUGHTER, M. P.

TURNED five, yet unbaptised is Marguerite—  
The little Pagan! When she wakes she cries  
With a glad bird-chirp, "Good-day, bright sunrise!"  
And with fresh lips straight falls to kissing it.

That's all her prayer: what credo were more fit?  
She loves the dew-filled flowers, red flames of skies,  
A cloud for hours will fix her wondering eyes;  
She loves thy flag, Commune, the fire-lit!

She keeps no Sabbath, but in the church-hour  
Watches the young buds breaking into flower;  
Nature that talks with her teaches her wit.

She sees a meaning in all things: we give  
Her a spring-cabbage crinkled: "It doth live  
And laugh!" she cries; "Look, father! doesn't it?"

EUGENE POTTIER, translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

READERS of our capitalist newspapers might imagine that the present time was a remarkably quiet one, and that the labour troubles were subsiding at last. A glance at the columns of the *Star* is, however, enough to disabuse anyone duped by the silence of such papers as the *Daily News*, which is evidently anxious to frighten its middle-class subscribers as little as possible. The air is electric; we feel that fresh storms are gathering and that struggles are impending to which even the revolt of the dockers will be a mere skirmish. One of the most eloquent signs of the coming storm is the fact that the gas-stokers, the coal-porters, the sailors and firemen, are going to federate their unions all over England. In this alliance they hope to get the miners and railway-men to join, so they will be able to control the whole coal supply, and thus put a rope round the neck of every sweating capitalist in this free and happy land. Michael Henry is the author of this scheme, which seems not only practical, but one admirably calculated, if carried out and carried into action, to realise Mr. Norwood's vision. We only hope the miners and the railway-men will join as heartily in the scheme as the other trades have done.

The tramway-men held a big meeting in the Memorial Hall on Saturday morning, October 5th. On this occasion they were enabled to rejoice in the presence of a noble lord in the chair. It must, however, in fairness be said that Lord Rosebery made a much better and more manly speech than what these unfortunate slaves usually hear from the middle and upper class politicians. He was right, too, in telling the men that an alteration of these evils can only come from their own action. It is quite certain that if they wait for that grandmotherly body the County Council, now so busy in "purifying" our public amusements and otherwise caring for our morality, to help them they will wait a long while. The County Council is too busy carrying out the dictates of Mrs. Grundy, and providing one of its most "honoured" friends with an easy and well-paid job at the public expense, to trouble about workmen who slave for sixteen and eighteen hours a-day at a starvation pittance.

The Silvertown strike still continues. The firm of Messrs. Silver and Co., which pays its men 3½d. and 4½d. an hour, can yet afford to pay 17 per cent. dividends to rich idlers like Lord Salisbury, Mr. Haldane, M.P., Lady Hobhouse, and pious clergymen like the Reverends Davis and Frost. Here we have Tories, Radicals, and the Church all equally concerned in sweating the people. This is all they have ever done for the masses, and all they ever will do. The only care of Tory peer, Radical M.P., and clergyman for the people is to rob them as much as possible; and it is time the people stopped their little game.

We are glad to see that our friends the tailors have realised most of their moderate demands. They have fought their strike gallantly, with few friends and but little money at their back, and we are only sorry that they have not reaped a greater reward.

## Norwood is angry.

Mr. Norwood's recent speech to his unhappy shareholders upon the labour revolt is amusing. It is quite evident that the good gentleman has quite lost his temper, and his harmless ferocity is almost as funny as the agonising attempts of an old hound to bite who has lost his teeth, or the impotent malice of some paralysed old harridan, who can only vent her fury in frenzied curses, which supply little boys and other bystanders with innocent amusement.

I fear, however, that the leaders of the strikers must be very sorry that they let Norwood off so easily, for from his own statement it is evident that he was in a very tight place indeed. On one side there was Cardinal Manning, who poured into Norwood's unwilling ear fearful rumours of impending riot and insurrection; while on the other the Lord Mayor had a no less alarming announcement as to the sums of money that were pouring in from Australia, and intimating, moreover, that he might feel himself compelled to open a Mansion House fund, and that very strong pressure was being brought to bear upon him, which he could not long resist, to call a meeting at the Mansion House. This was very bad for Norwood, and very good for the Strike Committee; but what under these circumstances do these "friends" of the dockers, the Lord Mayor and Cardinal Manning, do? Why, they endeavour to get the leaders to agree to an impossible compromise, by which the men would have to wait for the tanner till January; and when this is rejected, they try to turn public sympathy from the men by denouncing them in a manifesto, and by making speeches in which they say they are "unreasonable." The wonder is that the leaders of the men accepted any further compromise from these players of Mr. Norwood's "game." Cardinal Manning and the Lord Mayor deliberately lent themselves to an attempt to turn away public sympathy from the strikers, and thus starve them into submission; and yet after these proofs of jesuitical treachery, the leaders of the strike accepted their proposal of a fresh "compromise." It is not easy to understand the "wisdom" of this action.

But even the partial victory of the dockers fills Mr. Norwood with alarm, not as to the future of the dock companies, for they intend to raise their rates, so that for every penny gained by the dockers they will put 2½d. into their own pockets; but Mr. Norwood as a shrewd business man and a typical capitalist dreads the effect which this strike may have upon the minds of the workers in other poorly paid occupations. But here are his own words:

"The successes, such as they are, of the recent strike will of necessity result, as they have already done, in further labour disturbances. If the lowest form of unskilled labour, such as the casual docker (of whom no questions are asked as to character or education, and of whom brute-force is the only qualification), is to be remunerated at the rate of 6d. per hour, is it likely that skilled men will long be content? Will the Post-Office employé, the railway servant, and the police constable be long satisfied with their position? . . . Mr. Burns has shown us how the maritime trade of the port can, in a few days, become paralysed. A little more picketing, with its attendant intimidation and violence, and every railway out of London would be stopped, the city plunged in darkness, the food supply arrested, and the metropolis compelled to submit, for the time at least, to any conditions that the strikers might impose upon it. This may be thought a fancy picture, but I venture to assert that it is well within the reach of possibility, unless steps are taken, and that promptly, to confront the extreme pretensions of labour."

Here is a pretty picture; and after Mr. Norwood has shown the people what they could do in London if they wanted an eight hour labour day, or the expropriation of capitalists, or Mr. Norwood's head—though that would not be much use to them—or any other little trifle of that sort, they have only to stop every railway, plunge London in darkness, and stop the food supply, and the thing is done. Thanks, Mr. Norwood, for teaching the people their own power.

D. N.

### Scottish Bakers.

The bakers in Scotland have determined not to begin work before 5 a.m., and to leave off at 4 p.m. They are likely to succeed. The masters in Kilsyth, Helensburgh, and a large number of other country towns, have already submitted to the men's demands. The society is strong all throughout Scotland. At a meeting held in the Albion Halls, Glasgow, Oct. 2, the secretary drew attention to the sudden interest that was being taken by the masters, and remarked it was a pity they had been so long in discovering the grievances the men had so long suffered from. He did not deny that they had made a wonderful offer, but he hoped the men understood why it was made. It was because of the Federal Union. Other speeches were delivered on the importance of standing by each other and rejecting all insidious offers, which, they were afraid, would not be kept. It was unanimously resolved to support the society, and that the men hand in their demand for a uniform morning hour, and if not granted they would strike on the 12th inst. A large number of men joined the society after the meeting was over.

### Lanarkshire Miners.

Things are looking more hopeful in this district, and it is the key of the mining industry in Scotland. The cause of the men has been somewhat weakened ever since the last strike by some "snakes in the grass," who were anxious to wound the secretary, Mr. Small. The state of affairs has been a constant cause of grief to the real friends of the miners, who knew the spirit of the attack on Mr. Small and his thorough genuineness and fearless self-sacrifice, even to positive suffering, in the miners' interests. But it was ever thus. If he had looked to his own position, like our Weirs and Robertsons, and less to the miners', probably they would have dealt more kindly with him. Motherwell was the seat of the conspirators, but at a mass meeting held there on Oct. 2, after hearing Mr. Small, a vote of confidence was passed.

### Clyde Steelworkers.

On the banks of the Clyde there is a steelworks noted for the lowness of its wages as compared with others in the district, which from its beginning has been a non-union sweating hell. Lately fifty of the workers joined the society, and when the boss heard of it thirteen of them were warned away as a terror. But the terror has struck the proper parties this time. Instead of thirteen men leaving off making money for sweaters, 120 went out on strike. The masters have been unsuccessful in getting other men to fill their places, and the middlemen or sweaters and clerks have tried their hands at making steel. The sweaters are more successful with steel than steel. This kid-glove competition with labour's claims is becoming frequent and comic. We, as Socialists, can appreciate the cruel competition that compels the poor clerk to that which neither his hand nor his heart is in with, and also the "principle" that in such emergencies compels the masher master to work side by side with the returned convict, as was the case at Glasgow Docks. We can sympathise with the clerks and rejoice at the fitness of things as exemplified in the masters' position. The workmen in this instance are determined to get rid of the middlemen or sweaters.

### Clyde Riggers.

The Clyde riggers have agreed to form a union. Though a skilled trade, they have at present less wages than the dock labourers. By all means the workers in all trades should unite. "In union there is strength." But it should never be overlooked that this regulation of wages can never permanently benefit the workers. Their unions can never be so solid as the individual masters, and so long as the latter are permitted to hold the key of the position in their hands, in the name of capital, the workers will be forced to contribute their tribute, notwithstanding all their unions. The aim and goal of unions should be other than the regulation of wages; it should not only try to sweep away the middleman, it should sweep away every robber of labour, no matter what he may be called.

G. McL.

### Wire Weavers' Strike at Norwich.

On Monday, Sept. 30, the wire weavers employed at Messrs. Barnard and Bishop's turned out on strike, to protest against a code of rules in force on the firm, and in consequence of one of the men being fined 2s. 6d., besides the loss of his wages, for being absent one night the previous week. The following rules the men complain of:—(1) That any wire weaver not being at work at 6.30 a.m. shall be fined 1s. for each offence; (2) Any weaver not being at work by 6.30 a.m. without letting his foreman know, will be fined 2s. 6d. for each offence; (3) Any weaver destroying these rules will be fined

10s. If the offender is not found the whole of the weavers will be subjected to the fine.

The men made the following request of the firm:—(1) The rules relating to fines be abolished; (2) That workmen be allowed to leave the premises day or night if their machines break down, or when from any cause they cannot work; (3) That a night watchman be employed, who shall have instructions to let men out who cannot work in consequence of the breakdown of the machinery, accident, or ill-health.

On Tuesday twenty-six of the boys employed turned out, making a total on strike of 72. The strikers declared at a meeting that their average wages the whole year did not exceed 12s. per week. Some of the men gave an account of being on night work, were locked in and could not get out. One stated his machine had broken down twice in one night, and enabled him to earn only a shilling that night; another earned 11½d. in two nights, working 24 hours. During the week several deputations waited on the heads of the firm, but it was of no avail. On Saturday a compromise was entered into with the workmen and the firm, the firm agreeing to accept the following terms, which were agreed to by the men:—(1) That the rules relating to fines for non-attendance be abolished, and that all workmen and boys return under the previous existing rules on Monday morning next; (2) That sufficient provision be made whereby men on night work may leave the works, in case they cannot work, either from breakdown in machinery, accident, or illness; (3) That any workman habitually absenting himself from work without giving proper notice to the foreman, without reasonable cause, shall be dismissed from the works; (4) That any workman habitually losing time without reasonable cause shall be dismissed from the works.

The men have announced a meeting for the purpose of forming a union.

A. T. S.

**SOCIALISM IN EDINBURGH.**—The Edinburgh branches of the S. L. and S. D. F. have amalgamated and formed a strong local branch of the Scottish Socialist Federation. They announce a good series of lectures at the Moulders' Hall for the winter months, our comrade Bruce Glasier beginning the series last Sunday. The Scottish Socialist Federation have issued a statement of principles, the spirit of which may be seen in the concluding paragraph:

"The Scottish Socialist Federation, being convinced of the truth of the foregoing propositions, aims at the realisation of Socialism, and to that end expects its members to spread the principles of Socialism among the people, and to acknowledge Truth, Justice, and Morality as the basis of their behaviour among themselves and towards all their fellow-men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality. The Federation regards it as the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but also for everyone who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights."

We wish our comrades every success in their work.

**WORK AND WAGES IN WYOMING, U.S.A.**—A correspondent writing from Rock Springs, Wyoming, in the *Journal of United Labour* of August 29, says: Work is rather brisk here at present, both in the building trade and the coal mines; but I would not advise anyone to come here, as there is no scarcity of men. The price paid for mining coal is 70 and 75 cents per ton, but it takes 2,988 pounds to make a ton. Take 2,988 and subtract a quarter off it for slack, which means 747 pounds, and you have just one pound over a ton, or 2,241 pounds. There is a mine here with an eleven-foot vein, and it is paid for at the rate of 70 cents per ton; another vein only four and a half feet, and it is dug at the same price, and it is under the same company. There was a little trouble here a few weeks ago. The company is engaged sinking a shaft and they struck water in it, and the men who were working in it asked for an advance of 25 cents a day in addition to their wages, 2 dols. 75 cents. The superintendent discharged them and put Finlanders in their places. Wages are as follows: Carpenters, 3 dols. to 3 dols. 50 cents; plasterers, 5 dols.; labourers, 2 dols. to 2 dols. 50 cents; miners, 70 to 75 cents per ton; drivers, 2 dols. 50 cents; Chinese, 1 dol. 35 cents to 1 dol. 75 cents. Board costs from 22 dols. to as high as 40 dols. per month.

Mr. GRANT ALLEN has made in the current number of the *Fortnightly* a bold attempt to grapple with what he frankly calls "The Woman Question" from a physiological standpoint. Here are the summarised heads of his argument:—(1) That for the perpetuation of the race, or nation, it is imperative that the great majority of women should become mothers; (2) that in "the ideal community" the duties of motherhood should be distributed among the greatest possible number of women, both for the sake of the mothers themselves and "in order that the average family may be kept small, that is to say, healthy and educable"; (3) that for the proper performance of the duties of motherhood, the mothers must be supported by the men; (4) that female education should, therefore, be primarily directed towards producing wise, healthy, and noble mothers, and not to producing self-supporting spinsters fit to compete with men in the battle of life. The conclusion is that "the highest women's movement" must have for its object the elevation, development, emancipation of—the wife. Mr. Grant Allen appeals to "advanced women" to meet advanced men on the platform which he has constructed, but at the same time he points out that—

"As a matter of fact, few women will go as far in their desire to emancipate woman as many men will go. It was Ibsen, not Mrs. Ibsen, who wrote the 'Doll's House.' It was women, not men, who ostracised George Eliot. The slavishness begotten in women by the régime of man is what we have most to fight against, not the slave-driving instinct of the men, now happily becoming obsolete, or even changing into a sincere desire to do equal justice."

In justice it should be added that he is tender enough towards the self-supporting spinster as we have her at present. She is to be recognised as a solemn fact—one of the unfortunate products of imperfect social conditions:—

"We ought for the moment to make things as easy and smooth as possible for her; we ought to remove all professional barriers, to break down the absurd jealousies and prejudices of men; to give her fair play, and if possible a little more than fair play, in the struggle for existence. . . . But we ought at the same time fully to recognise that she is an abnormality, not the woman of the future. We ought not to erect into an ideal what is in reality a painful necessity of the present transitional age."

STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday October 13, at 8.30, Sidney Webb, "What Socialism means."

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday October 13th, at 8.45 p.m., William Morgan, "The late Dock-Labourers' Strike: Lessons, Political and Social."



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.—STRIKES.**—It was resolved at last Monday's Executive Meeting that: "In answer to numerous enquiries, the Executive Council of the S.L. desires to express its opinion that members of the League do not in any way compromise their principles by taking part in strikes, but asks them not to let the revolutionary propaganda suffer thereby."

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:**—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. Manchester, to end of July. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Oct. 15, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. Comrade Mowbray will address the members on "The Best Method of Propaganda." The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; J. B. G., 2s.; Nicoll, 6d.; Blundell, 1s.; H. H. S., 6d.; and M. M., 6d.

## REPORTS.

**CHELSEA.**—Good meeting held on the Embankment on Sunday morning, when Toehatti, Lyne, and Samuels spoke; 38 *Weal* sold and several *Chants*.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Weardale (S.D.F.), Maughan, and A. J. Smith. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. Fair meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers were Dean, Crouch, and Maughan; a few *Commonweals* sold. No meeting in the evening owing to weather.

**MITCHAM.**—Good meeting on Fair Green; 40 *Commonweal* sold, and 2s. 8d. collected for local propaganda.

**SOUTHWARK.**—We held a good meeting at Flat Iron Square on Sunday morning; comrades Cores and Holloway, and Buckeridge (S.D.F.) were the speakers; *Commonweal* sold well and several names given in. There is every probability of this being a strong branch, but so far, unfortunately, we have been unable to obtain a branch room; the landlords look upon us as a gang of dynamitards.—G. EVANS, sec.

**STREATHAM.**—At Fountain in the evening Reynolds spoke; 41 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 11d. collected.

**ST. GEORGE'S, EAST.**—A good meeting was held on Mile End Waste on Tuesday, addressed by Leech and Turner; good sale of literature. At a members' meeting on Wednesday we had a whip round for comrade Leggett, who has been out of work some weeks on account of striking; a benefit is mooted on his behalf. No meeting held on Mile End Waste on Saturday, as comrades did not turn up, although members were there with platform and *Weal*. On Sunday two meetings were held instead of one, Leech, Turner, and Nicoll speaking at Union Street, Leggett and Nicoll at Philipott Street; good sale of *Weal*. More help wanted on the Waste Tuesdays and Saturdays.

**LEICESTER.**—Saturday, Sept. 29, Maguire, of Leeds, addressed the Loughborough people; good audience; O'Sullivan took the chair. On the 30th Maguire addressed three meetings, the first being at the Radical Club, Vine Street, the lecture-room of which has been thrown open to the public, we taking the collection. On Sunday, Oct. 6, W. A. Chambers gave us three addresses. At the Radical Club they turned up in force, and cheered the sentiments and proposals of the speakers; at night, in Humberstone Gate, had an audience of 500. A resolution was carried unanimously condemning the Leicester Town Council's rejection of a resolution proposed by one of the Trade Union leaders on council, that no contracts should be given to men who were not willing to pay a "fair" wage. Sept. 29, collected 14s. 2d.; literature, 3s. 9d.; October 6, collected 18s. 4d.; literature, 8s. 2d.—T. P. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—We held a meeting on Sunday morning at Philip's Park, Stockton, and Baillie spoke; 17 *Weals* sold; audience attentive, though weather was unfavourable. In the afternoon a good meeting in Stevenson Square, addressed by Ritson, Parkinson, and Baillie. We had some opposition from a man in the crowd, who was satisfactorily replied to; 20 *Weals* and few copies of *Freedom* sold.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday afternoon comrade W. Moore addressed a very fair audience in the Market Place; in the evening at the Gordon Hall. A general discussion upon Socialism; several comrades took part.

**YARMOUTH.**—Last Sunday morning, on Priory Plain, we had a very good muster to hear Mrs. Schack, when comrade Headley read two letters which he had received from her, stating that she was unable to attend owing to ill-health, but that she would come as soon as she was strong enough to do so. In the evening, at Colman's Grainery Quay, we had another good meeting, comrades Ruffold, Hadley, and Brightwell being the speakers; 18 *Commonweals* sold, 8d. collected for local propaganda.—J. H.

**LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.**—This society held its usual meeting on Tuesday, Oct. 1, at 8 p.m. They have decided to commence work of a public character early in November.—E. C. CHAPMAN, sec.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Peacock and Whalley spoke in Great Market Place on Sunday night to good audiences. After the meeting we were visited at our hall by a Salford comrade, and another (a lady) from Rochdale.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Oct. 5th, J. O'Gorman lectured on "Strikes—their Cause and Cure," advocating International Socialism as the only remedy; good discussion, King, Kavanagh, Hayes, and Shields being the speakers.

**ROCHDALE.**—On Sept. 29th, comrade Leonard Hall lectured here. We had two meetings; in the evening he held the audience well together for close on an hour. During the lecture remarks of approval were heard, but no discussion could be got from the audience; 9s. 2½d. collected.—E. M. LOND.

**HAMMERSMITH CLUB.**—Sunday, at 8 p.m., W. Morris on "The Class War."

**CHELSEA S.D.F. Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.**—Sunday October 13th, at 8 p.m., George Bernard Shaw, "Radicalism and Social Democracy."

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Battersea.**—This Branch is now forming. All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday October 20, at 8 p.m., lecture by G. Cores, "Practical Socialism."

**East London.**—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Business Meeting will be held on Sunday October 13, at 8 p.m., to consider proposals regarding branch premises, and other important business.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 13, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Wednesday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.—Comrade Morris will speak for the Branch on Sunday week 20th inst.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 12.

8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church.....Kitz  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste.....Cores and Banfield.

SUNDAY 13.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Lyne sen. and jun., and Dean  
11.30 ..... Chelsea—Embankment .....Samuels and Presburg  
11.30 ..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring  
11.30 ..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Crouch and Maughan  
11.30 ..... Commercial Road—Union Street .....The Branch  
11.30 ..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Mowbray  
11.30 ..... Regent's Park .....Mrs. Lahr  
11.30 ..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....Nicoll and Cores  
3.30 ..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Nicoll and Cores  
3.30 ..... Victoria Park .....Davis and Mrs. Schack  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30 ..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Kitz and Mowbray  
7.30 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Kitz and Mowbray  
7.30 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....Blundell

TUESDAY 15.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste.....Cores

THURSDAY 17.

8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Kitz and Parker

FRIDAY 18.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....Davis and Cores  
8 ..... Islington—Prebend Street .....Parker

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: The Meadows at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

**Sheffield.**—Sunday: Hillfoot Bridge, at 11 a.m.; Mars Hill, Attercliffe, at 11; Rotherham College Yard, at 6.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

**CHELSEA DISCUSSION FORUM**, Swiss Cottage, Kings Road, nearly opposite the Eleusis.—Sunday Oct. 13, at 8 p.m., H. Samuels will give the opening address.

**GLADSTONE RADICAL W. M. CLUB**, 22 Baroness Road, Hackney Road, E.—Sunday October 13, at 12 noon, George Bernard Shaw, "Radicalism and Social Democracy."

**DUBLIN.**—Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, on Saturday October 12th, at 8 p.m., A. Kavanagh will lecture on "The Necessity for Labour Organisation."

**EDINBURGH.**—In Moulders' Hall, on Sun. 13th, W. Davidson lectures on "The Wage System." On Sundays, at 5, French Class. Business Meeting on Fridays. At 35 George IV. Bridge, Class for study of Lassalle's "Capital and Labour," on Tuesdays at 8.30.

**A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.**—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. October 18, Frank Podmore, "Early Socialism." Nov. 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.

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## THE ALTRUIST

Is a monthly paper, partly in phonetic spelling, and devoted to Community homes, with common property, united labour, and equal rights to all. It is published by the Altruist Community, whose members all live and work together, hold all their property in common, and both men and women have equal rights in deciding on all its business affairs by their majority vote. Address A. LONGLEY, Editor, 2 N. Fourth Street, St. Louis, Mo.

## DER ARME TEUFEL.

EDITED BY ROBERT REITZEL.

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("The Worker")

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## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 197.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE seems to be a risk of the London County Council making a huge blunder, which it certainly will do if it approves the report of its Licensing Committee. That committee proposes in the first place that the Council shall act as a censor of morals as to the matter of what is said or sung in the Music Halls, and it is impossible for them to fulfil this function except on the old reactionary lines. Granted that the songs provided by the music halls are often coarse and often nasty, who is to gauge the degree of coarseness and nastiness which shall be enough to deprive a hall of its licence? Whose standard is to be applied? That of a Scotch goody-goody, a fanatical Salvationist editor of a commercial sensational journal, or that of a sensible man?

But no sensible man will have anything to do with such nonsense as trying to make people moral by Act, either of Parliament or of County Council. The standard, therefore, will be the standard of "purity" fanatics, who will be backed up by politicians anxious to catch the votes of the very powerful Nonconformist Liberals.

And all the time they will let alone the nastiness and *double entendre* of the respectable theatres, which are every bit as bad as the coarseness of the music halls.

It won't do. As a people is, so are its entertainments, and both the music halls and the theatres are but a reflex of the life of the slums. To that must you play down, gentlemen and ladies of the stage, or your managers will not be able to fill their houses, and your salaries will tumble down. Given a society corrupted by the existence of general misery, and founded on sheer robbery of the disinherited, and what are its theatrical entertainments likely to be? At the best, corruption whitewashed with respectability; at the worst?—but can there be anything worse than that?

As to the other side of this moral outburst of the over-righteous of the London County Council, the shutting up of a place of entertainment because it shelters prostitutes; that is worse still. You want to turn these poor women out into the streets, and when they are in the streets you want to run them in for being there. And all the while you know perfectly well that they are just as necessary an institution of modern Society as the banker who looks after the money that pays them, or the policeman who runs them in.

In short, this is an attack on the public by the Puritans, and it will be a thousand pities if the London County Council allows them to jump into the saddle and so injure its possible usefulness. And it is grievous to think how much power this Puritanism still has. Although it has sunk from a destructive fanaticism into a slimy superstition, it is still a dangerous ally of the gigantic robbery of capitalism, which first gave it birth. Such a body of voters as it can bring to the polling places!

The Bishop of London in the chair of the St. James's Hall meeting, gave a clear expression of its arbitrariness in refusing to allow our friend Headlam to move an amendment or to speak. His conception of a public meeting as a place where only one side is to be heard is refreshingly naïve, and really beats Bradlaugh.

Certainly it would be a preposterous blunder of the London County Council to jump at the office of a subsidiary Lord Chamberlain, and carry out his antiquated rules with extra zeal, even to the shutting up of the unprivileged small dramatic entertainments with (naturally) the full concurrence of Mr. Augustus Harris.

The "Turkish Atrocities" in Crete and Armenia are such an obviously good card for the Liberal party to play, that one cannot help feeling some suspicion on the subject. Such things, however, are the natural outcome of a dominant race with a population of workers

under them, whether they be peasants or what not. We shall be less likely to question the substantial truth of these reports when we remember English "atrocities" in Ireland, India, Jamaica, Egypt, and other places where that blameless, religious, and practical race has been dominant.

Certainly two wrongs do not make a right, and we should be heartily glad to hear of the Cretans and Armenians rising against their tyrants, especially if that could be done without furnishing them with a fresh set of tyrants in the form of westernised, stock-jobbers subservient to the world-market, as I fear it could not. But we must not forget meanwhile that these "atrocities" are nothing more than the form which exploitation takes in rough societies; and that our own workers forced to live (?) in slums, to work in the factory hell, to have to enjoy bad beer and a low music hall as *their* share of the comforts and luxuries of civilisation, can show "atrocities" in competition with Crete, Armenia—or Hell, and that their case is a pretty considerable "disgrace to Europe," as the newspaper posters were phrasing it the other day.

For again let us remember that while the "atrocities" in Crete are spasmodic, the atrocities in England are chronic: *they* are always going on day after day, though we sometimes sprinkle a little rose-water on them in the hope (?) of a remedy. The very fact that the Cretan peasants can raise such a clamour over their sufferings shows that they have a well-grounded hope of their ceasing. What hope can our slum-dwellers have of curing their sufferings? Only those of them can have formed a hope who, dimly it may be, see the Social Revolution advancing.

To think that there are people in England by the hundred thousand who *cannot* hope for happiness because they have had no opportunity of forming an idea of what happiness is! Yet this is the foundation on which our modern society rests.

W. M.

By an unaccountable slip last week, I attributed the strike articles by Cardinal Manning and John Burns to the *Universal* instead of to the *New Review*, in which they really appear. The blunder is all the greater, as I might have remembered that I had *bought* the *New Review* (at 6d.), whereas I should have *borrowed* the *Universal* (at 2s. 6d.).

The Arts and Crafts Exhibition is open again, and might be used as a propagandist weapon with great effect. To take a doubting friend and show him what Socialists can do might induce him to hear with more attention what they have to say. And you will find plenty of Socialist work there; not alone of Morris and Crane and Emery Walker, and so on, but of men and women less heard of and comparatively unknown. An announcement of the forthcoming lectures will be found elsewhere.

Critics of all kinds have had a try at judging it, of course, and, equally of course, have for the most part failed miserably in rendering any coherent verdict upon either its merits or its meaning. But with one exception they have been studiously fair; the exception being Mr. — well! the "Artist Unknown" of the *Star*, who is neither an artist nor unknown, as I have had occasion to say before. And he, like the capitalist who listens to a Socialist, and knows that if the people hearken his occupation will be gone, and for just the same reason, indulged in a tirade of reactionary abuse. Against which may be placed the "plain man's" opinion expressed in its favour by Mr. Grant Allen in the *Pall Mall*. The fact of the matter being that on its own lines the Arts and Crafts Society is doing right good revolutionary work, to the great anger and disquietude of the quacks and exploiters of the present reign of sham.

*Apropos* of the schoolboy strikes which are taking place "all over the shop," we have received several very interesting letters, notably one from a Leith comrade, which we can only regret that space forbids our printing in full. The points they chiefly emphasise are the parallelism with the French Revolution times, the value of a real strike of



school-children, backed by their parents, as a means of bringing about free education, free meals, etc., and the hopefulness of the fact that the "rising generation" are learning to regard themselves as citizens with rights and duties of their own.

None of our correspondents point out, however, the real point of the whole affair, that it is only another phase of the ever-recurring social problem. It is the children of the poor who feel the pressure of the present system so bitterly that they revolt; it is the children of the poor, because they are poor, who are overworked, underfed, ill-treated generally; a juvenile edition of the labour-struggle, a fit preparation indeed for the "battle of life" they will presently be compelled to wage.

Mr. Campbell White, a millionaire chemical manufacturer and an eminently practical Christian, by some recent utterances called forth the following from the Glasgow *Bailie*:

"When Mr. Campbell White is denouncing the railway companies for Sunday labour, it is to be hoped that he will give the chemical manufacturers 'a bite skite in the bye-gaun.' The poor wretches employed in chemical works are obliged to inhale poison on the day of rest that millionaires may be made. Their life is miserable, but by the blessed law of compensation it is short. Over the gates of such works, with a little addition, the terrible line of Dante should be inscribed—'Of health and all hope abandon ye who enter here.'"

At Dumbarton the other Sunday the Rev. Scott Matheson spoke at the High Street U.P. Church on Socialism, taking as his text the words (Isaiah lxii., 10), "Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highways; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people." Although it was on a Sunday and in a Scotch kirk, the congregation had much ado to keep from applauding. The lecture was well reported in the local papers. And so the leaven works. S.

Could the gospel of sham be better illustrated? The Regent Square pulpit has turned out to be made of stucco, and the disappointment of the London antiquarian Scot, who dreamed of preserving a bit of the "fine old carved oak" of Edward Irvine's pulpit, is all too deep for sneers! Oh! poor Scot, whose days are spent in the southern "big smoke," and who for years has looked upon that shoddy shrine in Regent Square as being made of the grand old oak but now find it to be made of stucco, may it not dawn upon your mental vision that even in that worship which went forth from the stucco pulpit things were not what they seemed? What would Carlyle have thought and said of his friend's pulpit? What does John McNeil say? Be it his so to speak and act that when his workmanship comes to be taken down and examined, it may be found what it professed to be, viz., a living message for here and now, a present gospel to the workers, and not something made of show and—stucco. G. McL.

## PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP.

THERE are many persons in England who advocate a system of peasant proprietorship in order to dispense with the evils which landlordism has created. This system, if adopted, would prove as injurious to the people as the present; for it would bring into existence a greater number of landowners than there are to-day. Were we to substitute peasant proprietorship in the place of landlordism, we should have the same difficulties to contend with in years to come as we are struggling against at present. It would be as well to allow the present monopolists to retain possession of the soil as to divide it between a greater number of small landowners. This is what peasant proprietorship means; and instead of destroying the evils created by landlordism, they would remain, but a greater number of owners held responsible for them. If those who cultivate the land are not entitled to the full value of the labour employed upon it, who are? Would the agricultural labourers under a system of peasant proprietorship enjoy to the fullest extent the product of their labour? Certainly not, for the proprietors would be in a position to take from them a certain proportion of the wealth produced by their combined labour. The proprietor would employ labourers to cultivate the soil on condition that he pays them a certain price for their labour, whilst at the same time the proprietor would be entitled to all the profits arising from between the articles sold and the salary he paid his employés. This course is almost similar to what the present landowners insist upon the agricultural labourers adopting under present social conditions. Look at peasant proprietorship in this light. Suppose a proprietor owns one hundred acres of land; he employs at the least ten men; each receive a weekly wage of twenty shillings all the year round. At the expiration of twelve months the proprietor discovers that he has saved sufficient money to purchase somewhere about an additional ten acres, which in addition to his first plot numbers one hundred and ten acres. Having this extra land, he finds it necessary to engage another man, paying him the same wages as the others. At the end of the next year, the proprietor finds out that he is in a position to purchase another plot of land; he does so, and employs another labourer. This goes on year after year, until the peasant proprietor can turn himself from a small landowner into a large one, through being allowed to purchase land out of the money extracted from those labourers whom the proprietor employs to cultivate his lands. Thus we see that instead of peasant proprietorship doing away with the evils of landlordism, it will only

foster them; for the proprietor is at liberty to employ labourers and insist upon taking from them a portion of what they produce.

Were this system established in the United Kingdom it would prove as injurious to our rural population as the same system has proved detrimental to the rural inhabitants of France. When the proprietors have saved enormous wealth out of the agricultural labourers, they would introduce new machines; displace a great number of labourers; and put into their own pockets the money which ought to be used for purchasing food, clothes, and suchlike for the individuals discharged through the introduction of machinery. Machinery under this system does the same thing as machinery in the workshops and factories—throws people out of employment. Therefore, instead of peasant proprietorship being the means of creating comfort and happiness for our rural community, it would be the means of allowing a greater number of landowners to make themselves wealthy through the efforts of the agricultural labourers. If the labourers are to be robbed of their rights by peasant proprietors, they might as well submit to be robbed for ever by the present monopolists.

The transition would bring about no extra degree of pleasure; for the workers would under this system be compelled to produce wealth for proprietors who have as much right to do their share of the world's toil as any agricultural labourer. Landlordism plunders the people wholesale of what belongs to them; peasant proprietorship would intensify the evil and rob the soil-cultivators of their natural claims to share equally in the fruits of the earth. The rural population of France furnishes us with a splendid argument against peasant proprietorship; for being a great country for small owners of land, it affords us an opportunity for proving the dangers attached to such a system. The rural population decreased by 3,400,000 persons between the years 1851 and 1872. In 1851 the rural community was 21,922,000, or 62 per cent. of the whole population; in 1861 it diminished to 19,873,000, or 53 per cent. of the whole; and in 1872 it decreased to 18,513,000, or 52 per cent. of the population (see 'Progress of the World,' page 241). Mr. Mulhall states that "this decline is also in a measure due to the introduction of machinery, in which respect wonderful progress has been made in our own time" (*ibid.*, p. 241). If machinery is to be constantly introduced in order to do away with human labour, we shall shortly witness in France a revolution similar to the one which took place in the last century, when feudalism was destroyed.

This is what peasant proprietorship has done for France. What, then, is the difference between the French and English systems, so far as the labouring community are concerned? French proprietors introduce machinery so as to make themselves rich, while the rural population become poor; in the United Kingdom the landowners dispense with the agricultural labourers, because agriculture is rapidly going out of existence in these islands, owing to the monopolists using the land for deer-forests and hunting grounds. In France the proprietors engage labour so as to make profits for their personal enjoyment; whilst in these islands the owners refuse to allow the soil to be cultivated unless they receive wealth under the name of rent. How, then, will peasant proprietorship be better for the common good than landlordism? In order to show how it is possible for a small proprietor to become the owner of a great number of acres, we have only to look at the following statistics, taken from Mr. Mulhall's 'Progress of the World,' p. 241:

Estates.	No.	Average extent.	Area.
1st class ...	154,000	320 acres	48 million acres
2nd class ...	636,000	50 "	32 "
3rd class ...	620,000	20 "	12½ "
4th class ...	1,816,000	6 "	10½ "
Total ...	3,226,000	32 acres	103 million acres

From the above it will appear that the French proprietors are nothing but great employers of labour; and the more land they acquire the more labourers they will have to engage, until such times as they can purchase machines in order to dispense with a number of their employés. It does certainly appear unnatural that a minority of men should be in a position to employ or discharge human beings whenever they think proper. Peasant proprietorship is against the interests of the labouring community, and ought not to be accepted by them, when at the same time the land could be communalised and cultivated on co-operative principles for the benefit of the whole population.

Communalisation of land is the only remedy for the evils the workers are suffering from to-day. Were the land under the control of the community the people collectively would share to the greatest extent in its produce. And the soil-cultivators would not be obliged to support either landowners or peasant proprietors; for these individuals would become extinct as monopolists, and they would be obliged to labour for their own maintenance. The great difference between the agricultural labourers of to-day and those of the future working under the latter system would be that they would be able in future to enjoy their own productions; whereas to-day the landowners live upon the labourers and refuse to assist in the production of wealth.

Which is the best course to adopt of the two following: A system whereby the peasant proprietor would be able to purchase as much land as possible, employ labour upon the same, and extract from the labourers sufficient wealth to enable him to live without doing any useful labour for the community; or a system which would abolish the landlord and proprietor, substitute in their stead the whole community, the labourers cultivating the soil to labour for their own and the community's happiness, and the landowners and proprietors to work for their own livelihood, instead of being in a position to make

others procure a good living for them? The latter system is the most advantageous; for no community of persons ought to be forced to labour to produce luxuries for those who are able to work but decline to do so when they can compel the wealth-producers to labour for them.

There being no such thing naturally as private ownership in land, it is only natural for the labouring community to demand the land to be used for the community, and insist upon the present monopolists doing some useful labour before being allowed to consume what other labourers have produced. No man can claim naturally any portion of the earth, because it was not made by any individual and consequently belongs to no one in particular. If the land should be monopolised by the present owners, such monopoly means that they have got power to prevent it from being cultivated so as to yield agricultural produce for the community to consume. If they are the real owners they would be justified in preventing people from trespassing upon their lands. And to attempt to cultivate the land would be trespassing; therefore the owners can bring an action against any one attempting to interfere with their sacred private property. Such arguments are absurd, and need no further discussion.

JOHN MARSHALL.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

We have received *La Revue Européenne Socialiste, Littéraire, et Artistique mensuelle* (formerly the *Coup de Feu*), 64 rue de Turenne, Paris (24 pp., 8vo). It is edited by Eugène Chatelain, and is conducted on the same lines as the late *Coup de Feu*.

### BELGIUM AND LUXEMBURG.

At a joint meeting of the Councils of the Socialist Working-men's and the Republican Socialist Parties, held at Brussels on Oct. 6th, the question of the amalgamation of the two parties was finally settled by the adoption of resolutions in this sense, and a general congress will be held at Easter-time, 1890. The details of the arrangements go to show that this amalgamation means surrender to the working-men's party, which goes in for universal suffrage and social reforms. Bertrand, of the Brussels daily Social Democratic organ, *Le Peuple*, is about to publish a new monthly paper, *Les Co-opérateurs Belges* (The Belgian Co-operators). Anseele, another of the leaders, at a meeting recently held at Frameries, brought forward the idea of a mass demonstration in favour of manhood suffrage, to take place in Brussels in June or July, 1890. Besides this, eight hour working day demonstrations are prepared for May, 1890. Thus the time and energy of the Belgian Social Democrats is pretty much occupied for a year to come—co-operation, manhood suffrage, eight hours question, and with these palliatives the Belgian workers will be lulled asleep for the next twelvemonth! Where the Socialist agitation will be left we can guess from such instances as the report of a celebration of the anniversary of the foundation of the International held at Brussels, where after two Anarchist comrades, Wysmans and Berger, had spoken, they were told by one of the chief leaders of the official party to deliver their speeches rather in Catholic anti-Socialist circles of workers, where there would be a better place for them.

The Social-Democratic weekly review, *Toekomst*, of Ghent, makes a new start, the management of the paper being reorganised, and it is now published at two centimes (one farthing), which is also the price of the daily Flemish Socialist paper of Ghent.

In Luxemburg a paper called *Der Arbeiter* (the Worker) is going to be published twice a week in German. The Socialist movement in Luxemburg is very small; a paper bearing the same name was published there about ten years ago, but died long since.

### AUSTRIA.

The great trial of Polish Socialists for alleged conspiracy at Lemberg ended with the complete breakdown of the prosecution and liberation of all the defendants except one, who got two weeks. The public prosecutor had constructed a large secret society with headquarters at Warsaw, but according to Austrian Socialist organs the defendants, who were kept for three months in preliminary imprisonment, were not even Socialists.

The trade societies of the blacksmiths and the ironworkers at Vienna were dissolved by the Government for having sent telegrams to the Paris International Congress. In such cases the property of the societies concerned is confiscated by the Government, and a large sum of money belonging to the ironworkers was stolen in this way.

### ITALY.

MILAN.—At a meeting of the Italian labour party in Milan held last week, it was decided to take part in the forthcoming communal elections, and after some discussion six names were chosen to stand as candidates representing the labour party, among them being Turati, Gnocchi-Viani, G. Croce, etc. The respectability of Milan expresses through its journals a certain uneasiness or discontent at these proceedings, it apparently being rather a liberty for the labour party to aspire to have a finger in the administrative pie at all, and one of the leading papers goes to the length of blaming the municipality for allowing the use of a hall for the electoral meetings. I see the Roman working-classes are also engaged in the municipal electoral struggle.

*Ca Ira*, a new republican journal of Genoa, strenuously calls upon the workers to join forces with the bourgeoisie, and avoid the ignorant and despotic Socialist as inimical to their cause. "For," it says, "the working-class, with their ceaseless agitations and hatred of their employers, will end by tiring out the bourgeoisie and inducing them to ally themselves with the monarchy, getting the entire control of property, and thus the republican programme will never be effected, as it will be without the assistance of the most cultivated, intelligent, and influential part of the community formed by the bourgeoisie." A less futile prophecy for the future amalgamation of parties would be that the monarchists become merged into the bourgeois party, who have always, so soon as they awoke to consciousness, opposed the advancement of the labour party tooth and nail, and always will—with the exception of the "cultivated and intelligent" among them, who daily melt into the party of freedom, sometimes against their own will.

The Italian labour party is busy elsewhere besides at Milan, in arranging

to take part in the coming communal elections. At Pavia their committee have issued a programme or manifesto, at Bergamo they are agitating to form a list of representative candidates, at various other neighbouring towns also, and at Livorno a meeting was held to deliberate the question and to issue a manifesto addressed to the workers.

COMO.—The Labour Federation (of the labour party) here are also absorbed in the elections which take place in Como on the 10th of November, but it seems likely that they will join with the democratic party to form a single list of candidates together. The salient points of their programme offer no new departure from what we are familiar with in similar programmes, i.e., a fixed minimum of wage for those employed by the Commune, limitation of women's and children's labour, reform of taxes, etc.

VICENZA.—It is pretty hard slavery working under the small masters of the small Italian industries; they consider themselves, and are in fact, wholly masters of the situation, and bully and grind at will in ways so fatuous and unimportant, that would be beneath the notice of a bigger man. The director of a firm here has recently given an order to dock his employés of half an hour's rest, by which he gets out of them 250 extra hours work in one day (he has 500 employés). Many of the men are country folk, and have a long distance to come, which, with their 11½ hours work, brings the day up to 15½ or 16 hours—not hard for the hot climate of the "indolent Italian," is it?

A fatal accident occurred at Milan the other day in the building trade. A house in course of construction fell, and 11 men were killed and many others injured. At the public funeral ceremonies, one of their comrades blamed the egoism and carelessness of the masters for this and similar disasters, and was promptly arrested for so speaking. The cause of the house falling was bad materials and hasty building.

We have received the first number of a new weekly, *L'Associazione* (Nice), announcing itself "Socialist-Anarchist-Revolutionary." I find it impossible to render the name other than literally and clumsily, and think that a shorter description might have served the purpose. However, this number contains one or two thoughtful articles, one in particular in which the importance of large strikes as helping towards the emancipation of labour is strenuously insisted upon, and from the Anarchist point of view. M. M.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 26, 1889.

20	Sun.	1817. Trial of W. Turner for high treason as a Luddite. 1830. Charles X. lands at Newhaven. 1881. Proclamation of the Land League.
21	Mon.	1503. Thomas Russell hanged. 1815. Great sailors' riots at North and South Shields and Sunderland. 1835. W. L. Garrison dragged half naked through the streets of Boston. 1841. Distress in manufacturing districts. At Leeds, in 4,752 families, containing 19,936 persons, there were 16,156 unemployed. The average weekly income of each was 11½d., or something less than 1½d. a-day.
22	Tues.	1685. Edict of Nantes revoked. 1816. Riot of 12,000 ironworkers at Merthyr and Tredegar, demanding work and higher wages. 1817. Trial of Isaac Ludlam for high treason as a Luddite. 1818. Memorial of Robert Owen "to the Allied Powers assembled in Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle."
23	Wed.	1797. Trial of James Dunn, a United Irishman, at Dublin for "conspiring to murder" Earl Carhampton. 1799. William Bingley, bookseller, died; as publisher of <i>North Briton</i> , had attained some celebrity in "Wilkes and Liberty" days. 1817. Trial of George Weightman for high treason as a Luddite. 1841. <i>New Moral World</i> journal finally returned to London from Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds. 1848. Meagher and McManus sentenced. 1851. Kossuth arrives in England. 1865. Cherniak shot in Kazane as an emissary of the Polish Revolutionary Society to organise peasant revolt in the Volga provinces. 1881. Socialists and Irish protest in Hyde Park against imprisonment of Parnell, Dillon, etc.
24	Thur.	1649. Colonel John Lilburne tried for "publishing treasonable books against the Commonwealth." 1669. W. Pryne died. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Breillat's, Hackney Road. 1849. Declaration at Montreal in favour of union with United States.
25	Fri.	1797. Trial of Patrick Carty for "conspiring to murder." 1845. Monster Repeal demonstration at Cashel. 1878. Attempt upon the King of Spain.
26	Sat.	1795. Meeting of London Corresponding Society in Copenhagen Fields. 1831. "Riots" at Frankfurt. 1848. G. B. Mullins transported.

CLERKENWELL BRANCH BANNER FUND.—A fund has been started for obtaining a banner for above branch. Members of the branch and sympathisers are kindly asked to send in their subscriptions so as to enable branch to have banner ready for "Chicago and Bloody Sunday Commemoration." Already acknowledged:—£1 2s. 6d. The following further subscriptions have been received:—G. Bridge, 6d.; P. Webb, 2s. 6d.; total, £1 5s. 6d. All subscriptions should be sent to S. Presburg, Secretary to the Fund, 13, Farrington Road, E.C.

Adjourned Propaganda Meeting.—Members are earnestly requested to attend an adjourned meeting on Tuesday evening, Oct. 22, to discuss leaflet on "The Chicago Martyrs."

SYLLABUS of Lectures, in connection with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition now open, to be given in the New Gallery, Regent Street, on Thursday evenings, at 8.30 p.m.—Nov. 7, William Morris, "Gothic Architecture." 14th. Henry Holiday, "Stained Glass." 21st. T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, "The Decoration of Bound Books." 28th. Lewis F. Day, "Ornament." Dec. 5, Walter Crane, "Design and Expression." Admission 2s. 6d.; art students and employés, 1s.

STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB, High Street, Streatham.—A lecture will be given on Saturday evening—subject, "Socialism a Delusion." Local comrades please turn up.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday October 20th, at 8.45 p.m., George Cox, "Recreations of the People— and Retributive Reaction."

At Duppas Hill Hotel, Duppas Hill Lane, Croydon, on Friday evening at 8, there will be a meeting of working men to form a branch of the Surrey Labourers' Union. Members of the Croydon and Streatham Branches S.L. please turn up.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED—will be used: "The Workman's Compass" (G.S.); "In Southern Africa" (J. B.); "In Australia" (W. H. M. and R. S.); "Church and Democracy" (T. S.); "Bureaus of Labour" (T. S.); "Honest Toil" (J. B. G.). Unsuitable, for one reason or another—"That Strike" (L. H.); "Socialism in a Nutshell" (S. Streatham); "Fellowship" (A. L., Kensington). Several others are under consideration. W. L. (Paris).—Sorry for unavoidable silence; have sent article where you request. A. H. (Glasgow).—Next week you shall have information you require. F. P. (Bradford).—A list of French pamphlets and books shall be made out for you.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 16.

ENGLAND	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN
Brotherhood	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Barcelona—Revolucion Social
Die Autonomie	St. Louis—Anarchist	Barcelona—El Productor
Justice	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Labour Elector	Philadelphia—United Labour	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	FRANCE	Seville—La Solidaridad
London—Freie Presse	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Le Proletariat	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Railway Review	La Revolte	GERMANY
Sozial Demokrat	Bourse du Travail	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	AUSTRIA
INDIA	HOLLAND	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Brunn—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	BEELGIUM	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Twentieth Century	Antwerp—De Werker	DENMARK
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Copenhagen—Arbejder-n
Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND	Social-Demokraten
Investigator	Arbeiterstimme	SWEDEN
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	ITALY	Malmo—Arbetet
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Rome—L'Emancipazione	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Milwaukee—National Reformer		Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts

CHICAGO MURDERS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."—Spies.

A MEETING to celebrate the Anniversary of above events will be held on Monday evening, November 11th, at

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE.

Full particulars, with names of speakers, etc., will be given next week.

Revolutionary songs will be sung during the evening, including the *Marseillaise*, *Carmagnole*, *Linnell's Death Song*, *When the People have their Own Again*, and *Annie Laurie*. Choir will practice at Hammer-smith on Thursdays, October 24th and 31st, and November 7th; at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesdays, October 29th and November 5th. No member of the choir who has neglected to attend these rehearsals will be eligible to sing on the night of meeting.

All willing to assist are asked to give or send their names to the Secretary of Committee on Arrangements.

By order of the Committee, H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Sec.  
13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

PARTY POLITICS AND SOCIALISM.

If the angels have any fun in them, they must be frequently diverted by the simple tricks that are so successful in turning the eyes and energies of the workers from their vital concerns, to the ways and pursuits of the *ignis-futui* of the professional politicians. If the workers would only try to think out what their parliamentary repre-sentative has done, or can do, for them, they would come to the same conclusion as Charles Lamb did respecting a friend of his, viz., "The more I think of him, the less I think of him." It matters not how parliament manipulates the incidence of taxation, it all must, and can only, be borne by the men and women who work. That is the central fact all politicians try to cover up, and so long as they are successful in doing it their object is accomplished, and the gain or defeat of their respective party platform concerns them but little in comparison.

It has been pointed out in these columns over and over again, that Home Rule and all the other political bubbles blown to divert the thoughtless toilers, were not the real objects over which our politicians were fighting, and that these were only used by them so that the robbery of the workers might be continued without protest. But our friends—the enemy—are beginning to fear that that game is up, and that they will ere long be forced into grips with the workers on labour questions. Free education, in Scotland, is beginning to cast its shadow before. Those persons who have hitherto benefited by the ignorance and gullability of the workers are beginning to see the solidarity of their interests, and they are beginning to prepare for the coming conflict. They are already beginning to state the issues which marshal all sorts of silly superstitions and religious rancour on the side of undue privileges and those who think things are good enough as they are; while on the workers' side we have only their justice, insight, courage, and innate strength in union—but that is enough.

The bugle sound to arms of the privileged classes has been blown by Mr. Somervell, of Sorn, who generally speaks better than he knows. The Irish question did very well as a decoy-duck for a time, but underneath it our politicians are dismayed at seeing "a growth" which betokens for them something ominous. At a Conservative consolation conversazione, given to Evelyn Ashley the other day "for the services you (E. A.) rendered to the constituency of the Western (Ayr) Burghs in the election of 1888," Mr. S., of Sorn, betrayed the fears of our political privileged classes. It will be remembered the services Mr. Ashley rendered resulted in the loss of the seat to his party; but what did that matter? the excitement which his contest enabled the politi-cians to raise, caused the workers to spend their enthusiasm and sub-stance for that which was not bread, and so in their apparent defeat the upholders of undue privileges were victorious in their main object. Mr. S., of Sorn, who speaks the fears of his class, perceives that the time is drawing nigh when the Irish question will no longer suffice the laborious drudge to dupe. At this Baal-Hazor feast he said: "Far below the Irish question there lay the root of that question, viz., that Communism and Socialism had been openly preached in this country (Cheers). That placed them on a very broad platform, and if they believed that that was what they really were combating when com-bating the question of Home Rule, they were entitled to a very broad and universal support. (Cheers)." In order to combat that Socialism, Mr. S., of Sorn, approved of winning over the priests of Ireland by Balfour's bribe. To combat Socialism their platform must be so broad as to have room on it for the priests of all faiths, and for all who had undue privileges at the expense of the workers. "He knew that in a country like Scotland that was difficult and delicate ground to tread upon, but they must deal with affairs not as they wished them to exist, but as they did exist." They were to throw away all the religious prejudices which served them so well in the past, in warping that energy which otherwise would have spent itself on social and labour questions, for things as they existed required them to stake their all and play their best trump card, as Socialism was making it a desperate game—to the moneyed classes. This hitherto strong sympathiser with Orangeism now sees the necessity of "recognising the rights of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, and enlisting in the cause of loyalty and support of loyal adherence to the throne all our Catholic fellow subjects, and the priesthood, who formed such an important element in the sister island (cheers). When he (Mr. S.) looked back to the cordial support he received from Roman Catholics in Tradeston (Glasgow) at the election of 1885, he felt grateful for their gallant (?) support, and when he came before another constituency he hoped the Catholic electors would again give him their votes. (Cheers)." After the admission that all the gabble and pretence of the past political performances of the Unionists was not a combat against Home Rule, but that it was Socialism they were combating, we have this hero of a defeat relying on success for his next contest in the hope that he will convince the workers that it is for their sacred religion he is fighting; Protestants and Roman Catholics alike.

It will be amusing to see our philosophic-agnostic Unionists posing as defenders of the Roman Catholic altar, and yet it will be no more of a palpable imposition than any of the other political pretensions. In Mr. Somervell's remarks we have a foreshadow of the political palaver it is intended to engage and dupe the workers with for the next seven years after the present Parliament is dissolved. We will have the professional political "patriots" mouthing on platforms and affirming their preparedness to drain their last drop of blood for those "glorious principles" they inwardly despise. They will descend to monkey antics, in the hope and belief that they will get all the gate-money.

The growth of Socialism, which is at last commanding the notice of



the professional politician, can be seen in such unlikely places as among the fishermen of Moray and Nairn. The great Unionist lawyer, Mr. Finlay, M.P., who is working for a place in the next division of political spoils, felt it his duty to warn them that "the Socialist was no friend to the working-man or the fisherman, but he was their worst enemy. Nothing was more absolutely fatal to the property of the industrial wage-earning class than the acceptance of such teaching." "These be brave words, my masters," coming from a lawyer like Mr. Finlay. The people everywhere, who can read, now know enough about the objects and aims of Socialism to refuse such gratuitous assertions from interested parasites who feed on "the property of the industrial wage-earning class." There is a promise running through all this growth of Socialism which our enemies have discovered underneath the Irish question, that assures us the religious "fake" will be as unserviceable as Home Rule was, to stop or delay it. The reservoir of Labour's pent-up wrongs, it is evident to those who have eyes to see, will soon burst its banks, and our perjured politicians need not be surprised if they some morning awake to find that it approaches their Bastille through other channels than Parliament. Our Catholic fellow-subjects have not applauded the speeches of our comrades at their League meetings for nought, and the political prigs will discover that on social questions the Catholic workers can now distinguish between things that differ. There is no commandment in their creed which sanctifies the permitting of themselves to be robbed and murdered, and the present industrial system cannot continue without that being done.

The dock strike gave a hint whereby the capture of the capitalist's Bastille could be accomplished without going through Parliament. The fact is the capitalist's stronghold is built on an explosive substance, and the element which will make it work is daily reaching nearer it, and it is that growth our politicians so much dread. The circumstances evolving themselves are beyond the power of either Socialists or politicians to thwart. The Socialist can only point whereto things are tending. The workers are beginning to think less of their political privileges, and more of the relationship of their pay to the value of their productions. The worker looks now at his pay and at what he has done for it, and he says "Twont do." Not only the workers, but the circumstances of our industrial and commercial development are crying out in louder tones day by day, "Twont do!", and the time is at hand when we will be forced to "deal with things not as we wish them to exist, but as they do exist." "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind." GEORGE McLEAN.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE labour movement over here is exceedingly quiet just now—so quiet, that some superficial people might feel inclined to think that there is no such thing as a labour movement in the United States. And yet such people would be essentially in the wrong; for in spite of the breaking up and the failure of the orthodox labour organisations, we are making wonderful headway. The movement has left the sentimental stage—the time when the workers have to be awakened from their apathetic slumber and be made aware of the facts that they too may have rights and that they are most shamefully and cruelly robbed of three-quarters of their rightful earnings—and is entering the scientific stage, the period when it has to be determined, partly by experience, partly by scientific investigations and logical conclusions, which theory is most in accord with evolution and stands on correct sociological first principles. It cannot be contradicted that considering this statement we have made enormous progress. People everywhere begin to take interest in the social question, and the discussion of economic problems is now in most clubs, private circles, and institutions a matter of course. Nor can it under such circumstances be a matter of regret that the old organisations are breaking up, for they consisted of such heterogeneous elements that a sweeping reform such as the changed conditions would have necessitated would surely have been impossible.

The Nationalists and both wings of the Anarchists, the Communistic as well as the philosophic Individualists, are making good progress. But it must be confessed that the progress of the Communistic Anarchists is limited almost entirely to the German population of the United States.

The strikes in London, which we have watched with a great deal of interest, may temporarily infuse some of the old labour organisations with a little life, but the idea that the labour movement is restricted to the struggle of getting good wages for short hours is fast dying out. The workers are beginning to get a dim notion that the economic basis of such tactics is incorrect, and consequently will attach themselves more and more to parties whose economic theories are more correct.

The Socialistic Labour Party (the Social-Democrats) are in a dreadful muddle. For some time two parties have existed within this Party—one favouring political action exclusively, and sneering at the other party who looked for salvation to the eight hours movement. The fight grew bitter. Rosenberg, the old secretary of the S. L. P., headed the political-actionists, and Alexander Jonas and Sergius Schewitsch were the leaders of the opposition faction. Plebiscites were taken, the matter was dragged before a Social-Democratic tribunal, and dire things were threatened. As far as matters are standing just now—and a convention of the Party is deliberating in Chicago behind closed doors—the party of Schewitsch is victorious. They managed to get possession of the two organs of the Party—*Der Socialist* and the *Workmen's Advocate*. One thing may be said, that owing to the stupid leadership of Rosenberg and Bushe, the progress of the whole Socialist movement has been retarded over here. I spoke some days ago to the secretary of the branch of the Socialistic Labour Party in Boston, a good adherent of the Rosenberg-Bushe faction, and was told that they—the Party—consisting of some fifty members, mostly old stagers, would soon start lecturing again in a hall, but that no questions and no discussion would be permitted, because they did not intend to hire halls so that other people could make speeches. During their lectures last winter I noticed that whenever an inconvenient question turned up the unfortunate questioner was most arbitrarily sat upon. Now this spirit will unquestionably prejudice a good many people altogether against Socialism.

The 11,000 acres of the Sioux reservation, which the Government has just succeeded in purchasing from the Indians for the sum of 14,000,000 dollars—which money the Indians never will get—promises to invite almost as big a rush as the famous Oklahoma lands when the latter were thrown open to settlement.

It is said that a secret agreement has been made between the sugar trust and the outside refiners, whereby the latter are to be allowed to refine 30 per cent. of the total output. Hitherto, it is understood, the trust has tacitly consented to an output of 25 per cent. by the outsiders, but the recent increase in the demand for sugar has encouraged the independent refiners to demand more. Claus Spreckels is said to have negotiated the agreement.

The Congress of the Canadian labour organisations has met in Montreal, and passed resolutions to request the Dominion government to no longer subsidise railroad companies with gifts of lands and sums of money, as the interests of the country would be damaged by such proceedings.

The *Labour Union* says: "Prisoners in the penitentiary at Joliet, Ill., have sent 1,500 pounds of bread to the starving miners at Braidwood, Ill.," and *Lucifer* adds, "Here, indeed, is the climax of the wage-slave system! Think of it! Free American labourers in our great protected industries reduced to utter starvation and compelled to accept charity of the convict felons of the penitentiary. The convicts, who are the only order of chattel slaves yet remaining in America, are still able to give out of their abundance 'charity' to the starving free (?) labourers. Shame!"

Consider the foregoing item, and then just look at this clipped from a daily paper: "At Newport, Mrs. Fred Vanderbilt has been serving at her luncheon parties, ices frozen in the shape of strawberries. Each berry is perfect, and has a little green stem and calyx by which it is lifted in the fingers. They are heaped up on little shells of clear ice, and this in turn is set into a plate of crimson cameo glass."

The National Greenback Convention met on the 13th September under the leadership of George O. Jones in Cincinnati, and a platform was agreed upon by the twenty delegates present:—

"It reaffirms resolutions of the Democratic National Convention of 1868 pertaining to the payment of the national debt and to equal taxation of property, and also declares that all laws changing the time or manner of the payment of the public debt since 1865 should be repealed; that all legal tender notes now outstanding should be exchanged for others issued with the words 'promise to pay' stricken from their face, and an additional amount issued; that indications point to a greater financial panic in the near future than this country or the world ever before saw, unless wise and immediate provision be made to sustain tottering confidence; that all sectional prejudices between the people of the North and South should end. The convention appointed a national executive committee, which organised as follows: George O. Jones, chairman; Lee Crandall, vice-chairman; T. J. Sharp and William Richards, secretaries. The chairman and vice-chairman are authorised to formulate a plan of operations."

The following item I clipped from to-day's *Herald*. It speaks for itself:—

"NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1889.—Three members of the executive board of the Knights of Labour arrived here to-day. They are J. M. Hayes of Philadelphia, J. J. Holland of Florida, and A. W. Wright of Toronto. Master Workman Powderly was expected this morning, but he did not arrive, and he failed to get in to-night. The executive board is surprised, but believe that Powderly has been unavoidably detained. No official business was transacted. There were rumours current to the effect that the real object of the meeting was to endeavour to compose some very serious dissensions that had arisen in the order here, accusations of extravagance and of unfaithfulness to the interests of the Knights of Labour being brought against Powderly. His friends declare that they amount to nothing. The executive board will probably remain in session several days."

William Martin, sealer of weights in New York, has complained of 300 tradesmen for using dishonest weights and measures. Within a week he expects to make complaints against 200 more butchers, grocers, and lucksters who have incorrect scales. Mr. Martin's investigations show that about 30,000,000 pounds of the necessities of life are practically stolen every year from New Yorkers by means of false measures and weights. He has never found a correct pair of scales on a fish-dealer's counter.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 1, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

### The Tramway Men.

Meetings are still being held, and the speakers are now threatening a strike if the men's demands are not complied with. That is the sort of talk, my boys; but do not be content with talking, act as well. Don't forget the 9th of November!

### The Bakers.

The Baker's Union is now 3,000 strong, and is daily increasing. They mean to come out on the 9th if their demands are not agreed to. November promises to be a lively month.

### The Postmen.

The Postmen's Union has been progressing steadily. We are sorry to see, however, that there has been a split among the organisers, Fred Henderson, Tom Dredge, and W. A. Chambers having left the committee. They accuse "the majority of the committee of using their position to further their personal and political aims." This is a very vague charge, which may mean something or nothing. It hardly seems worth while to split up a union because some of its members may not be perfectly disinterested. The seceding members will have to go a long way before they find an organisation of which every member has perfectly pure and disinterested motives.

### The Strike at Silvertown.

The men are as yet unconquered, though the last few weeks have been terrible for them to struggle through. The fight began during the excitement of the Great Strike, and when that had concluded the struggle at Silvertown ran a great risk of collapsing through lack of public interest. The directors saw this, and replied to the recent demands of the workpeople, "They may go back at the old rate of pay; or they may stay out till starvation drives them back." Last Sunday a huge demonstration was held in Victoria Park to back up the Silvertown men in their struggle. All the water-side workers who took part in the dock strike were there, and good

collections were made for the brave men and women who have fought so gallantly amid public coldness and neglect. A demonstration was also held on Clerkenwell Green on Sunday morning. It is to be hoped that not only the London workers, but the workers in every town in England, will do their utmost to prevent the directors and their "Norwood" of a manager, Mr. Gray, driving the people back to their work by hunger. Subscriptions may be sent to W. Thorne, Strike Committee, Railway Dining Rooms, Silvertown.

### Women to the front!

John Burns and his friends are about to devote their attention to the redemption of the working women. It is a good work, and perhaps not so difficult as it appears at first. The women are poorly paid, it is true, disunited also, but they are more easily moved to action than men, and they are in the main far more idealistic and unselfish than the masses of mankind. At present time there seems a good chance of stirring them to vigorous action. But a word of warning: John Burns and his friends ought to have had enough of the interference of dignitaries of the church and big middle-class men in labour questions; and I frankly confess I was very sorry to see the Bishop of Bedford in the chair at the recent meeting at the Assembly Hall. It is not long since that that wealthy prelate was advocating "thrift" and "emigration" as a cure for the miseries under which the workers suffer. He has never even written a line that shows that he has the least understanding of the social problem, and we know very well that he was only there to get some cheap popularity for himself and his church, of which both are sorely in need. The presence of the Bishop of Bedford may add to the "respectability" of the movement, but will certainly not add to its efficiency. Why, the first thing the reverend prelate does directly he gets on the platform is to deprecate "strikes." They are "costly and barbarous." Doubtless; but the hard-hearted sweating that produces strikes, what is that, my lord bishop, but "costly and barbarous"? Some people may even find your existence as a luxurious idler "costly and barbarous" also; and costly and barbarous evils sometimes need costly and barbarous methods to get rid of them. In conclusion, I will say that it is a great mistake for the workpeople, not to speak of Socialists, to have anything to do with bishops and other rich sweaters of labour. What they gain in respectability they lose in zeal and fervour; and if the working women's movement goes wrong, the cause may be easily found in the middle-class patronage that has been lavished upon it.

### "Storm and victory."

The gas-workers and people of Bristol are to be congratulated. They understand how to strike, and how to strike hard. The gas-workers came out on strike, and darkness hovered over the town. The Town Council called blacklegs to its aid, and introduced them in shoals. They were met at the station by vans to be conveyed to the gas-works. They were met also by an immense populace, armed with bricks and stones, and similar trifles, of which the blacklegs soon had enough. The vans reached the bridge over the Avon, but it was barricaded by overturned carts, while the volleys of missiles fell in furious hail. The vans laden with blacklegs turned back to the station. Here these "honest workmen" sought shelter from the fury of the multitude, bruised and battered as they were by showers of bricks and stones. Other blacklegs who arrived did not like the prospect, and went home. Next day the directors gave in, and the men gained the 5s. advance which they demanded. Capitalists don't like strikes; but they like riots less. Any workmen having a difference with their employers might profitably learn a lesson from the action of the men of Bristol.

### Shop Assistants Unite.

We are glad to see that the shop assistants are taking advantage of the present time for the purpose of organisation. The provisional committee of the Shop Assistants Union have issued the following manifesto:—

Fellow Workers,—A Union of Shop Assistants has been formed, and we call upon you to cast aside false and ridiculous class prejudices and take your stand with the ever increasing army of organised labour. We call your attention to the concentration of all distributive establishments, such as Whiteley's, Shoolbred's, Barker's, etc., as well as the sham Co-operative Stores, viz., Army and Navy, Civil Service, and such like; also the establishment of Joint Stock Companies, with hundreds of branch shops. The effect of these developments upon our position is to prevent the hope of our ever becoming our own masters.

In starting this organisation, which, unlike all other assistants' societies, will strive not only to ameliorate our lot, but remove the cause itself under which we suffer, we earnestly call upon you to become members, so that by your aid we shall become a powerful organisation, which with public opinion on our side, will enable us to withstand the encroachments of capital. Our objects are:

1. The limitation of the hours of labour, which are usually in too many cases 16 to 18 hours a day. The result of work done under such high pressure is the very serious deterioration, physically, mentally, and morally, of thousands of our fellow-workers. This applies in many cases to establishments which profess to be the pioneers of early closing. The shutters may be down, but the assistants are still at work and receive no extra remuneration for it.

2. The abolition of all unjust and tyrannical fines, which in too many cases are often used as a means of reducing the already small wage, as well as the system of making contracts which practically outlaw us, thereby placing us absolutely at the mercy of our masters.

3. Longer and definitely fixed meal-times, which at present often consist of only a quarter of an hour, and even that not free from interruption. We also demand that food shall at least be wholesome and in sufficient quantity.

And Lastly, as soon as possible, we propose to submit a standard wage in each particular trade.

Signed by the General Secretary on behalf of the Provisional Committee, composed of the following trades:—Grocers, Drapers, Clerks, Chemists, Outfitters, Ironmongers, Provisions, Jewellers, and Stationers.

Until permanent offices are established all communications should be addressed, General Secretary, 177, Great Portland Street, which communications are strictly private.

### Keir Hardie and the Penicuik Disaster.

Our friend Keir Hardie has another article in the *Labour Tribune* upon this disaster. He accuses the authorities in Scotland of endeavouring to hush up the causes of such fearful catastrophes. Keir Hardie appears to be of the opinion that the extension of the English "crown's quest" law to Scotland would be useful in bringing home the guilt to the capitalists, who in their selfish greed bring about these wholesale slaughters. The account he gives of the way the law enquires into the preventable murder of miners in Scotland would be amusing if the subject were not too deeply serious for laughter.

"The case is reported to the police and to the Inspector of Mines. The in-

spector pays a visit to the scene of the accident, as soon as his convenience or his opportunity will permit. I have known ten days elapse before the place has been visited by the inspector. Having seen the place, he next makes a report, if he thinks there is anything suspicious about it, to the Fiscal, the Fiscal being the representative of the Crown in our local courts of law. That official asks the local police to make enquiries and report. This the police do to the best of their ability, but the chances are ten to one that not one of the staff has ever been down a pit. On receiving the police report the Fiscal may, if he deems it necessary, cite a few witnesses to come to his office, where he takes their statements. Having thus fortified himself with 'evidence,' he has to decide whether there is a case against any one, and very naturally comes to the conclusion that, since the poor fellow has been killed, and as his knowledge of mining and mining laws is somewhat hazy, and, moreover, and most important of all, as all the reports made are privileged and therefore hidden from prying eyes, the best way will be to say no more about it, and the 'enquiry' is at an end. . . . Take the Mauricewood Pit disaster. Here there is strong *prima facie* evidence of neglect. Practical miners are saying that the accident could not have happened had the provisions of the Mines Act been complied with. Instead of inviting the most open investigation into all the facts of the case, every attempt is being made to hush the whole thing up. With a view to gulling the public, a report has appeared through the press that an enquiry into the cause of the disaster had been held. But the enquiry consisted of a meeting in the company's office between the manager, the overman, the mines inspector, and the Fiscal. An impartial tribunal, truly! The manager and the overman implicated in the guilt, if guilt there be; the Inspector of Mines the most culpable of all, if the Mines Act has been so flagrantly violated; the Fiscal not daring to have an opinion of his own in the face of the weighty evidence of such a body of experts."

But does Mr. Hardie think that the extension of the coroner's inquest to Scotland by law will prevent these mining massacres? I fear not. The families of the men who die through preventable causes on the mines and railways in England have now the consolation of knowing that the body has been "viewed" by a jury; but I never heard a verdict of "murder" yet brought against either mineowners or railway directors. No; the blame is usually shifted off upon some unfortunate subordinate; the jury, under direction of the coroner, returns a verdict censuring this scapegoat, but never touching the really guilty parties. While we have a privileged class, living in luxury upon the labour of others, these wholesale butcheries will continue.

P.S.—The editor of the *Labour Tribune* grumbles because we forgot to mention the source in our quotation of Keir Hardie's first article. We hope he will now be satisfied; we have put the name of his paper in this time. We hope the next time he "collars" our poetry he will also not forget to mention where it came from. We do not like to see it "Buried Alive" without the slightest acknowledgment.

N.

### Horsehair and Fibre-workers' Union.

The readers of this journal have already been made acquainted with the facts of the strike of the fibre-workers at Messrs. Laycock's, Sheffield, and also that the struggle is now in its seventh week, both the men and women standing out together in the fight against the fourteen tyrannical rules published in our issue of September 21st, and also for an increase of ten per cent. on their work, which they allege was taken from them two years ago. Since the commencement of the strike a union was started, and has been well supported by the workpeople in all branches of the trade in Sheffield, and has been successful in securing the financial assistance of the other trade organisations of the town. They are also endeavouring to form unions in London and Manchester, so as to secure the solidarity of the whole of the workers in this business—the work being principally done in the places above-mentioned; and there being less than a thousand of these operatives in the whole of England, the task is easy.

In order to start the union in London, the Sheffield men sent their secretary, who arrived at St. Pancras last Saturday morning, calling later in the day at Farringdon Road, to secure the assistance of the Socialist League. On Saturday afternoon a preliminary meeting was held at the "Joiners' Arms," Hackney Road, Mr. Hodges in the chair. The necessity for combination against their masters was insisted on by the Sheffield delegate and by H. Moore, W. B. Parker, and others. But on Monday night a crowded meeting was held in the large room at the "Swan," Bethnal Green Road, where, under the presidency of J. Blackburn, the new union was launched. The most pleasing feature about the meeting was the determination that all workers in this trade, whether skilled or not, should be included in the union. A provisional committee was elected to do the preliminary work and to call a further meeting.

On Sunday morning at Flat Iron Square, and in the afternoon at Hyde Park, the Sheffield delegate (whose name, for obvious reasons, is omitted here), addressed meetings, under the auspices of the Socialist League, at which places 2s. and 7s. 1d. were collected. Our comrade stated that the strikers had been well supported by our Sheffield comrades of the Socialist Society. The other speakers at these meetings included D. J. Nicoll, G. Cores, T. Cantwell, and W. B. Parker. A union will be at once formed in Manchester, where doubtless they will be assisted as far as possible by our Branch of the League in that city. The Sheffield delegate returned home on Tuesday morning.

W. B. P.

### Clyde Steel-workers' Strike.

This strike, which was referred to last week, still continues. One of the middlemen or sweaters, whom the men on strike are struggling to abolish, fired on the assembly that serenaded him and wounded a man and a boy. As he has not yet been tried for the discharging of firearms, I cannot at present comment on the affair. Comrade Cunningham Graham was to address the men, along with comrade Keir Hardie, on Friday night, but was prevented doing so by an attack of rheumatism. There is great excitement in the vicinity of Rutherglen and Cambuslang, where the works are situated, and meetings of angry men and women are held daily.

### Forfar Factories' Lock-out.

Except at the Messrs. Laird's factory, the lock-out in the factories of Forfar is now in full operation. The operatives at Victoria Works (Messrs. John Lowson, jun., and Co.) approached the firm and requested not to be locked-out, because, as their wages were higher than in the other factories, they had no intention of striking. The firm replied that they had decided to support the Messrs. Craik, whose workers were on strike, and that until the strike ended there the lock-out would continue. At a meeting of the operatives it was explained that the contest was not so much for an increase of 5 per cent. on the wages as to decide whether the employers' union could crush the workers' union.

G. McL.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, Manchester, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Oct. 6th, St. Georges, 1s. 1½d.; Samuels, 1s.; R. T., 1s.; T. B., 6d.; collection Propaganda Committee, 2s. 3d.; October 13th, St. Georges, 1s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; A. J., 6d.; R. J., 1s.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; J. B., 6d.; Mrs. Edwards, 6d.; F. C. S. S., 1s.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Chelsea*.—On Sunday morning a good meeting was held on the Embankment, when Samuels spoke for over an hour to an attentive audience, and although he criticised and challenged the tactics and dogmas of the "only Socialist organisation in Great Britain," he could not get any opposition; Beckett sold 27 *Commonweal*. *Hoxton*.—A good meeting was held here on Thursday evening, and was addressed by Davis, Kitz, Dr. Creaghe, and Parker. *Hyde Park*.—Sunday afternoon, good meeting addressed by Cores, Cantwell, Parker, and the delegate of the Sheffield Hair and Fibre Worker's Union; 27 *Weals* sold and 7s. collected for the Fibre Workers' Strike Fund. *Union Street*.—Good meeting here; Leggett spoke; 1s. collected. *Clerkenwell Green*.—Good meeting addressed by Blundell and Brookes on Sunday evening.

**MITCHAM.**—Large meeting on the Fair Green, addressed by Kitz and Mowbray. In the evening at Duppas Hill, Croydon, a fair meeting was held, addressed by Kitz and Pillier. A number of Mitcham comrades turned up at the Croydon meeting; sale of *Weals* for day 52; collection for local propaganda, 1s. 5d.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Lyne, sen., James, and Tochatti; 8d. collected and 40 *Weals* sold. Also a good meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers were Crouch, Lyne, sen., and Tochatti, and Wear-dale (S.D.F.); 16 *Weals* sold. The branch held a meeting at 8 p.m. of laundresses at the Clarendon Coffee Tavern, Crouch in the chair; Mrs. Barber, from Laundresses Union, attended and stated the objects of the Union.

**SOUTHWARK.**—At Flat Iron Square, a fairly good meeting was held here on Sunday morning; comrades Nicoll, Parker, and a Sheffield friend were the speakers. A collection was made for the Hair and Fibre Dressers Union, and a few *Weals* sold.

**STREATHAM.**—A good meeting held at the Fountain, addressed by Mowbray; 2s. 6d. worth of pamphlets sold, 2s. 7½d. collected, and sold 73 *Commonweal*; the branch is making rapid progress.

**ST. GEORGES EAST.**—A well attended members' meeting on Wednesday. On Saturday night, a good meeting on the Waste was addressed by Cores; fair sale of literature.

**ABERDEEN.**—Although no reports have appeared in last two issues, work has been carried on steadily. Reports not sent through misunderstanding. On Sunday, 29th ult., a great meeting was addressed by Duncan at Castle Street. On 5th inst., Duncan and Leatham (the latter is again in town and working meantime) addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting; questions and good sale of literature. At indoor meeting on 7th, Nicoll's lecture on "The Manchester Martyrs" read and discussed. On 12th, no meeting held owing to heavy rains.

**GLASGOW.**—On Tuesday evening Joe Burgoyne, Tim Burgoyne, Downie, Gilbert, and McKenzie (Edinburgh) spoke on Cathedral Square, where the crowd listened with great attention and evident sympathy to our comrades. This is becoming a very useful station. On the same evening Glasier "heckled" Mr. Provand, M.P., in the Wellington Halls—the M.P.'s stupid replies causing a deal of discussion in the local press. On Sunday, at two o'clock, Joe and Tim Burgoyne addressed a good meeting on Jail Square. At 5.30 Glasier and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road Toll; we are considering the advisability of engaging a hall and forming a branch of the League in that district.

**HALIFAX.**—A large demonstration of gas-stokers was held on Sunday, at which our comrades here assisted. *Commonweal* sold well. The meeting was the largest ever held here; 9,000 people were present. In the evening we had a visit from some comrades at Leeds, after attending a lecture by Mr. Sutcliffe on the Municipal Elections. The discussion on Socialism and Individualism is adjourned till after these elections. Our comrades are working hard to sell paper.

**LEICESTER.**—John Turner addressed three meetings and produced marked impression. The Radical Club men are becoming enthusiastic, and the president is coming up to join us next Thursday. Our evening out-door meeting was held under difficulties, in the midst of the "fair." Eight new members joined—the biggest haul we have had. Collection, 16s. 9d.; literature, 4s. 11½d.—A. G.

**MANCHESTER.**—On Sunday morning we held a meeting at Phillips Park; Bailie and Stockton spoke; 14 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 1d. collected for local propaganda. In Stevenson Square, in the afternoon, a meeting was addressed by Barton, Ritson, and Parkinson; good sale of *Commonweal*; 1s. 2d. collected.

**NORWICH.**—On Thursday last W. Moore read a paper on "Revolutionary Socialism"; discussion followed; several comrades took part. Moore spoke at a meeting of wire-weavers held to form a union, and also took part in a discussion at one of the local temperance societies. Sunday morning good meeting held at St. Faiths; Emery and White spoke; opened with a song. In the afternoon, a good meeting held in the Market Place; Reynolds spoke at some considerable length, dealing with the recent strikes, and also upon working-men expecting anything to be done through political action. Comrade Swash followed; opposition to Reynolds's remarks was given by a local trades-unionist, and was well answered by Reynolds; audience very attentive. In the evening another capital meeting held in the open air, addressed by comrades Reynolds and W. Moore. Houghton and Morley went to Diss in the morning.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Saturday night we held a mass meeting on the Hall Quay, to protest against the cruelty of the police in doing to death a poor old and infirm man (through the "Frog's March"), and to obtain evidence against the police. The speakers were comrade Reynolds, Mr. Gibson, and Jacques. On Sunday morning, on Priory Plain, comrade Reynolds gave a long and earnest address on "Socialism in London," which was well received by the audience. In the evening, on Colman's Granary Quay, our usual meeting was held, the speakers being Mr. Jacques, local secretary of the Seamen and Firemen's Union, and comrade Ruffold. 16 *Commonweal* sold; 3s. 3d. collected towards paying comrade Reynolds's fare from London.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Oct. 12th, A. Kavanagh lectured on "The Necessity for Labour Organisation." The principles of internationalism were well expounded by Graham, Thomson, Shields, and Wilson.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday October 20, at 8 p.m., lecture by G. Cores, "Practical Socialism." Sun. 27, C. W. Mowbray, "Foreign and English Labour."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. We have taken this hall for lectures and other Branch business. Members are requested to attend meeting on Sunday October 20, at 8 p.m., to arrange for series of lectures for winter season.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 20, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday evening, October 20, T. R. Wright (Fabian) will lecture on "The Objections to Socialism."

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E. Branch meeting Friday at 8 p.m. Comrades are particularly requested to attend—important.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. In the Vine Street Radical Club, on Sunday October 20, at 10 a.m., H. H. Sparling (S.L.) will lecture.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Sunday October 20, at 8 p.m., in the Gordon Hall, a lecture by J. Blackwell (London), "The Gospel of Freedom." Monday, at 8 p.m., Entertainment in Gordon Hall by one of the local minstrel troupes, on behalf of branch funds. Admission 2d. each. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8 p.m., a Discussion will be opened in Gordon Hall; all comrades should turn up. Hall open every evening from 8 o'clock.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.—Comrade Morris will speak for the Branch on Sunday week 20th inst.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 19.

8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Samuels and Kitz  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste..... Cores and Banfield

SUNDAY 20.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Lyne sen. and jun., and Dean  
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Nicoll  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane..... Mainwaring and Samuels  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road ..... Crouch and Maughan  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street ..... Turner  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green ..... Kitz and Pillier  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Mowbray  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square ..... Davis, Cores, and Holloway  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Cantwell and Nicoll  
3.30..... Victoria Park ..... Parker and Mrs. Schack  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green ..... The Branch  
8 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Kitz  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Blundell

TUESDAY 22.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste..... Cores

THURSDAY 24.

8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Kitz and Parker

FRIDAY 25.

8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Davis and Cores  
8 ..... Islington—Prebend Street ..... Parker

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: The Meadows at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Phillips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11 a.m.; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30 p.m. Addresses by J. Blackwell (London) and others.

**Sheffield.**—Sunday: Hillfoot Bridge, at 11 a.m.; Mars Hill, Attercliffe, at 11; Rotherham College Yard, at 6.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Fish Wharf, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

**LOUGHBOROUGH** (near Leicester).—H. H. Sparling will give an address in the Market Place on Saturday October 19, at 8 p.m.

**CHELSEA DISCUSSION FORUM**, Swiss Cottage, Kings Road, nearly opposite the Eleusis.—Sunday Oct. 20, at 8 p.m., H. Samuels will open on "Strikes."



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THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 198.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CHICAGO MURDERS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Let the voice of the people be heard."—Parsons.

A MEETING to celebrate the Anniversary of above events will be held on Monday evening, November 11th, at

#### SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE.

The following comrades will speak :—James Blackwell, Frank Kitz, Peter Kropotkin, C. W. Mowbray, Wm. Morris, D. J. Nicoll, H. H. Sparling, John Turner, and Lothrop Withington

Eleanor Aveling, G. Brocher, F. Fregenbaum, Dr. Merlino, and S. Stepniak have also been invited, but have not yet replied.

John Burns was invited, but is engaged for Cardiff on the date of meeting. Mrs. Wilson has been compelled to decline the invitation through ill-health and absence from England.

Revolutionary songs will be sung during the evening, including the *Marseillaise*, *Carmagnole*, *Linnell's Death Song*, *When the People have their Own Again*, and *Annie Laurie*. Choir will practice at Hammer-smith on Thursdays, October 24th and 31st, and November 7th; at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesdays, October 29th and November 5th. No member of the choir who has neglected to attend these rehearsals will be eligible to sing on the night of meeting.

All willing to assist are asked to give or send their names to the Secretary of Committee on Arrangements.

By order of the Committee, H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Sec.  
13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE last few elections, though they prove little in themselves, yet taken with other symptoms seem to show that, unless something very startlingly unexpected happens, the Gladstonites will have a majority in the next Parliament, and even make it probable that there will be a dissolution before long. The fact is that the swing of the pendulum is operating; the promise of performance of the old government has died out; they have pretty much exhausted their powers of pretentious do-nothing plus coercion, and people are beginning to think, "Now let us have a general election, and give the other fellows a turn."

Well, so be it! We shall weep dry-eyed for the Tories; who, to speak shortly, are always and everywhere our declared and deadly enemies, and who include no section that can be of any use to us except as stimulating revolt by their stupid reactionism. Let us hope that no single Socialist and no group of workers will be taken in by the game of the Tory Democrats and their coquetting with one side of Social Democracy, or State Socialism, whichever you may please to call it. The Irish prisons show us pretty well what the meaning of Tory State Socialism really is. Let us remember that it can never go further than this—the bettering of one or more groups of workmen at the expense of other groups, the whole to be paid for by votes at the next election; which votes will, of course, be used for coercion in some form or other.

At the same time I don't see how we can throw up our hats very high for the advent of the Liberals to power. All we can hope of them is that they will be forced to clear away the Irish matter for awhile; though no doubt they, as well as the Tories, would be glad enough if they could keep on lugging it backwards and forwards as a convenient red herring across the trail of the welfare of the workers.

But when they have done that, what next? Will they even be near adopting the programme of the Socialist Radicals? which itself means nothing unless it is at once going to become real Socialism. It

is pretty clear that they cannot turn themselves into incipient Socialists. It will be the old story: a few more Radicals more advanced than earlier Radicals were, but quite powerless in Parliament; a great accession to the strength of the Whigs, who as soon as the crisis is over will turn their minds to becoming more Tory than the Tories themselves.

This is the regular history of party government in England. A Tory government with a Whig opposition, backed by a Radical revolt according to the ideas of Radicalism current at the time. The Radicals (as notably now the Socialist Radicals) make a great stir, and begin to move popular public opinion. They get the Whigs in, and these, when in, kick the Radicals to the devil, where they may do what they can.

This is quite sure to happen once more. Let us hope that it will be a dangerous game for the Whigs this time, and that *after* the kick, since they won't do it before, the Socialist Radicals will drop the latter end of their name, which means nothing, and become real Socialists looking forward to revolution as the only possible true change, and relegating the phrase "Parliamentary reform" to Mr. Murray's new dictionary of the English language. W. M.

The fears we expressed last week as to the action of the County Council on the licensing of music-halls have not been realised. By a majority which was not far from a clear two-thirds they have rejected the proposals of the Licensing Committee and refused to embark on the system of puritanical tyranny which that committee had planned out for them. The minority made, of course, a great noise and angrily contested every inch of ground, but suffered all the same from the most galling reverse, the most crushing defeat they have ever met. Like all beaten reactionaries, as they lost ground they lost temper; and with their tempers lost everything. Were it not for the good it has wrought it would have been pitiable, this utter discomfiture of theirs.

It does not matter much to us as Socialists, perhaps, to any very great degree, whether this or that music-hall shall have a license or no. But it does matter very much to us indeed whether a puritanical tyranny, an entirely reactionary and oppressive censorship, shall be established among us. The men who shriek and rave now about a "blue" line in a music-hall song or a little too lofty kick on the part of a dancer, would be just as ready, if they got the power, to exercise it in suppressing free speech as in "putting down indecency." And those who are now so ready to hunt the poor whores off the streets and drive them into the workhouse, the river, or the prison—or, deeper misery still, into their terrible "refuges" and "charitable homes"—would be just as willing to stone a Socialist or Atheist or any other rebel against their conventional respectability whenever they got the chance of doing so.

Sir Charles Russell rose above the advocate as he touched on this in a few masterly sentences. Mr. Nathan Robinson and the Rev. H. B. Chapman made stirring and impressive appeals to the Council on the side of the unfortunate women; Mr. Thornton declared that even prostitutes were citizens and had rights as such; and John Burns, speaking "as one of the class from which most of them were drawn," made a plain and telling statement of the conditions which produce them, and demanded that the root causes be struck at and not the unhappy products be persecuted.

On the other side, Mr. Charrington spoke with such virulence, such blind and bigotted intolerance, that one could almost believe in the Whitechapel murder-fiend being such another as he. Like him, but not quite so bitter, was the Rev. Fleming ("Fog-horn") Williams. Both of these, pretended followers of the man before whom was brought the woman taken in adultery, spoke with a fury that reminded one of the old-time zealots who burnt and racked and tortured men and women "for the glory of God and the good of their own souls." A fury which was only less hateful than the smug hypocrisy and pretended moderation of the notorious Mr. McDougall.

There can be no question that these pseudo-Progressives, these shams and frauds of Nonconformist Radicalism, men of the type of the historic "dissenting deacon and little corner grocery-man," are among the worst enemies of any real progress of whom it is possible to conceive. There cannot be a departure from their crude reactionary ideals which they will not fight with all the malign force that popular ignorance and the survival of superstition may place in their hands. The sordid misery of modern life is the very breath of their being. Woe be to him who seeks to cure it if he fall into their hands! Democratic institutions, if they could but manage it, would be made the means of a more searching and cruel despotism than even the most docile German now cowers under at the behest of Bismark. There is no walk of life in which their crushing influence would not be felt. As Socialists, revolutionists, rebels against all convention and hypocrisy, we must watch these men, and if need be make them feel our enmity.

Despite the wild waving of "the flag of the free," etc., the United States do not seem such a home of liberty as their admirers would make out. At a reunion of Abolitionists held in Tremont Temple, Boston, a few weeks since, the Hon. George P. Downing of Newport, R. I., produced a sensation by announcing himself as "a coloured abolitionist," and saying, "For sixty years I have felt myself to be the victim of injustice. Although I have never committed any crime, I have never seemed to breathe the free air of my native country. I was with Wendell Phillips in this very hall when he faced a howling mob, led on by the gentlemen of Beacon Street, and when he declared to them 'I will live to hear you applaud me to the echo.'" Continuing, he pointed out how Wendell Phillips was now applauded, but his teachings unregarded still.

He concluded by saying: "A fire of dissatisfaction and grief burns in my breast. The conservative speech I am now making would endanger my life in some States. While my son is spurned from your counting-room, your art museum, and your church, and while my wife is forbidden to ride with you in the railway car, while my countrymen are murdered in the South, can you expect me to be mild?" Had not our contemporary, *Reynolds*, better ponder a little over this side of American life, as well as over the state of the labouring classes there, the next time it feels tempted to sing "Hail Columbia, happy land!"? Like every other country ruled by the bourgeois, and dominated by bourgeois ideas, any other class than that of the dominant moneybags is made to feel its "inferiority." S.

### "HONEST TOIL."

THE virtue of "honest toil" is a precept which has been universally commended. We were taught it in our childhood, and have not been allowed to forget it in our after years. It was engraved as a headline in our copy-books, and was a favourite theme of our Sunday-school stories. It is always at hand as a peg whereon rich moralists may hang their speeches when addressing poor men's gatherings; and it is specially serviceable to newspaper editors when advising working-men not to strike or ask for an increase of wages.

By "honest toil" is meant physical toil for the physical needs of the community. The supposition is that by engaging in "honest toil," the toiler earns his own and his family's livelihood without having to beg, borrow, or steal any portion of it from his neighbours. The actuality is, that he not only earns his own and his family's livelihood, but the livelihood of a privileged class which is thus saved the necessity of doing any toil at all. The term "honest" has no doubt been tacked on to this species of toil from a perception of the fact that the toiler undoubtedly honestly earns by it whatever necessities or comforts of life he is permitted to retain to himself; and from a perception that there are other species of toil which men may engage in without honestly earning these things.

But although universally commended in precepts and speeches, "honest toil" is by no means universally practised. Indeed, none practise it who can avoid doing so; and instead of the practice of it conferring honour upon the individual, it invariably confers contempt. No "Noble" or "Honourable" or "Right Honourable" person ever performs it. No man who has to work for his livelihood is ever esteemed a "gentleman" and is never called such, except in courtesy or when he is being solicited for a vote or a subscription. A working-man is never made a knight or a peer, the chairman of a missionary society, or the president of a football club. The Queen will make "a belted knight, a marquis, duke and a' that" out of any kind of an effigy of a human being but a working-man. The fact that a man has to do "honest toil" utterly unfits him, apparently, from occupying any honourable position in church, State, or society. He may be physically as strong as a Hercules and as beautiful as an Apollo; he may have all the intellectual gifts of a Crichton and the moral resolution of a St. Anthony: but so long as he has of necessity to win his bread by the labour of his own hands and the sweat of his own brow, the door of refined society is shut in his face. If he were suddenly to enter a West-end drawing-room in his working garb the ladies would faint as though he were a Mid-African savage, and the gentlemen would kick him downstairs as though he were a bundle of hospital rags. A dog may sprawl upon the floor, a cat curl upon the hearthrug, and a parrot screech at the window, but he or his children may not even stand upon the doorstep. On the other hand, anything born of a woman, though it be physically fit only for a gynecological museum, though it

has the intelligence of a hen and the morals of a zoological gardens gorilla, yet if it belongs to the class that does no useful work, but lives on the plunder of the labour of others, it will be welcomed into the best society, courted by beautiful girls, flattered by statesmen, and fawned upon by university professors.

"Honest toil," therefore, which is in precept a virtue, is in practice a crime. Instead of being regarded as noble and honourable, it is regarded as dishonourable and degrading; and it is just because it is "honest" that it is so regarded. The more "honest" it is, the more it is shunned and the more ignoble it is reckoned. Toil that is not in the current sense "honest"—toil *per se*—is not shunned or reckoned ignoble. A man may work till he is black in the face and white in the hair at any sort of physical occupation he chooses, providing he does not do so for the merely "honest" purpose of earning his own livelihood, and yet be esteemed an "honourable" man and a gentleman. He may, like Lord Lonsdale, tramp with bag and baggage over hundreds of miles in frost and snow; he may go into his garden and plant cabbages, lay dung, and hunt caterpillars; he may row a boat, sail a yacht, or drive a carriage; he may fish, fell trees, shoot birds, stalk deer, or engage in any manual labour he pleases, and still be a gentleman—so long as he does so for recreation or pleasure, and not with the "honest" motive of providing the food he eats, the clothes he wears, or the house he inhabits. But if he is compelled to do these things so as not to be dependent upon the toil of others for his livelihood, then he is outside the pale of rank, titles, office, and respectability. Just think of it! Lord Lonsdale boasts that during one of his journeys he made his servants carry only 40 lbs. of baggage, and that he himself carried 50 lbs: while at that very time thousands of poor men in England were toiling their lives away to provide him with the money he was spending on his useless escapade. He considers it a noble thing that he, during a freak of pleasure, should have burdened himself a little to lessen the burden of others, while he esteems it an honourable thing to compel millions of men and women to bear all their lives a fourfold burden that he and his class may live without bearing any burden at all. And this sentiment of what is honourable, is the prevailing one in civilised life to-day, and upon this sentiment rests the whole superstructure of modern religion, morals, and politics.

The precept, therefore, is a lie, and a most barefaced one, too. Nobody believes it, but everybody preaches it—especially those who would be horrified at the mere notion of their being expected to put it into practice. If a bishop—who would as soon think of preaching the Gospel as of staining his episcopal fingers with an hour's work at tent-making or carpentry—has occasion to address a meeting of working folk for the purpose of begging subscriptions, he rolls oily phrases about the dignity and holiness of "honest toil" in his mouth, with as much sanctimonious satisfaction as he afterwards rolls their shilling pieces in his breeches pocket. If a duke or an earl condescends to decorate the platform of a working-men's political meeting, held for the purpose of returning an aristocratic stripling to Parliament, he extols the nobility of honest toil with such apparent sincerity that one expects him to conclude with a declaration that he will get out of bed next morning at five o'clock and apply for a job as a navy or dock-labourer at twelve or fifteen shillings a-week.

Of course the bishop and the earl do not mean what they say, and nobody believes that they do; but everybody applauds their sentiments and affects to feel much encouraged and comforted by them. It is the same with reference to most matters nowadays. People preach what they do not believe, and conceal or deny what they do believe; and most people appear to be quite satisfied and delighted with this way of going on. If it were not so, peers would be paupers, priests lodged in lunatic asylums, and politicians in prison.

Why, then, is "honest toil" regarded as degrading? Why do the rich shun it and the poor try to escape from it? It is not, as I have shown, because toil—even hard toil—is of itself considered an ignoble or criminal thing. No; "honest toil" is regarded as degrading and ignoble because it is associated with slavery, with poverty, with social ugliness, and the lack of pleasure and recreation. Only those who are slaves, who are the tools of landlords and capitalists, earn their own livelihood by the labour of their own hands; and their toil is necessarily very hard and their livelihood very scanty. They have not the means nor the opportunity of making their bodies healthy, their minds happy, or their homes beautiful. Art, leisure, travel, and all that gives enchantment to life and love are denied them. No wonder, then, that associated with such hateful conditions and penalties, "honest" toil is shunned by all who can avoid it. After all, it is a truer and manlier instinct that regards toiling for one's bread, in the way the working class now toils, as a thing to be dreaded and despised, than the instinct that is content to perform it without prospect of rebellion. And however much we, as Socialists, must condemn the hypocrisy of the rich who preach and praise what they do not, and would not willingly perform, we must give tenfold condemnation to those who consent to their own degradation and serfdom, without strong and persistent effort to free themselves and abolish for ever the system under which they suffer. Nor need we wonder that the rich—who do not understand Socialism, but regard it as a system that would compel them to work as they see the workers working to-day—fear it and seek to prevent its coming.

But Socialism does not imply that either the present rich or the present poor will require to work as the poor work to-day. If to toil and live, as miners, dock-labourers, tramway-men, seamstresses, factory girls, or even skilled artisans have now to toil and live, were the ideal which Socialists propose to realise, when asserting that every one will require to work for his livelihood, then none but madmen indeed



would be Socialists. Surely, however, rich and poor alike can perceive that so long as so many do no work, and so many do useless work, and so long as the reckless waste of wealth, which our present competitive system entails, goes on, those who by "honest toil" have to produce all the wealth which they and all the others consume must of necessity work very hard and get very little. But when Socialism is achieved—when all do useful work and there is no waste of wealth— toil will no longer be hard and degrading, but healthful and pleasurable, and consequently honourable; and "honest toil," as we now understand it, will be as unknown to all the people then as health, plenty, and pleasure are unknown to nine-tenths of the population to-day.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## HEIRS OF TIME.

FROM street and square, from hill and glen  
Of this vast world beyond my door,  
I hear the tread of marching men,  
The patient armies of the poor.

The halo of the city's lamps  
Hangs, a vast torchlight, in the air;  
I watch it through the evening damps;  
The masters of the world are there.

Not ermine-clad or clothed in state,  
Their title-deeds not yet made plain;  
But waking early, toiling late,  
The heirs of all the earth remain.

Some day, by laws as fixed and fair  
As guide the planets in their sweep,  
The children of each outcast heir  
The harvest-fruits of time shall reap.

The peasant brain shall yet be wise,  
The untamed pulse grow calm and still;  
The blind shall see, the lowly rise,  
And work in peace Time's wondrous will.

Some day, without a trumpet's call,  
This news will o'er the world be blown:  
"The heritage comes back to all!  
The myriad monarchs take their own!"

T. W. HIGGINSON, in *The Nationalist*.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "SOCIALISM AND STRIKES."

SIR,—After F. Kitz's able article on "Socialism and Strikes," I should like to say a few words on the same subject. It seems to me that the order of the day is Organise! organise! organise!—but what for? Up till now, it seems to me, we are all to organise for a paltry penny an hour, or something of that sort, but with no other object in view. Now this surprises me somewhat, when I consider who are the men taking the lead in this movement. How is this? Are these men watering down, or are they self-seeking? How is it they have left their old robust Socialism out in the cold to take on with labour unions without unity? For although we have now the South-side Council Protection League, the National Federation of Labour Union, the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union, Postmen's Union, and goodness knows how many more labour unions, yet no one seems trying to unite or affiliate them. They have leaders who each seem inclined to move only in their own small circle, instead of uniting the whole. Again, we find them in very doubtful company occasionally. What can dock-labourers expect from Lord Mayors or Mannings? The same may be said of the Women's Trades Association—hobnobbing with bishops and dowager ladies. Again, how will the poor tram and bus men get along in company with a Rosebery? These are questions I have asked myself several times lately, but they still remain unanswered.

W. G. W.

### SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

DEAR COMRADE,—It is now just over two years since you gave me the opportunity in the *Commonweal* of broaching the idea of Co-operation on Socialist lines. The articles you inserted led to the formation of the Socialist Co-operative Federation. During the past two years we have been enrolling members and getting in the funds necessary for carrying on business when we could open a store. We have also to acknowledge valuable assistance from *Justice*, *The Link*, and *Star*. At our General Meeting on 28th of last July we had 160 members, had paid all our formation expenses, and only wanted £30 more to make up the amount necessary to start the store. Some few weeks before our General Meeting I made the acquaintance of Mr. Isidore Phillips, the secretary of the Hygienic Co-operative Society, of 49 Southampton Row. That society by its rules was limited in the class of articles it could supply, and in consequence was not doing as good a trade as it could have done if not hampered by its fundamental rule. It was therefore in contemplation to reorganise the society on a wider basis. The idea occurred to me that it would be a good thing if the Hygienic Co-operative Society could be induced to amalgamate with the Socialist Co-operative Federation, and thus form one strong co-operative society working on Socialist lines and guaranteeing healthy products. I talked the matter over with Mr. Phillips, and he "took on" to the idea and agreed to bring it before his committee. I undertook to do the same with the committee of the Socialist Co-operative. Both Mr. Phillips and Mr. J. B. O'Callaghan, the president of the Hygienic Co-operative Society and a Socialist of old standing, warmly advocated the idea in their committee, and, with only one dissident, it was carried, that if possible the amalgamation should be effected. The committee

of the S. C. F., when I brought it before them, unanimously approved. The result was that a joint sub-committee of the two societies met and arranged the terms of the amalgamation; and at a General Meeting of each society a resolution as follows, with names transposed, was carried—unanimously by the S. C. F., and with only one or two dissentients in the H. C. S. The resolution:

"That this meeting of the members of the Socialist Co-operative Federation, Limited, agrees to amalgamate with the Hygienic Co-operative Society, Limited. The rules of the Socialist Co-operative Federation, Limited, shall be the rules of the amalgamated societies, which shall be one society, called the Socialist Co-operative Federation, Limited; and the £1 shares of the Hygienic Co-operative Society, Limited, shall be converted into four 5s. shares of the Socialist Co-operative Federation, Limited."

To comply with the Act of Parliament, it was necessary to hold a special meeting of each society subsequently, to confirm the resolution. The special meeting of the two societies was held soon after, at the hall of the Social-Democratic Federation, 337 Strand. Mr. J. B. O'Callaghan was in the chair. On his right was a good gathering of the members of the S. C. F., and on his left an equally good muster of the H. C. S. The resolution having been duly moved and seconded by members of the S. C. F., was put and carried unanimously by the S. C. F., amid cheers from both societies. In like manner the resolution was carried by the H. C. S. for themselves. The event was unique in the history of co-operation and Socialism, and the feeling that prevailed was good augury for healthy progress in the future. It was a striking proof of the spread of sound Socialist principles. A few days after the special meeting, I had the pleasure of taking the necessary official documents to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and in about a week later the amalgamation was duly registered and the two societies became legally one. I may mention that amalgamation has been very rare among co-operative societies. In fact, when I went to the office for the necessary documentary forms, they were taken from a small pile in a pigeon-hole, the top one being thickly covered with dust. "You see," said the obliging official, "we have not had much demand for these. I think there has been only one instance of amalgamation before."

Well, by this amalgamation the Socialist Co-operative Federation starts with a membership of upwards of 300, and a paid-up capital of over £300, part of which, however, has been sunk by both societies in the necessary formation expenses and the cost of starting a business as regards the H. C. S.

It now remains for Socialists and all who have the welfare of the workers at heart to rally to the Socialist Co-operative Federation, which a faithful few have nursed into being, but which will still need the most watchful care if it is to prove as we hope the herald of an evangel which will bring great joy to many a downtrodden worker. The duty of Socialists to their store is to give it in every case the first chance of supplying their wants before seeking to purchase elsewhere. Next, to take up one or more 5s. shares (entrance fee 1s.), and so increase the capital and membership, enabling the society to go into production of commodities, and thus give such of the members as wish, opportunity to become their own employers. The S. C. F. being now a member of the Co-operative Wholesale, is in a position to execute orders for food, drink, clothing, furniture, etc., etc. To those about to marry, if I say "Don't," it is not in the sense of *Punch's* immortal advice, but, "Don't go to Tottenham Court Road." Come to 49 Southampton Row for your furnishing. You can go with an order from the S. C. F. and make your selection at the great Co-operative Wholesale. And so with anything which may be wanted by our members. If the store has not got it in stock, it can get it—"from a needle to an anchor."

We hope to organise social gatherings and entertainments, and to make the Socialist Co-operative Federation a bond of union for all Socialists of every shade of opinion, and for all good and true men and women who, though not calling themselves Socialists, are "filled with the spirit" of brotherhood. The Socialist Co-operative Federation is catholic in the truest sense. Let it have generous support.

D. C. DALLAS.

28 Grays Inn Road, Oct. 12.

### AN AGITATED BISHOP.

THE Bishop of London (Dr. Temple) has been asked to join the Anti-Sweating League, the objects of which are: (1) To reduce the hours of labour and lessen overwork wherever it interferes with the health and comfort of the worker; (2) to abolish the cruel and varied systems known as "sweating," by which the worker is oppressed and deprived of the legitimate fruits of his labour; and (3) to seek to accomplish these ends by persuasion, combination, arbitration, legislation, and any other legal and constitutional means, as well as by promoting obedience to industrial statutes.

The organisation is apparently of a very innocent one as times go; being "formed wholly apart from any socialistic agitation or agitators of the day," and being also under the patronage of "many well-known influential noblemen and gentlemen." So that one would have thought that even a bishop might have blessed its work in favour of the poor and oppressed, even if he did not open his own episcopal purse and roll up his own lawn sleeves, and throw himself into it heart and soul. But no! the meek servant of the Man of Sorrows arises in his wrath and pens the following letter, dated from a palace, and written presumably in the name of him who had not where to lay his head:—

"My Dear Sir,—I should prefer to wait for the report of the Committee of Lords (on sweating) before joining the Anti-Sweating League, and I could not approve of such expressions as I see in your 'objects,' viz., 'by which the worker is oppressed and deprived of the legitimate fruits of his labour.' I do not know what are 'the legitimate fruits' of any man's labour, and such language seems to me to be misleading and mischievous. The choice is constantly this: Shall a man get wages on which he cannot live, or no wages at all? I think he ought, in that alternative, to get no wages at all. Then he will be driven to transfer his labour to some place where he can get wages on which he can live. The principle for which I would contend is: If a man employs another man he must give him wages on which he can live. But there are businesses, I fear, which would cease to exist if this principle were universally adopted, and the workers in them would get nothing. I think it imperative always to bear this in mind."

Just read that letter over and fix the salient points of it in your mind. Try and put yourself in the position which a man must occupy who writes like that, and yet can talk as he is paid to talk every Sunday, and on weekdays too when he gets the chance. Then try and fathom the filth which in the form of modern society engenders such reptiles, and there will rise in you a "holy wrath" which will not go to make you a very strong upholder of the present system.

S.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.*

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Labour Elector	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Liege—L'Avenir
Labour Tribune	Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
London—Freie Presse	Baecker Zeitung	Arbeiterstimme
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Bulletin Continental
Railway Review	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Geneva—Przedswit
Sozial Demokrat	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	ITALY
Seafaring	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Worker's Friend	Philadelphia—United Labour	SPAIN
INDIA	Princeton (Mass.)—Word	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Bankpore—Behar Herald	Pittsburg—Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
UNITED STATES	FRANCE	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
New York—Twentieth Century	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Der Sozialist	Le Proletariat	GERMANY
Freiheit	La Revolte	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Truthseeker	La Revue Socialiste	AUSTRIA
United Irishman	Nice—L'Associazione	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Volkzeitung	HOLLAND	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Workmen's Advocate	Hague—Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Middelburg—Lichten Wahrheid	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Investigator	BELGIUM	WEST INDIES
The Dawn	Antwerp—De Werker	Cuba—El Productor

## THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

COMRADE,—You are perhaps one of those that groan beneath the load which the present system piles upon the back of labour, you suffer, you are sweated, you are tired of the endless round of misery to which the poor are condemned. Perhaps you have borne your part in the battles which have recently raged between capital and labour. If you suffer, if you have fought to mitigate that suffering, to obtain a little more bread or a little more leisure, we ask you to listen while we tell the story of how brave men suffered and died for the good of the poor and the brotherhood and happiness of mankind.

America, as you all know, is the country of gigantic labour struggles. For some years previous to the period to which we are about to refer, there had been considerable agitation there, and especially in the city of Chicago, on the eight hour question. The result of this agitation was that legislative assemblies of various States and Congress had fixed an eight hour day for all government work. The workers, however, seeing how useless it was to hope to lessen the hours of slavery they endured under private masters by legislative action, determined to try what they could do for themselves. They determined at a General Conference of the National Labour Union at Chicago in 1885, to force this concession from the employers by means of a general strike beginning May 1st, 1886.

As the eventful day approached, our comrades Spies, Parsons, Fielden, Engel, and Schwab, who were working in Chicago, though as Socialists they knew that the agitation for eight hours would only lead to a slight palliation of the misery of the people, yet determined to help them to gain this small advantage, so that they might prove to them that they were sincere in their desire to bring better times for the workers. In this agitation our comrades spoke strongly; it was necessary. The capitalist press of America, the most brutal, cruel,

and barbarous of the whole world, shrieked for the blood of the people. Poison, bullet, steel, and dynamite were called for to exterminate the "troublesome scoundrels" who would not slave and starve in Christian peace to oblige their lords and masters. Our comrades found it necessary to remind the capitalists that a wholesale slaughter of the people would not be submitted to quietly, and that murder would be met by the extermination of the murderers. The rich were not to have a monopoly of the "resources of civilisation."

The 1st of May arrived. The people abandoned the factories by thousands and poured into the streets. The capitalists were alarmed, and determined to strike terror into these rebels against their rule. The opportunity soon arrived. On May 3rd, some men who had been locked out from McCormick's works some months before the strike—because they had committed the offence of belonging to a trade union—threw a few stones at some blacklegs belonging to the factory. The police arriving on the spot fell upon the crowd with their accustomed brutality, and shot and bludgeoned men, women, and children without mercy. Six dead and many wounded were left upon the ground.

These cold-blooded murders were witnessed by our comrade Spies, who had been addressing a meeting close to the factory previous to the massacre, and he rushed back to the offices of the revolutionary paper of which he was editor, and drew up a burning appeal to the people to end, by force of arms if necessary, a system by which such wholesale murders were possible. It was also decided to call a meeting in the Haymarket on the evening of May 4th, to protest against the massacre committed by the police.

At this meeting, Parson, Spies, and Fielden were the speakers; the meeting was a quiet one, so quiet that the Mayor of Chicago, who had attended it for the purpose of dispersing it by main force in case of trouble, left the meeting at about ten o'clock, and went home after telling the officer in command of the police, Captain Bonfield, that there would be no trouble that night, and he had better dismiss his reserves. This was the opportunity the police wanted; the mayor was out of the way; it was late on a cold spring night, and most of the people had dispersed. What an opportunity of teaching these "agitators" a lesson! So 180 police marched out of the station and advanced on the meeting, armed to the teeth for massacre and slaughter. Their captain called on the meeting to disperse, and then the police rushed on to the attack, when suddenly something came flying through the air from the crowd and exploded in their midst, strewing the ground with the men who intended to butcher the people. The police rallied from their first shock, and poured a murderous volley into the peaceful bystanders, who, totally unarmed, fled in confusion. Many police were wounded, and one, Matthias Degan, was killed. It was a dynamite bomb, flung by no one knows who, that had struck terror into these legal murderers.

Then followed what always follows when the middle classes are struck with terror at what seems an impending revolt of their miserable slaves. Chicago was placed in a state of siege; the houses of all who had made themselves active in the labour agitation were entered, without warrants, without any legal formality; for what are legal formalities to frightened slaveholders? Not only were the most prominent men in the agitation thrown into prison, but even the humblest concerned in the revolutionary agitation were not safe from arrest.

Out of the crowd of prisoners, eight men, the boldest and the best, were selected for judicial murder. They were "tried" before a judge as bigoted and unjust as Edlin; the "evidence" was got up by police officers beside whom Endacott was an angel; the jury was packed by men certain to convict, and middle-class gold was unsparingly spent to secure a conviction. Result: a verdict of guilty, seven men—Lingg, Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer, Fielden, and Schwab—sentenced to death, and one, Oscar Neebe, to fifteen years penal servitude. The death sentence on Fielden and Schwab was afterwards "mercifully" commuted to a life-long captivity in the hell of the prisons in America. Young Lingg preferred to die by his own hand to that of the executioner. Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel died on the scaffold on the 11th of November, 1887, with a courage that filled even their enemies with admiration. But retribution has followed close upon the heels of their murderers. The police officers who got up the case have been turned out of the force for the grossest perjury and corruption it is possible even for a policeman to perpetrate. The judge who pronounced the sentence is nearly mad with terror; innocent blood cries from the ground, and shall it not find an avenger? The furies of remorse and retribution stalk behind all that have lent their aid to this legal butchery.

And now, friends, a word with you. These men were not "executed" because they were proved to be guilty of the death of Deegan. No evidence was brought forward at the trial to even prove that it was a revolutionist who had thrown the bomb. Every attempt made by the prosecution to connect any one of the "executed" men with the bomb-throwing failed and broke down utterly. No, they were murdered because they loved the people, because they defied their oppressors, because, in a word, they were Socialists. Now, friend, great events are impending; there are signs that the last struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed is near at hand. In the day when the robbed and robbers come face to face, upon which side will you be? On that of the workers, or that of the rich sweaters, "those luxurious drones who eat your flesh and drink your blood." Choose now, and prepare for the battle that is near at hand!

[It is intended to issue the above article as a leaflet by the Propaganda Committee. Subscriptions are invited to publish it, and Branches should send in orders at once. Prices of Leaflet, 3s. per 1,000; 1s. 6d. for 500; 1s. for 250.]

D. J. NICOLL, Secretary of Propaganda Committee.

## IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

In no other place perhaps is industrial and social development so plainly seen and so easily traced as in the opening up of new gold or diamond fields. Here in Southern Africa, where a very short time is sufficient to change the entire appearance of different parts of the country, and where houses and townships spring up as only "Jerry builders" know how, one would think that the lesson all so plainly taught could not fail to be learnt by all observers. However, knowledge of this kind might be "dumped down" in cartloads on the gold-fields, and few be got to take even a shovelful of it. And yet men who show no desire to know, are by the force of events forced to learn; but as yet the way to their heads has been through their stomachs. The masters at Johannesburg, relying upon the influx of British emigrants (engineers, blacksmiths, and other tradesmen), caused in a measure by Mr. Kynoch's, M.P., lying cablegram, have recently notified their employees of their intention to increase the working-day by one hour with a decrease of pay. This much might have been anticipated by the men had they but been alive to what was going on around them in their work-a-day lives, and might have been much better prepared for. The "shovelful" would have served them had they but taken it. However, on the employers' intimation being made known, the men engaged in the engineering trades—fitters, blacksmiths, etc.—at once formed a Trades' Society, and met the master's notice with a demand for an eight-hour day and 25 per cent. increase of wages. A strike was the result, and the men at once cabled to the United States and to Britain warning fellow tradesmen against coming to the Gold Fields. Notices appeared in all the leading Colonial papers advising men to keep away from Johannesburg until the dispute was settled. It is said that the men are receiving financial support from capitalists, whose object in doing so is to "Bear the Share Market." This is a new feature in strikes which one, keeping in mind the tale of the Kilkenny cats, might almost wish might bring about the same termination.

If one could believe South African papers—but they are as great liars as British—one would say the capitalists at the Gold Fields are getting into hot water. Truly the ills they are heir to are many, and seem to be multiplying. One paper wonders how it is that native labour is growing so scarce; another upbraids the London dockers and the Johannesburg strikers in the same issue, whilst a third of like kidney goes off into a fit of indignation over the fact that "the natives are getting very impudent and lawless." I don't blame them either. I have an "idea" that if the "we's" who write these editorials had but to go down the mines as these poor devils, who are "getting so lawless," have for 14 or 16 hours at a stretch amongst slush and water, and on coming up at once marched off to the "compound," which they are not allowed to leave after nightfall, and get 15s. per week for their slavery, they, the editors, would no longer wonder at the scarcity of native labour, or the lawlessness or impudence either. There is very little demand just now for tradesmen of any kind, and men at home would do well to remember that the streets of Johannesburg are no more paved with gold than are the streets of "Modern Babylon."

Employment is getting more difficult to obtain every week, and in a short time, as things are going, "tramps and unemployed" will be common enough. The article in *Blackwood's* on "The Lepers on Robben Island," has shamed the government into a promise to do something for those suffering from that terrible disease. Both the Premier (Sir Gordon Sprigg) and the ex-Colonial Secretary (the Hon. J. Tudehope) join each other in saying that "the article was a gross exaggeration." Venturing an opinion I might say that to my mind the article is not one whit too severe. In truth it is not severe enough when one knows the living death those afflicted with leprosy on Robben Island endure.

A strike of natives in the Millwood district gold field has just been ended by the authorities sentencing the three ringleaders to three months' imprisonment each.

The men on strike at Johannesburg still hold out, and unanimously refuse the offer of the masters to refer the eight hours question to arbitration. It is confidently expected that the men will win.

JAMES BAIN.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

The strike among the coal miners in the Lens district is now over. At Courrières and Lievin the pits have all along been guarded by strong bodies of soldiers, and the military have been told off to work the pumping engines. But at Lens itself the mayor took up the cause of the workers, and boldly announced that he would refuse to billet any troops which the Prefect of the Department might send. Last week the directors of all the mines where work had ceased, held a conference at Douai, and agreed to increase the wages of the coal-miners by 2½d. The strikers, having thus realised their wants, resolved to resume work. It is said that the moral effect of the worker's victory is very considerable indeed in the neighbouring coal basins, so we may soon expect to hear something more from these quarters.

## GERMANY.

Once more the monster trial of Elberfeldt is announced to begin in that town on November 18th. The number of the accused has been considerably reduced, and yet ninety-one Socialists will have to appear before a special set of Nupkinses, who have been trained for that particular job. Convictions must of necessity come out of this judicial farce; it is willed so in high quarters. Among the accused are four German Socialist deputies, comrades Bebel, Harm, Grillenberger, and Schumacher. All the accused have been members of a secret society, and have conspired against the safety and welfare of their beloved Fatherland! The German Social-Democratic Party a secret society! *Risum teneatis, amici!* Let us burst for laughing, friends!

## BELGIUM.

In the village of Court St. Etienne, Brabant, a Belgian has erected a monument to all religions; so we are told by the *Freethinker*. The Romans first put the idea of a Pantheon into form, although the fellowship of all faiths was recognised by the Greeks in many ways, and even by the Egyptians and Hindoos. This Belgian monument is forty feet high, of two stories and a cupola. The four facades, in French, Greek, Sanskrit, and Egyptian characters, give the famous old saying, "The one has many names." On the outside of the columns are carved the monogram of Jesus, the name Allah in Arabic, that of Odin in Scandinavian or Runic; the Greek invocation at

Delphi, "Thou art"; the sacred monosyllables of Hebrews, Brahmins, Chaldeans, and Chinese; and as symbols are to be seen the hammer of Thor, the thunderbolt of Jove, the sacred flame of the Parsees, and the Buddhist wheel of the law. What are the Catholic peasants of that small village going to think about the amalgamation of all these creeds? For ages past they have thought that *their* religion is the *only* one to bring salvation, and now there comes a facetious individual who prepares for them a kind of holy mixture that they are not likely to be able to digest. Perhaps they will all soon have become freethinkers, and in Belgium freethought is generally the first stage towards Socialism. All is well that ends well!

A new fortnightly paper, *Antikrist* (the Antichrist) has appeared at Antwerp, especially devoted to questions of freethought. The address is, Kathelyne Vest, 33, and the price 1s. 6d. per year.

A pamphlet written by comrade Procureur, one of the editors of *Vooruit*, of Ghent, on the emigration question (*Zes maanden in Argentina—Six Months in the Argentine Republic*), has met with great success. Already ten thousand copies have been sold, and a new edition is now in preparation.

The central committee of the Socialist organisations of Ghent have decided to convene, on the 1st of November, a general conference of all the Flemish workers' societies of Belgium. The principal item on the agenda paper is, Ways and means for the wholesale distribution of Socialist literature (both newspapers and pamphlets).

V. D.

## SPAIN.

LINARES.—The labour movement is not asleep in Spain any more than elsewhere, but moves on steadily, though quietly and slowly. The Socialist Labour Party is making itself firm standing ground in Linares, amongst other places, and the members of the local branch are busy here with propagandist work. They hold constant meetings, which are well attended by the working-class, who listen with the greatest interest to the matters discussed. The bourgeoisie, and especially the republicans, are not well pleased to see the "masses" swiftly coming within the clutches of the Socialists.

JAEN.—A Socialist branch is in course of formation in this town; its committee accept the principles of the programme of the Labour Party.

In various other centres active propagandist work is being organised by the Anarchists for the winter months. Those of Gracia (Barcelona) are constituting two new groups, one for young people and one for women (perhaps the first in Spain), the latter calling itself "Equality with men." For this last, we can but wish it a speedy amalgamation with the groups composed of the women's brothers and fellow-workers; for the best way to do away with the distinctions derogatory to the dignity and well-being of women is, surely, to ignore such distinctions *among themselves*, and to work quietly side by side each in their own way. I say this only with regard to the Socialist movement, of course, for in the different trades and industries special unions are often necessary for special causes, according to the judgment of the workers at the time.

ALCOY.—A mill-owner of Antequera, going to Alcoy for more "hands" in consequence of a strike among his men, managed to secure twelve workmen, alleging that emigration was the cause of the scarcity of "hands" in his neighbourhood. However, when those newly engaged discovered the true state of the case, they had the courage and *esprit de corps* to return straight to Alcoy, declaring they had been engaged under false pretences, and were not going to step into their fellow-workers' shoes. The result was that the strikers were taken back on their own terms.

BARCELONA.—The 11th November will be celebrated by the Anarchists of this city.

SAN MARTIN DE PROVENÇAL.—The Anarchist Committee here have also announced the forthcoming commemoration of the Chicago tragedy.

## ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

BUENOS AYRES.—The Socialists of this town announce the formation of a new Communist group, which, inspired by the approaching date, they call the "Eleventh of November."

## ITALY.

VICENZA.—The other day, a workman named Giuseppe Gasparello tried to kill himself by taking a dose of laudanum. He was discovered in time and taken to the hospital, and is now recovering. I mention this poor fellow's case, not because of the fact itself, seeing that one can read of some such case every time one takes up a journal, but as illustrative of the difficulties the working-class experience in trying to fight their own battles in comparatively small towns or limited neighbourhoods. Here was a young man with a family to support, who had been out of employment for a year, owing to the fact that he had taken part in the strikes in the neighbourhood this time last year, and had been sentenced to 41 day's gaol in consequence. He becomes branded, none of the local masters will employ him, he loses hope finally, and in despair makes an attempt to get out of the whole business.

PIEVE DI SCHIO.—The employees of a wool-spinning factory here, make from 2 fr. 20 c. (1s. 10d.) to 1 fr. a-day, according to the different branches of the trade. The weavers, working eleven hours, make an average of 2 fr., only about 50 out of 200 averaging 3 fr. 50 c. a-day. The carders get 2 fr. 20 c. a-day, and the dyers and labourers about 1½d. an hour. M. M.

## The Scottish Bakers.

The demand for a shorter day's work and a uniform starting hour—5 a.m.—is meeting with great success. The employers in Dunfermline and west Fife district bowed to it with a grudge, and the men began on Monday 14th with their well-earned concessions. The Arbroath masters are trying the new arrangement for a fortnight, to see how it works. It works well for the operatives in those places where it has already been tried; one small shop in Kilsyth, for instance, had to employ two extra men. This sort of thing, the men are confident, will take up a great part of that surplus labour which is a great danger to their movement, and with the increased strength it will give them they expect to force a minimum wage of 30s. per week. Among the places where the demands of the men have been conceded are Bathgate, Armadale, Whitburn, Broxburn, and Uphall, with the exception of two employers—Leisk at Uphall, and Kay at Whitburn. If the people only knew that in some sweating bakeries the men are so pushed and driven that their sweat flows continually down their arms and is wrought up in the bread, they would make a louder cry to free the bakers from that slavery which has hitherto murdered many of Scotland's most industrious men. Verily, the bakers have in the past given of their strength and life to prolong the present sham society!

G. McL.



# THE LABOUR REVOLT.

## The Silvertown Strike.

On Sunday, Oct. 20, the Silvertown strikers, in company with the riverside labourers and other East-end trade unions, held a large demonstration in Victoria Park. Their leaders complain bitterly of the heartless indifference shown by such middle-class papers as the *Telegraph* and *Daily News*. They should remember that it does not do to expose the merciless sweating by which respectable Liberals, Radicals, and Conservatives get their 15 per cent. dividends. This is the reason for the conspiracy of silence on the part of the big capitalist papers.

## The Bakers.

While the Silvertown people were holding their meeting, the bakers also marched into the Park and held a big demonstration. The men seem very determined and enthusiastic, and there can be little doubt that they have the right sort of spirit which will conquer in the near future.

## The Postmen.

These overworked and underpaid slaves of the State expounded their grievances in Hyde Park last Sunday. They are forced to slave in all sorts of weather for 16s. a week, gradually rising at the rate of 1s. a year to the munificent sum of 21s. and 23s. weekly. Meanwhile, they have the pleasure of seeing the Hon. Cecil Raikes and Co. take their £1,000 and £2,500 for doing little or no work at all. But a new spirit is abroad, the dry bones are stirring and heaving with life, and the slavery of the workers will not last much longer.

## Miners in Conference.

An important resolution was agreed to at the recent conference of miners : "That this conference hereby agrees that on and after the 1st of January, 1890, all men and boys represented at this conference working underground, shall commence working not more than eight hours per day from bank to bank." This probably means a general strike in January, for a ballot is to be taken of the men as to whether they are prepared to hand in their notices on 1st of January next. Some of the mining delegates, however, who have evidently been bitten by certain cowardly forms of State Socialism, appeared to think that the men ought to go to Parliament to get what they were quite able to obtain by their own action, but they were in a very inconsiderable minority. There can be no doubt that the men will decide to strike if an eight hour day is not granted. The present time is too favourable for them to neglect such a splendid opportunity.

## The Railway Men.

The railway men are also going for a general movement to improve their condition. A splendid demonstration was held at Manchester on Sunday, Oct. 13th, when the following resolution was carried with the utmost enthusiasm :—

"1st, That a week's pay be guaranteed to all grades of railway men who, by the terms of their agreement, have to devote the whole of their time to the service. 2nd, That the maximum hours of duty be 10 per day, excepting platelayers, whose duties should be 9 per day. For shunters in busy goods yards, signalmen at important signal boxes, and boxes always open, 8 hours shall be the maximum. In every case each day's duty to stand by itself, and not to be counted as a part of a week's labour. 3rd, That overtime be paid for at the rate of time and a quarter, and Sunday duty at time and a half."

These demands are to be presented to the directors, and it is to be hoped that the men will not be afraid to strike for them. Any appeal to the tender mercies of the railway directors would be a waste of time. These gentry must be frightened into humanity.

We must remember, however, that these railway servants who passed the above resolutions, are the aristocrats of the profession—enginemen, signalmen, and guards. They have a balance of £80,000 in the bank, and have hitherto been one of the most aristocratic and reactionary trade unions in the country. That they are making a stir is indeed a good sign; but they have not quite got rid of their old spirit. The other day they expressly excluded those common persons the platelayers from their highly respectable organisation, which, after all, is only a very minute section of the railway men, numbering as it does only 13,000 employees out of 360,000. Therefore, the other employees, who are as yet unorganised, are forming a union of their own. The subscriptions are too high, and the tone is too exclusive of the older organisation. John Burns addressed a large demonstration of these un-aristocratic railway workers at Battersea Park Gates last Sunday, together with W. S. de Mattos, Rogers, Ward, and several other Socialists. The new union is increasing rapidly, and promises to be a grand success. It will do immense good, if only by forcing the older union to "open its gates."

## "Christian Charity."

"Alas for the rarity of Christian charity under the sun!" So sang Tom Hood many years ago; and in the present age, when Christianity takes the form of rabid puritanism, whose object seems to be to suppress everybody and everything that is not in accord with its pious crotchets, the remark applies still more strongly. The *Daily Telegraph* has recently devoted a considerable portion of its space to correspondence on the subject of Justice to Work-women. I wish I had space for many of the letters here, as they generally point out how many thousands of women are driven into prostitution by the low wages paid. But what I want to point out here is the kind consideration the Magdalenes of the present day receive from the people who profess to worship a man whose chosen companions were the outcasts of society. A contributor to the *Telegraph*, in the course of his wanderings through the East-end, found "in Wapping, in a reeking, fever-laden alley off Old Gravel Lane," a young woman with two children in a damp, stinking cellar—a dungeon in the Bastille of commercialism—earning 5s. or 6s. a-week at the "Christian" employment of sack-making. She had once been a rustic beauty, but had "fallen" and had been deserted, with her two children, by the scoundrel who had won her heart, and left her to the tender mercies of the sweeter. The representative of the *Telegraph* asked if she got any help from pious philanthropists. This is her reply: "No, I don't get help from anyone. I don't care to ask for it, though I can't help noticing that the religious and charitable people mostly give to the 'carneying' ones and those that least need it. I have had a misfortune, and they fight shy of

such as me." And these are the followers of a meek and lowly Saviour—these self-righteous Pharisees. Reader, have you read the story of Fantine in Hugo's 'Les Miserables'? To-day she still struggles on in a cellar making sacks at a starvation wage to get bread for her little ones, while the Scribe and Pharisee point the finger of scorn at her. Instead of helping her they try to hound her into the streets, to sell herself for bread.

## No Rent!

The *Daily Telegraph* is advocating what seems very much like a No Rent campaign as a cure for the starvation of the poor. The same contributor, speaking of the rooms in which the wretched victims of our civilisation dwell, says:

"Yet something should be at once attempted. Were there 'judicial rents' for London as for Ireland, sixpence a-week would be too much for any of the rooms visited, including those of the persons named. Were there efficient sanitary legislation and inspection, human beings would not be permitted to be housed in such miserable and dirty structures, ill-ventilated, and without adequate provision for cleanliness. But the poor will not always be content to be robbed, either by foremen, moneylenders who have no pawnbroker's licence, or by the owners of ramshackle houses. They are already conscious of being wronged, and mutterings are being heard."

Well, if "something is to be at once attempted," and if these dens in which the poor live are not worth sixpence a-week, it is clear they are not worth any rent at all. So the workers of East London must take the advice of the *Telegraph* and nail the "No Rent" flag to the mast. When the landlord comes, tell him not to call again. Perhaps when there is "no rent" paid in East London our legislators may be graciously pleased to consider that the poor "are suffering considerably from hunger," and are determined to suffer no longer.

## Good Advice.

Those labour leaders who cannot conduct an agitation without assistance from members of that "black police," the clerical profession, might take the following to heart. "Scottie" in the *Labour Tribune* says: "At Clydebridge the strike among the steel-workers still continues, but the men have offered to submit the question in dispute to arbitration. Unfortunately they have selected three clergymen as arbitrators. As a rule these men are the worst possible for a job of the kind. Their business capacity is frequently nil, while their sympathies, in a sneaking kind of way, are always with the rich." A word to the wise should be sufficient. N.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 2, 1889.

27	Sun.	1553. Servetus burnt by Calvin. 1838. Second series of the <i>New Moral World</i> began. 1843. Trial of "Rebecca" rioters at Cardiff.
28	Mon.	1757. George Rapp born. 1794. Trial of Thomas Hardy for high treason. 1813. Louis Blanc born.
29	Tues.	1793. Edinburgh Convention of the Friends of the People opened. 1794. Trial of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and others for high treason. 1831. Riots at Bristol, Bath, Coventry, and Worcester. 1883. International Trades Union Congress at Paris.
30	Wed.	1802. M. de Calonne died at Paris; celebrated as Minister of Finance to Louis XVI. at the breaking out of the Revolution. 1816. Labour riot at Walsall and fight with military. 1851. Kossuth in London. 1877. Trial of so-called 193 at St. Petersburg for social-revolutionary propaganda. Sentences: hard labour, 13; Siberia, 20; acquitted, 91. 80 of the acquitted exiled by administrative order of the Minister of Interior.
31	Thur.	1790. Riot of frame-work knitters at Northampton. 1793. Brissot and others guillotined. 1848. Vienna retaken from the "rebels." 1868. William Cooper died; one of "the Rochdale 28." 1870. Outbreak in Paris. 1876. Trial of Semionovsky and others at St. Petersburg for propaganda among soldiers. Sentences: hard labour, 3; prison, 4.
1	Fri.	1789. <i>Lettres de cachet</i> abolished by the National Assembly, and property of the clergy sequestrated. 1811. Henry White the elder, proprietor of the <i>Independent Whig</i> , tried for "seditious libel" in an article denouncing flogging in the army and the injustices to which private soldiers were subjected. 1834. First number of the <i>New Moral World</i> , "a London [ld.] weekly publication, developing the principles of the Rational System of Society; conducted by Robert Owen and his disciples." 1851. Boudin killed. 1867. Five Fenians sentenced to death at Manchester.
2	Sat.	1822. Trial of Michael Keenan at Dublin for "administering an unlawful oath"—that of the Ribbonmen, otherwise the "Patriotic Association, or Sons of the Shamrock." 1841. Daniel O'Connell elected as first Lord Mayor of Dublin. 1850. First number of <i>Robert Owen's Journal</i> , published weekly until October 23, 1852. 1850. First number of the <i>Christian Socialist</i> , "a Journal of Association," conducted by J. Townsend, F. D. Maurice, etc.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday October 27th, at 8.45 p.m., George Cox, "Recreations of the People." CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday October 27th, at 8 p.m., Wm. Clarke, "Practicable Socialism for England." STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday October 27, at 8.30, Rev. Stewart Headlam, "Christian Socialism."

A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. November 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.

BORO' OF HACKNEY W. M.'s CLUB, 27 Haggerston Road, E.—Sunday Oct. 27, at 12 noon, Graham Wallas, "The Practical Side of the Socialist Movement." GLADSTONE RADICAL W. M.'s CLUB, 22 Baroness Road, Hackney Road, E.—Sunday October 27, at 12 noon, J. F. Oakeshott, "The True Radical Policy."

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**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, Manchester, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. Comrade Davis will open a discussion on "Does Socialism imply a Standard of Morality?"

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; A. J., 6d.; R. J., 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; C. Saunders, 1s.; and J. B. G., 2s. 6d.

## REPORTS.

**CHELSEA.**—Short meeting held on the Embankment on Sunday morning, when Samuels spoke and sold 12 *Weal*.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—The branch acknowledged with thanks the sum of 10s. from Miss Warlow towards branch funds.

**KILBURN.**—Meeting held here on Sunday not so good as usual owing to the weather. At the close an old friend asked whether we could help the Child's Hill Co-operative Society's Educational Committee by coming to their first meeting and addressing them on "Co-operation." We went and found a very good audience for a first meeting, and a very good discussion followed a short address. All the members were in thorough sympathy with the views of the League on the subject, and the Council would do well in giving all the aid in its power to this advanced body of men and women. Meetings will be held here every Sunday evening at 7.30.—M.

**MITCHAM.**—A short meeting held on Fair Green addressed by Kitz; weather unfavourable; 13 *Weal* sold, 8d. collected, and one member made.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Lyne, jun., Weardale, S.D.F. Also a good meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers, Crouch, Maughan, and A. J. Smith; fair sale of *Weal* at both meetings. At our meeting at 8 p.m., Crouch lectured to good audience on "Socialism the only hope of the Workers"; good discussion after lecture.

**STREATHAM.**—At the Liberal Club on Saturday, a large number of comrades rallied to listen to a lecture on "Socialism a Delusion." The affair was a disillusion for the lecturer, who was, as one of the audience put it, "upset" at what he heard in reply. At the Fountain a good meeting held by Gregory; good sale of literature and *Weal*.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—Sunday morning, in spite of wet, a very fair meeting was held at Union Street, addressed by Leech, Turner, and Leggatt, the last named, who has again been discharged from his employment, making a vigorous appeal for more organisation on the part of the workers. A course of indoor lectures is being arranged for the winter months.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 14th, Hugh O. Pentecost's lecture on "The Timid Majority" was read and discussed. At Castle Street on 19th, Duncan and Leatham held a meeting, which was prolonged for two hours and a half amid boisterous enthusiasm, largely caused by the answers given to questions put by two angry swells. Whole stock of papers (including unsold stock of the previous week) sold off, besides tickets for a meeting to be addressed by Kropotkin in a few days.—L.

**EDINBURGH (S. S. F.).**—Excellent meeting in Moulders' Hall on Sunday 13th, when Bell lectured upon "What Socialism is Not"; animated discussion. The new society is progressing in all ways.—J. L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Tuesday night Downie and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Cathedral Square, where a well-known temperance fadist put forward some objections, which were disposed of by Burgoyne. On Sunday, owing to wet weather, no meeting was held on Jail Square; our comrades, however, turned up at Paisley Road in the evening, and Joe Burgoyne delivered a stirring address to a fine meeting.

**LEICESTER.**—Saturday and Sunday, 19th and 20th, H. H. Sparling gave four addresses. The first was at Loughborough, to a good audience; it is expected that Loughborough will now form a branch. The first address Sunday morning was at the Radical Club, subject "Thrill"; full house. The usual addresses were given in Russell Square and Humberstone Gate; both well attended. Collection 16s.; *Commonweal* sold, four quires.

**MANCHESTER.**—Some of our members attend a series of discussions on "Present Day Social Problems" which take place weekly in Ancoats. Whatever they may begin with, "Socialism" inevitably becomes the bone of contention, and a professor of political economy had a rather hot night of it on Wednesday from our speakers, who lose no opportunity of driving home their principles. On Sunday Ritson and Horrocks (organiser of the G.W. and G.L. Union) addressed a large meeting of the gas-workers in Stevenson Square. 52 *Commonweal* sold by our branch.

**NORWICH.**—On Thursday last comrade A. Moore spoke in the Gordon Hall on "Temperance"; sharp discussion followed. Saturday evening a paper on "Strikes" was read at one of the local societies; three comrades took part, also comrade Blackwell, who had just arrived from London. Sunday morning, a short meeting was held in the Market Place, opened by W. Moore and followed by Blackwell. Owing to the wretched state of the weather, remaining open-air meetings could not be held. In the afternoon a meeting was held in the Gordon Hall, comrade Brock in the chair; Blackwell gave an address on "Anarchism," his remarks being cordially received; several questions asked, and answered satisfactorily. In the evening Blackwell lectured on the "Gospel of Freedom," Poynts in the chair; opposition was given by a late member of the branch, which was well replied to by Blackwell; audience very appreciative.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—In the Great Market place on Sunday evening Rooke and Proctor spoke; 1s. 9d. collected for club funds. Subsequently, at the club, the members discussed the programme for the winter session. Lectures, discussion class, a gymnasium, and weekly concerts are about to be initiated.

**LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.**—Our usual meeting was held on Tuesday, and on Wednesday we attended a debate in connection with a local literary and debating society. The paper given was entitled "Socialism," but in reality simply dealt with compulsory education. Our comrades enlarged upon the subject and drew forth some amusing though not very intelligent criticism.—E. C. C.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday October 27, at 8 p.m., lecture by C. W. Mowbray, "Foreign and English Labour." November 3. A. Brookes, "Brotherhood."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday October 27, at 7.30, Business meeting. At 8.30 the following comrades will deliver short addresses on Socialism and the Labour Question in general:—G. Cores, G. Schack, H. Davis, J. Turner, W. Matthews, W. Diggins.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 27, at 8 p.m., A lecture by H. Halliday Sparling, "The Spanish Armada." French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday evening, October 27, W. Morris will lecture on "Why Working-men Ought to be Socialists."

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E. Branch meeting Friday at 8 p.m.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Haliifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. In the Vine Street Radical Club, on Sunday October 27, Hubert Bland (Fabian), will deliver two lectures—Morning, at 10, "What Socialism Is"; Evening, at 6.30, "Where Radicalism Fails."

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Monday, at 8 p.m., Entertainment in Gordon Hall—admission 2d. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8 p.m., Discussion in Gordon Hall. Hall open every evening from 8 o'clock.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 26.

8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church .....Samuels and Kitz  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Davis

SUNDAY 27.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Lyne sen. and jun., and Dean  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring and Samuels  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Crouch and Maughan  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street .....Nicoll  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Mrs. Schack  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Turner  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....Mowbray  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Mowbray  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....Davis and Mrs. Schack  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Branch  
8 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Cores and Kitz  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....The Branch

TUESDAY 29.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Mile-end Waste .....Cores

THURSDAY 31.

8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Mowbray

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 11 a.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11 a.m.; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30 p.m. Addresses by J. Blackwell (London) and others.

**Sheffield.**—Sunday: Hillfoot Bridge, at 11 a.m.; Mars Hill, Attercliffe, at 11; Rotherham College Yard, at 6.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Fish Wharf, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

**CHELSEA DISCUSSION FORUM**, Swiss Cottage, 111 Kings Road.—Sunday Oct. 27, at 8 p.m., a comrade on "Internationalism."

**MERTON.**—On Monday November 4th a Concert will be held at the Merton Club-house, Merton, to inaugurate the winter indoor lectures. Proceeds for the benefit of the funds of the Labourers' Union.

**GLASGOW—SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.**—Walter Crane will lecture in the Waterloo Halls on Sunday evening November 3, at 7 o'clock—subject, "The Educational Value of Art." William Morris in the chair; Emery Walker and Cobden-Saunders are expected to be present.

A MASS MEETING will be held on Duppas Hill, Croydon, on Sunday Oct. 27th, at 11 a.m., to form a branch of the Surrey Labourers' Union. Speakers: Pillier, Kitz, and Gregory. An adjourned meeting will follow in the Club-room, Duppas Hill Hotel, from 1 till 2, to enroll members.

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THE Socialist League advocates International  
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destruction of the present class society, which  
consists of one class who live by owning prop-  
erty and therefore *need not work*, and of  
another that has no property and therefore  
*must work* in order that they may live to keep  
the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary  
Socialism insists that this system of society,  
which is the modern form of slavery, should  
be changed to a system of Society which would  
give every man an opportunity of doing useful  
work, and not allow any man to live without  
so doing, which work could not be useful unless  
it were done for the whole body of workers  
instead of for do-nothing individuals. The  
result of this would be that livelihood would  
not be precarious nor labour burdensome.  
Labour would be employed in co-operation,  
and the struggle of man with man for bare  
subsistence would be supplanted by harmo-  
nious combination for the production of com-  
mon wealth and the exchange of mutual  
services without the waste of labour or mate-  
rial.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from  
this common stock, but no man would be  
allowed to own anything which he could not  
*use*, and which consequently he must *abuse* by  
employing it as an instrument for forcing  
others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the  
land, the capital, machinery, and means of  
transit would cease to be private property,  
since they can only be *used* by the combination  
of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would  
no longer be dependent on idle property-owners  
for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*,  
for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsis-  
tence at other people's expense, would have  
come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*,  
for if all men were doing useful work no man's  
labour could be dispensed with. Thus the  
motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality,  
which is but an empty boast in a society that  
upholds the monopoly of the means of produc-  
tion, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be In-  
ternational. The change which would put an  
end to the struggle between man and man,  
would destroy it also between nation and  
nation. One harmonious system of federation  
throughout the whole of civilisation would  
take the place of the old destructive rivalries.  
There would be no great centres breeding race  
hatred and commercial jealousy, but people  
would manage their own affairs in communities  
not too large to prevent all citizens from taking  
a part in the administration necessary for the  
conduct of life, so that party politics would  
come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto—

**Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,**

we say that the existence of private property  
destroys Equality, and therefore under it there  
can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other  
one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS  
CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING  
TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine  
Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing  
but a band of robbers. We must add that  
this change can only be brought about by com-  
bination amongst the workers themselves, and  
must embrace the whole of Society. The new  
life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class  
higher than they, but must be *taken* by them  
by means of the abolition of classes and the  
reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## NOTICE.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 199.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CHICAGO MURDERS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Let the voice of the people be heard."—Parsons.

A MEETING to celebrate the Anniversary of above events will be held on Monday evening, November 11th, at

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE.

The following comrades will speak:—James Blackwell, R. B. Cunningham Graham, Frank Kitz, Peter Kropotkin, C. W. Mowbray, Wm. Morris, D. J. Nicoll, H. H. Sparling, John Turner, G. Brocher, F. Feigenbaum, and Lothrop Withington.

Eleanor Aveling, Dr. Merlino, and S. Stepniak have also been invited, but have not yet replied.

John Burns was invited, but is engaged for Cardiff on the date of meeting. Mrs. Wilson has been compelled to decline the invitation through ill-health and absence from England.

Revolutionary songs will be sung during the evening, including the *Marseillaise*, *Carmagnole*, *Linnell's Death Song*, *When the People have their Own Again*, and *Annie Laurie*. Choir will practice at Hamersmith on Thursdays, October 31st and November 7th; at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, November 5th. No member of the choir who has neglected to attend these rehearsals will be eligible to sing on the night of meeting.

All willing to assist are asked to give or send their names to the Secretary of Committee on Arrangements.

By order of the Committee, H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Sec.  
13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

As to the Falcarragh case, the *Star* says: "The verdict of manslaughter against William Coll is manifestly a technical verdict only." So was that against Parsons and the others, but the *Star* endorsed it. "Even the packed jury were struck by the flagrant discrepancies in the police evidence. No two depositions agreed with each other, and nearly every constable deposed one story to his superiors and told another in the witness-box. In such circumstances only a jury who were determined to override every consideration of decency could have found the prisoner guilty of murder." Just like Chicago: but this was in Ireland, which makes all the difference.

"They would have done better to acquit William Coll, but they have assumed that as he was in the crowd he was constructively guilty of the offence. . . . The moral effect of the trials so far is strongly against the Government, and when Father McFadden is put in the dock the criminal folly of the Government will stamp them even more strongly as the real authors of Martin's death." Still very like Chicago. May we hope that the *Star* will write like this about our men when commenting on the coming celebration? Or will it repeat and perpetuate the criminal blunder it made last year?

The German Federal Council has determined "to give a permanent character" to the legislation against the Socialist movement. A coercion code is to be framed and the authorities hope that this will enable them to cope with the Socialist agitation, which "aims at arousing the passions of the masses and inciting them to the commission of acts of violence." The Federal Council intend to pass what in America would be called an "ironclad law," which, it is hoped, will enable Bismarck to suppress the Socialist party. The administration of the new law is to be "tempered by a court of appeal"—appointed by the Government,—say the press telegrams. What kind of "tempering" that will be may be judged by those who have even in the most cursory manner watched the course of German events. The "permanent character" of the law may destroy that of the Government.

Well! the Brighton election has come and gone, and nobody seems a "penny the worse." Last week we said all that was needed as to its political bearing either way; and this week we need only comment on the manner in which the respective party organs have taken it. The Tories have been whooping over their "great victory," and say nothing of their largely lessened majority. The Liberals have talked altogether of the lessened majority, assuring us they never—no, never!—expected anything else. As usual, the *Pall Mall* has pushed its protestations to the point of absurdity. Heading its article "Bravo, Brighton!" it professed to have hoped for exactly that result, no more and no less. In fact, a victory would have sorely disappointed it! This was also what it said when its friends the pseudo-Radical puritans were thoroughly thrashed on the County Council the other week. That's the worst of being a party politician; you've got to shout for your own side whatever has happened. And then people wonder why we keep out of "politics."

A certain section of the Socialist party is trying to get the London County Council to found a new and improved slave market, with the latest appliances in the way of slave-pens and auction-blocks, tabulated scales of quotations for blood-money, and automatic machinery for brushing aside the worthless and outworn articles of merchandise. This is not what they call it, but what it is. It is on their lips a "Labour Exchange," furnishing "correct information as to the state of the labour market," and a "mart" for "skilled and unskilled labour." But in spite of the polite phrasing, it is easy to see what is underneath, and one can only wonder at the infatuation which can lead Socialists of howsoever mild a type into the folly of helping the capitalist in further developing his methods of man-trading and aiding in the recognition of his "right" of making profit upon the sale and purchase of his fellow-men.

That the County Council is likely to take up such a scheme I do not believe. Hitherto it has been pretty sound on the labour question. Only Tuesday week it negatived a recommendation from one of the committees that a sweating firm of builders be entrusted with a job, and sent that part of the report back for re-consideration. At the same meeting it also sent back a recommendation that the sweating contractor at Crossness be let go free. All which does not look as though the projected deputation would be accorded the promise they will seek.

In the last number of *Reynolds* "Dodo" recommends, among other writings which "give a most pleasant, popular, and fascinating aspect of Socialistic ideas," two which we have not before heard of—"Grunland's 'Co-operative Commonwealth'" and "Prince Kropotkin's article on Socialism in the 'Encyclopedia Britannica.'" Those who search for these may find Grönlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth,' but they will not find the article described. There is an article on Socialism in the 'Encyclopedia,' but, as you know, this is written by Mr. Kirkup, who, with all his merits, cannot equal Kropotkin as an exponent of the social problem. S.

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

ON AND AFTER MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11th, THE  
Editorial and Publishing Offices

OF THE

"COMMONWEAL"

Will be Removed to

24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields,  
LONDON, W.C.

Exchanges and Correspondents Please Note.

## MR. LABOUCHERE'S RADICAL PROGRAMME.

MR. LABOUCHERE appeared in Glasgow the other week as the acknowledged leader of the Radical section of the Liberal party. That his Radicalism was not regarded by the capitalist class with much alarm was made evident by the crowd of wealthy exploiters who accompanied him to the platform: and the detailed confession of political faith which he gave more than justified their assurance. It is true that several leading newspapers professed to regard it as quite a revolutionary utterance—but the notion entertained by "leading newspapers" of what is revolutionary, is not of much account.

Mr. Labouchere vigorously denounced the Tories and the Liberal Unionists, and spoke of the royal family just as he would of anybody else who wanted to beg or borrow money of him. He advocated triennial parliaments, payment of members, and the abolition of the House of Lords. He was also in favour of a great reduction in public expenditure, and the abolition of sinecure offices. With Mr. Labouchere's opinions upon such matters we Socialists are not in the least concerned. They do not bear, even remotely, upon the terrible Labour Struggle which rages around us. Were his full programme realised to-morrow we should still be a hundred years behind America and France politically. The wages of the workers would not be raised one halfpenny, or their hours reduced one minute. Mr. Labouchere knows this, and therefore speaks cheerily, for he is a rich man; and the money-mongers around him know it also and applaud him heartily, for they also are rich men. Mr. Labouchere's Radicalism will undoubtedly become popular with the bourgeois classes when they are a little better educated in politics; it exactly suits their commercial notions. Don't pay for anything you don't get, and for what you do get pay as little as you can; that is their golden rule, and Mr. Labouchere understands it both in precept and practice.

It is in Mr. Labouchere's remarks on land and labour legislation that we Socialists are interested, not because we regard his opinions of any value in themselves, but because we recognise that Mr. Labouchere has attained a position of influence in the political councils of the people, and his views are likely to be regarded by some sincere folk as authoritative and final.

Mr. Labouchere does not believe in land nationalisation, not presumably because he would venture to deny the justice of the proposal, for he carefully refrained from giving any opinion upon that, the chief point, but because he professes to think that the individual and local circumstances of the tenants could not be properly regarded under a system of national ownership. The crudeness of this plea was immediately made manifest by Mr. Labouchere himself, when he stated that one of the most necessary reforms required under the present system of private ownership was the establishment of land courts all over the country to fix the rents and adjust the conditions of occupancy between landlords and tenants. If land courts can be instituted capable of dealing with the individual and local circumstances of tenants in relation to landlords, surely they could deal just as well with the individual and local circumstances of tenants in relation to the State, municipalities, or communes? That tenancy, as we now understand it, would be tolerated under a Socialist system, is very doubtful; but whether or no, it is obvious that so far as Mr. Labouchere's objection is concerned, the circumstances of tenants could be regarded quite as fairly under national or common ownership as under the existing or any possible system of private ownership. Indeed, one is amazed that even Mr. Labouchere ventured to raise such an objection in the face of the universally recognised fact that whether in Ireland, Scotland, or England, landlords have flagrantly disregarded alike the personal and local circumstances of their tenants, and have fleeced and ground them down to the uttermost degree.

The most remarkable statement in Mr. Labouchere's speech was his declaration, that although opposed to *land* nationalisation he was in favour of the nationalisation of coals and minerals. On the death of existing proprietors he would have all coals and minerals revert to the State without compensation. Mr. Labouchere did not attempt to draw any distinction in principle between the proposition to nationalise the *surface of the land* and what is *beneath the surface*, he simply affirmed that the latter was a just proposal and necessary in the interests of the community, therefore it should be done. It is well to bear in mind—as giving a clue to Mr. Labouchere's notion of what constitutes justice in such matters—that minerals are the property of the State in most European countries; that the great mineral holders in Britain are a very few individuals; and that the rental involved is only £10,000,000 as against some £250,000,000 yielded by the use of the land. The fact that a Royal Commission is about to enquire into the exaction of mineral royalties, and that the question is likely to be forced by miners and others into the forefront of politics, has also no doubt quickened Mr. Labouchere's opinion on the expediency and justice of such a measure. On this as on other matters, Mr. Labouchere shows that in politics he is concerned solely, as in business affairs, with the state of the "market" and the immediate profit of the transaction—not as to its relation to any economic principle or scheme of social well-being. No doubt, as Bakounine has shown, authoritative theories and principles have been responsible for a deal of mischief in moral and social effort; but the rejection of all theory and principle save expediency, has only been less disastrous because of its inherent self-destruction. Mr. Labouchere, it is true, has none of the Presbyterian rigidly righteous notions in politics of his "great leader," Mr. Gladstone; but he has what is certainly no better, a deal of the unscrupulousness of the landlord's bailiff and the chicanery of the cheap goods salesman.

Mr. Labouchere spoke at some length on the eight hours' question. The fact that he felt constrained to do so shows how rapidly Socialist "sentiment" is entering upon the domain of "practical politics." It was evident from the whole tone of his remarks that Mr. Labouchere would have willingly avoided referring to the subject, if he could have done so with safety to his reputation as the champion of the democracy. He, however, told us frankly that he did not believe that a universal eight hours' working-day could be established. He was careful not to commit himself against the principle of such a measure, he was against its expediency merely. The arguments by which he laboured to justify his conclusion bore the old familiar Tory complexion—indeed, had he substituted "Home Rule" for "eight hours' legislation," one might have imagined himself listening to Lord Hartington or Joe Chamberlain. The workers, he said, do not want an eight hours' day, and even if they did it would not be possible for Parliament to grant it; if, however, the workers would carefully consider the question with a due regard to their own and their employer's interests, and fully make up their minds as to what they really wanted, he was sure that a Radical Parliament would be prepared to meet their demands as far as was consistent with our commercial and imperial interests; but this, Parliament could only be expected to do, after the workers had done their best to effect their wishes by trade combinations and had failed.

That, then, according to Mr. Labouchere, is the utmost the workers can expect from Radical legislation, even when Toryism is extinct in Parliament—when Liberalism is sent to penal servitude on the Opposition benches, and Radicalism sits triumphant on the Government benches with Henry Labouchere at its head! What a happy prospect for the twelve and fourteen hours a-day workers with their inalienable votes, their paid representatives, their no-House-of-Lords Parliament, and their £100,000 a-year monarchy! What a glorious hope to inspire them to march to and from the polling-booths for the next twenty years!

I must note one of the statements Mr. Labouchere made in justification of his contention that it would be impossible to concede an eight hours' working-day—a statement which has a distinct flavour of that "Pigottism" about it which he and his friends so virtuously denounce. Dangling the old tattered and torn bogey of foreign competition before the eyes of his audience, he said that the foreign workmen works twelve to fourteen hours a day, and does not want his twelve to fourteen hours reduced to eight hours, because he likes to work hard when young and strong so as to provide for old age! It is hard to believe that Mr. Labouchere does not know that at every recent International Congress of workers the foreign delegates have declared unanimously for an international eight hours' day—only the British delegates being dissentients. It is difficult to comprehend how he can have forgotten that an International Conference of Government representatives has been convened to meet at Berne, chiefly to discuss this proposal, and that he himself voted in a division censuring the British Government for refusing to allow its delegate to discuss that one question. As to the foreign worker desiring to work long hours with the view of providing for the future, the statement is simply ridiculous. The foreign worker works long hours because under existing conditions he must do so to compete against the British worker. So far from having a special forethought for his future well-being and comfort, he has generally been credited with having much less of this prudential and thrifty faculty than his English and Scottish brethren. Mr. Labouchere's statement, therefore, only shows how utterly Tory in idea and method he can be when conserving the interests of his own class.

The special remedy which Mr. Labouchere proposes for the want and misery of the industrial classes is the abolition of all indirect taxation and the imposition of a substantial graduated income tax. He does not in the least degree question the right of landlords to exact rent, or the capitalists to exact profit; he merely asserts that all—including, he pointedly observed, the poorest workers—ought to contribute to the support of the State according to their ability. He, therefore, leaves the great land and labour problem untouched. He is either utterly ignorant of its meaning, or else too selfish or too cowardly to honestly face it. It is well that he has spoken so plainly: and if he and his party continue to speak so plainly they will do much to hasten the Social Revolution. There is little fear now, thank "God!" of the workers being led astray with Radicalism of that kind. The only danger is that Mr. Labouchere and his political crew may discover this truth in time, and trim their sails nearer to the winds and currents of modern Socialist thought, so as to deceive the more ignorant and ensnare the more timid of the democracy.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

ALL our foreign exchanges can have the *Australian Standard* sent them for the future from Australian Socialist League, 533, George Street, instead of the *Australian Radical*, until we start an organ of our own.

W. H. MCNAMARA, Sec.

CLERKENWELL BRANCH BANNER FUND.—A fund has been started for obtaining a banner for above branch. Members of the branch and sympathisers are kindly asked to send in their subscriptions so as to enable branch to have banner ready for "Chicago and Bloody Sunday Commemoration." Already acknowledged:—£1 5s. 6d. The following further subscription has been received:—J. Turner, 1s.; total, £1 6s. 6d. Another £1 required. All subscriptions should be sent to S. Presburg, Secretary to the Fund, 13, Farrington Road, E.C.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## GERMANY.

We call the attention of those of our readers who understand the German tongue to the pamphlets published by comrade Max Schippel, editor of the Berlin *Volks-Tribune* (People's Tribune), under the general title of "Berliner Arbeiter-Bibliothek" (Berlin Workers' Library). The address is: Berlin, S. O., Oranienstrasse, 23. Up to the present date seven pamphlets have been issued, and the matter dealt with therein is all of the greatest interest to Socialists. One pamphlet, containing from 32 to 48 pages, small 8vo size, with cover and special title-page, is published *every month*, at the very low price of from 1½d. to 2d. The following pamphlets are now on sale: 1. 'Ein sozialistischer Roman' (a Socialistic Novel). This is a condensed *résumé* of Edward Bellamy's well-known American romance. 2. 'Die Gewerkschaften' (the Trades Unions), by Max Schippel. This is an essay on trades-unionism, the general utility of these unions, and their social significance in the workers' movement. Comrade Schippel deals at some length with the prosecutions of the unions, the struggle between capital and labour, the "iron" law of wages, the objections that have been raised against unionism, and the propagandist and educational influence of trades-unionism. At the same time we may recommend an English work on the same subject—Howell: 'The Conflicts of Capital and Labour' (London, 1878). 3. 'Die Arbeiterinnen und Frauenfrage der Gegenwart' (the Woman Question and the Working-women's Question of the Present Day), by Clara Zetkin. This pamphlet tends to show that the commercialistic system of to-day has brought about a complete revolution in the economical situation of women, and that in consequence thereof their work in the family is effaced more and more as compared with their social activity. Therefore comrade Zetkin claims for her sex a large part of influence in politics and in public life generally. The pamphlet is well written, and suggestive of many a thought which would make our friend Belfort Bax's blood boil. 4. 'Der Socialismus in Frankreich seit der Pariser Commune' (Socialism in France since the Fall of Commune), by Ossip Zedkin; and 5. 'Charakterköpfe aus der frauösischen Arbeiterbewegung' (Leading Men of the French Workers' Movement), by the same. 6. 'Die Hausindustrie in Deutschland' (Domestic Industry in Germany), by Paul Kampffmeyer. This pamphlet has several interesting chapters on production for domestic use, trades, and domestic industry, the origin of the older branches of German domestic industry, the transformation of old guild-trades and their development as a supplementary occupation and as the principal calling of workmen in the open country. It shows the influence of these facts on the increase of the proletariat and on the development of the commercial system. The origin of the *more modern* domestic industry—namely, in relation to the production of articles of luxury and fashion; the retransformation of the factory industry into works of domestic industry; the formation of new conditions of interdependency brought about by domestic industry, and the particular difficulties in the way of its improvement, are very ably expounded, as also are the evil effects of the truck and sweating systems. 7. 'Junker und Bauer' (Feudal Landlordism and Peasantry), by Paul Kampffmeyer. This pamphlet deals with the development of the agricultural conditions of Germany, and shows, by dint of considerable statistical material, how miserably large classes of independant peasants have been degraded to the condition of poor agricultural wage-slaves by an unscrupulous and thieving feudal gentry.

The Federal Council have resolved to make the anti-Socialist law a permanent one, instead of adhering to the former practice of renewing the law every third year. These good people were mainly influenced by the consideration that it is less important at present to stop the propagation of Social-Democratic doctrines than to cope with the more active agitation carried on by the Socialists, which, it is held, aims at arousing the passions of the masses and inciting them to the commission of acts of violence. Where these fools have seen acts of violence, we do not know, and they must have had some terrible dreams indeed, for we contend that the Socialists, respecting their numbers, are in Germany *quieter and calmer and cooler* than anywhere else. The Federal Council came to the conclusion that, for the attainment of the imaginary object they had in view, the provisions of the common law did not suffice, but that definite enactments dealing directly with the Social-Democratic movement were required. Furthermore, it was resolved that inasmuch as the effective enforcement of the law suffered through the periodical prolongations, which always afforded material for fresh agitation (that's it: no more Bebel speeches!), it was wise to resort to permanent measures, with the view, moreover, of applying a permanent remedy (remedy is good!) to an evil which showed signs of being a *lasting one*. They now begin to see that Socialism is going to last—aye, and to triumph too! On the other hand, these good souls thought that the permanent enactment of the existing law would so greatly sharpen its effects, that it was advisable to mitigate or dispense with some of its provisions, and to provide wide guarantees against any enforcement of those which remained. Consequently the Federal Council has struck out the penal clauses 22 to 25 of the old law, which enabled authorities to impose stringent restrictions on professional agitators in respect to their place of residence and business, and the spreading of Socialist literature. The new Bill also creates a new Court of Appeal—of course for the protection of the citizens!—composed of eleven Nupkinses of the Superior Courts of Justice, to be appointed by the Federal Council, which shall hear and sift all petitions against any proceedings taken by the executive authorities under the Socialist law. The president of this new set of Nupkinses will be chosen by the Emperor himself—who is exceedingly anxious that his good friends, the Socialists, should have fair play. But, at the same time, in order to replace these clauses 22 to 25 by something, at any rate (it is always well to replace, you know!), the Bill stipulates that agitators can be expelled under the minor state of siege for one year, and on the expiration of that period only return with the permission of the district police authorities. Periodical publications can only be suppressed under the new law provided that single numbers shall have already been repeatedly censored. Hitherto a single prohibition was sufficient; now the papers will have another chance, and at the second number only they will have to vanish. How merciful these Federal Humbugs are! But, to put it in short, we are satisfied that old laws and new laws will one and all have the same fate—die out—and the Revolution will, step by step, come in, bury councillors, laws, and judges, and make mankind happy, joyful, and free!

## BELGIUM.

Our readers will remember that some months ago a monster trial came before the Court of Assize of Mons (province of Hainault), where more than twenty Socialists were accused of having been instrumental in the troubles which occurred in the coal-miner's districts (Mons, Charleroi,

Frameries, La Louvière, etc.). They will also remember that all the accused were acquitted, owing to the fact that their counsel succeeded in detecting that the shameful plot was altogether got up by the government, and that even the Belgian Premier, the Catholic Minister Beernaert, had received in his cabinet, AT MIDNIGHT, two *agents-provocateurs* of the worst possible description, and had even given them directions in their despicable business. At the close of the great trial, an immense manifestation of protest was made all through Belgium against the miserable clerical government, with the first result that Paul Janson, the leading counsel in the Mons trial, was elected a member of Parliament by the combined efforts of the anti-clerical forces of the Belgian capital. The *agents-provocateurs*, but for that move of the electoral body, would almost certainly have escaped the doom they so rightly deserve. But now, at last, they are going to be tried by the Court of Assize of Mons, and we are promised some more revelations during the case that will begin on the 18th of November. The Attorney-General has just published his indictment, and it is certainly of interest to extract from that bulky document some facts which may serve as hints in all countries for all workers who are engaged, oftentimes amidst the greatest danger to themselves, in the noble work of bringing about the emancipation of mankind at large from the treble yoke of capitalism, priestcraft, and governmentalism.

During the trial against Defuisseaux and the other Socialists, the counsel for the defence found out that an individual named Leonard Pourbaix was at the same time a red-hot revolutionist and a secret agent of the Belgian administration of public safety! This scoundrel was to be found in all places where very violent speeches were delivered, and it was he who especially incited the workers to commit acts of violence by means of dynamite. Not only did he provoke such deeds, but he was also the very keeper of the explosive matter, and it goes without saying that he distributed it very generously amongst the workers. An explosion occurred at Mariemont, and it was Pourbaix who had advised one of his poor tools to lay the cartridges at the entrance door of the works. At Morlanwez another explosion took place, and again it was Pourbaix who had provided the man with the so-called "scientific means of warfare." At Chatelineau at a secret meeting, he proposed to entrust some one in the audience, by means of drawing lots, with the "revolutionary" mission of blowing to pieces one half of the locality. At Frameries he speaks thus at a secret meeting:—"Woe betide him who shall resume work! We shall blow up the houses of the workers who shall descend into the pits. Stores of dynamite are in readiness!" Besides, secret meetings were held at night in his own house, and at one of these meetings he announced that explosions were going to occur at Brussels, and preparations to that effect had really been made. A man named Rouhette, the lieutenant of Pourbaix, was sent to Brussels, and delivered dynamite, caps, and fulmi-cotton to three persons named in the indictment. All this and many other similar "moves" constituted the "revolutionary work" of that genuine "Socialist"; besides, however, he had his "police work" to do, and the more he had to report, the better he was paid for it. After having distributed broadcast his own dynamite, he wrote to the administration of public safety, "To-morrow I shall go to Frameries to find out a dépôt of explosives." Then again, "There is a store of dynamite at Morlanwez, I am going there to see if I can discover it." Of course, the miserable Pourbaix found it always, and very easily too! One day he asks his chief what he must do with all the explosives he has so "found out." "Keep it," answers the official, "we have no need of it at Brussels. We want only to know who has given it to you, and what are your ways and means of finding out the people who conceal it." After having given these and many other extracts of the correspondence exchanged between Pourbaix and the police authorities, the Attorney-General concludes his indictment by implicitly avowing that this man is a wretch, because, on the one side he induced the workers to deeds of violence they did not want to resort to, and, on the other side, he deceived his superiors apparently for the sake of increasing his blood-money.

The Belgian papers tell us that some more revelations are to come to light, which are likely to shake considerably, and probably to run down definitely, the despicable clerical government, who have made of Belgium a mere province of Bismark's Germany.

VICTOR DAVE.

THE CHURCH AND USURY.—Two novelists, Charles Dudley Warner and Edward Garret (Mrs. Fyvie Mayo), are simultaneously assailing the class of speculators who make their tens of thousands, to use the latter's phrase, "by wide ramifications of usury, and by transactions too gigantic for any one man to control who cares to exercise his conscience as to their bearings on his fellow-creatures." The assault by Mr. Warner, very much the more elaborate of the two, will be found in "A Little Journey in the World" appearing in *Harper's Magazine*; that by Mrs. Mayo in a strong study of Scottish character, "Life's Long Battle Won," which forms not the least attractive feature just now of the *Sunday Magazine*. Both writers render help in what has become one of the most serious social problems of the age, a problem, by the way, which comes very near to some of the Christian churches, as Mr. Warner indicates in a suggestive conversation with respect to the endowment to a college by one of the ruthless millionaires who bestows the gift merely for the purpose of securing a character.—*Christian Leader*.

SWEATING IN THE STATES.—A committee from the Boston clothing trades union has been in New York investigating the condition of the clothing manufacturing trade. The wages of the clothing workers have been steadily decreasing in Boston, and work has become scarcer there. The Boston unions heard that New York had been taking away much of the business, and a committee was sent to investigate. The committee has visited the East-side districts where clothing is given out to workers, and they come to the conclusion that the "sweating" system, which was exposed some time ago, was the cause of the decline of wages and the withdrawal of much of the trade from Boston. They describe the condition of the working people who are engaged in the "sweating" work as miserable in the extreme—worse than that of plantation negroes during the time of slavery in the South. Men, women, and children are crowded into small hot rooms, where they live and cook, and work for starvation wages, fourteen hours and more out of the twenty-four. Among the places visited by the committee was a five-story house occupied by several "sweater" contractors. One man, Morris Kuster, employed eight men in a small room and worked them fourteen hours a-day. Some people in this building worked from four o'clock in the morning to nine o'clock in the evening. Other "sweaters" paid their hands 50 cents for making a coat, and others paid their hands from 5 to 8 dollars per week. Samuel Max, who employed fifteen men and made them work sixteen hours a-day, paid them not in money, but in clippings of the cloth.





HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN  
HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

STN.—Notes next week.  
G. S. Thanks for Ruskin article, which shall be used.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 30.

ENGLAND	Newark—Mutual Aid	ITALY
Brotherhood	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Die Autonomie	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	SPAIN
Justice	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Elector	St. Louis—Anarchist	Seville—La Solidaridad
Labour Tribune	Philadelphia—United Labour	PORTUGAL
London—Freie Presse	Pittsburg—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	Ybor City (Fla.)—Revista	AUSTRIA
Railway Review		Brunn—Volksfreund
Sozial Demokrat		HUNGARY
Seafaring	FRANCE	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Worker's Friend	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	DENMARK
	La Revolte	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
UNITED STATES		Social-Demokraten
New York—Twentieth Century	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Aller	Malmo—Arbetet
Volkszeitung	Middelburg—Licht en Waarheid	WEST INDIES
Boston—Woman's Journal	BELGIUM	Cuba—El Productor
Investigator	Ghent—Vooruit	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	SWITZERLAND	Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Arbeiterstimme	
Milwaukee—National-Reformer		

CHURCH AND DEMOCRACY.

AMONGST the many interesting books for which readers with short purses some forty or fifty years ago had reason to thank Charles Knight—"Good Knight," as the punning epitaph put it—was a work which it seems might well be oftener used than it is. "Historical Parallels" are always worth the attention of the student in sociology, and it is rather pitiful to think that in this ultra-scientific age greater attention is not given to this detail of "parallels." Russel Lowell, in an address at the dedication of a free public library at Chelsea, Mass., U.S., in '84 or '85, said, "History is clarified experience, and yet how little do men profit by it." It is earnestly to be hoped that the democracy of to-day will be warned in time to take special note of the parallelism which is now showing in connection with the churches and the democratic movement.

At each successive annual pow-wow of religionists there is more and more attention given to the questions of Socialism and other forms of activity among the democracy. At the Carlisle Diocesan Conference held recently the Church and Socialism occupied much attention; and there can be no doubt that the feeling of the heads of the churches is exactly summed up in the words of the introducer of the resolution, the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davis, vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, who in the course of his speech said "it was the obvious wisdom of the Church to make friends with the democracy now that the democracy was in the ascendant, and that those ardent clergymen who went further in that direction than sober persons could quite approve were probably doing the Church a political service." There is no need to deal with any other part of the discussion in question. That one sentence epitomises

the whole Church record, which has been to use every legal and illegal earthly power and every superstitious terror to maintain supremacy in the fewest possible hands and to never concede a fraction by way of amelioration until it became "obvious wisdom to make friends" with a new growing power. Having made friends, to then forthwith proceed to betray them.

To take only one detail, capable of easy proof, let any examine the connection of the Church and the land system of the last four hundred years, or still more closely the last one hundred years, during the period of the great enclosures. Thousands upon thousands of acres of land, which for centuries had been the common property of the people, were taken away by means of Acts promoted by the squire or the lord of the manor, aided by the parson of the parish, in whom, as in many cases the only man of the district who could read or write, the parishioners trusted to defend their ancient rights against the swindling and jugglery of private bill legislation. In some cases the petitions promoted by the poor people in protest against the Act were so drafted as to be really used in favour, and of course, when the Act was completed, the ignorant mass was powerless, simply because they were ignorant, and for years remained ignorant of what was done.

The mention of the fact that the parish parson was in old times almost the only educated man in the district recalls another detail in which the Church has played the traitor. The education by which they were enabled to play the part of parish guide was almost wholly stolen property of the people. Nothing in history is much plainer than that almost all the educational endowments were originally given for the "poor of the parish." All over our country are colleges and grammar schools, wealthy to-day by reason of the growth of wealth made by the mass, but which are wholly devoted to the training of rich men's sons.

And how has the education so gained been used? Much of the most violent political writing in opposition to popular demands has been the work of fledgling bishops and high Church dignitaries. By fledgling bishops is meant tuft-hunting, place-seeking parsons, who by shameless literary work won preferment and place and then used their power in increased repression. Whig or Tory, no matter which, the pen of the theologian was always ready to earn a guinea or a cure by writing whatever was ordered. Philpott, Bishop of Exeter, who wrote a pamphlet in defence of the Peterloo massacre, and who at one time opposed and another supported Catholic emancipation, Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, Rev. John Brand, and Dean Swift, are only a few of the many who could be named in this connection. It will of course be urged, however, that many names can be quoted in opposition to this view; but it is just exactly because of this fact that the special treachery of the Church comes out more strongly. Note the second part of the sentence quoted from Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies—"those ardent clergymen who went further in that direction than sober persons could quite approve were probably doing the Church a political service." No matter to what depth of degradation a church may sink, no matter the riot and debauchery, no matter the immorality and crime which has marked the decadence of every form of priestcraft, always have there been a few who have kept in view the ideals and teachings of their prophets; who have lived ascetic lives while their fellows wallowed in the mire of lust and every form of excess; who have been in some cases simply the faithful and believing disciples of the Christ of the time, in other cases the gulls of their superiors in the organisation, as for instance Jetzer of Bern. To whichever class the innocent happens to belong, he has to bear the whole of the punishment and scorn. If honestly believing the dogmas he preached, his own fellows and superiors were his bitterest enemies and scoffers, and every effort was made to break down his asceticism or drive him from the order. Making a long jump from Jetzer of 1500 to Malkin in 1836, if anyone wants a proof of what is now being urged let him note how Bishop Philpott treated two curates—Rev. J. Malkin of St. Ives, Cornwall, in 1836, and Rev. — Head of Feniton, Devonshire, in 1838. Bloomfield, Bishop of London, being in 1837 cast in £200 damages for libel on a curate, refused to renew the curate's license, knowing at the same time that without such license no other bishop would license him for any other parish. But when, after generations of such work, the dignitaries of each church find the march of events too strong for further repression, when they find that concessions must be made, then the men who have stood out from the corrupt mass and who have suffered at the hands of the Church for preaching the Church's doctrines in truth, these men are appealed to by the Church as being proof that the Church has always done justice and preached truth.

The churchmen martyrs of the past are appealed to to-day as warrant for continued domination. The names of Kingsley and Maurice are to-day being glibly used as proof that the Church has for years favoured some form of Socialism, although it is well known that the term Parson Lot was applied to Kingsley as a term of reproach and scorn.

Just as to-day preachers claim that chattel slavery was abolished by the aid of the Church—one of the biggest lies ever tried on—so in the future will it be claimed that the social reformation has been the work of the Church. If there is anything certain in this world, it is that Tyndale was correct when he said, "Woe to the realm where prelates are in the council! As profitable are the prelacy to the realm with their council as wolves to the sheep, as foxes to the geese; for there is no mischief or disorder, whether it be in the temporal regiment or the spiritual, whereof they are not the chief causes, and even the very foundation and spring; so that it is impossible to preach against any mischief unless thou begin at them, or set up any reformation in the world except they are first reformed. They pretend they are for God and the Church, but their secret intent is to bring all under their

power; and when they are once set up on high, then are they tyrants above all tyrants."

"It is a matter for serious thought that the brutal method of Philpott towards Robert Owen has to-day given place to the suavity of cardinal and bishop towards the strike leaders.

Between Tory Robert Southey and Nihilist Bakounine there would be found but few common thoughts, yet the poet makes Madoc declare

"No priest must dwell among us,—that hath been  
The cause of all this misery";

and 'God and the State' teaches much the same lesson. Look to it,  
democracy!

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## A SONG OF THE FUTURE.

AIR—"The Same Old Game."

WHEN I was yet a slave  
No money did I save,  
Yet tried to live as cheaply as I could;  
I drank no ale or gin,  
Nor knew I was let in  
When taking just a third the wage I should.

*Chorus*—The same old game, the same old game,  
All carried on that damned old game.  
It mattered not—oh no!—if one suffered ever so,  
All carried on that damned old game!

Some workers came along,  
Who said 'twas very wrong  
To live upon the toil of other men;  
They knew that all must work,  
Their duty none must shirk,—  
A mighty revolution started then.

*Chorus*—Another game, another game,  
They carried on another game;  
It mattered not a jot if they went to *quod* or not,  
They carried on another game!

And now there is a change,  
It seems so very strange,  
No starving men and women do I see;  
All wants are now supplied,  
No pleasures are denied  
To any in our free community.

*Chorus*—Another game, another game,  
We carry on another game;  
It matters to us all to see that nought befall  
The players in this other game!

A. BROOKES.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

AN important event in the labour movement took place in New York City on the 11th and 12th of October. Most of the editors of labour papers met and resolved to form an Associated Labour Press similar to the capitalistic Associated Press. The object of this new organisation is to devise ways and means to enable the editors to help one another; of trying to bring about an agreement on certain measures to be advocated, and also to give the different labour papers of the country accurate news in relation to labour matters. J. J. McDonnell of the *Labour Standard* of Paterson, N.J., was elected president of the new organisation, and Charles Guy Brown of the *Union Printer* of New York, secretary. A letter was read from John Swinton regretting his inability to be present. Samuel Gompers addressed the delegates on the eight hour movement. The majority of the editors present were in favour of the advocacy of the eight hour movement and the nationalisation of the railways and telegraphs. A resolution was adopted to the effect that it is the duty of labour editors to exchange papers with each other. Of the German-American labour papers, as far as I could learn, only the New York *Volkszeitung* was represented. The editors then adjourned to meet again next year.

The general executive board of the Knights of Labour organisation met in the first week of October in St. Louis. An onslaught on Powderly was predicted to take place on this occasion. But it appears now that the men who prophesied that they were going to down Powderly once for all are even bigger rascals than the arch-deceiver himself. They were Mortimer D. Shaw, William Blake, John McGarry, editor Detweiler, of the *Chicago Knights of Labour*, and in the background one Tom Furlong. To cut a long tale short, Tom Furlong has made some sort of fame by the vigorous manner in which he, as Jay Gould's chief of detectives, ran down Knights of Labour during the famous strike on the South-Western system. During the late presidential election Furlong did some great work for the Republicans in Indiana, for which he was promised the position as chief of the secret service. Powderly and the Knights opposed him. Powderly wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury opposing Furlong's appointment. Out of revenge, Furlong and his gang threatened to cut up the General Master Workman. At a mass meeting in St. Louis, Powderly mounted the platform and declared that Furlong's accusations against him were a pack of lies. Furlong and his friends did not dare to confront Powderly on the platform, and he won the day in consequence. This is much to be regretted, as affairs of this kind can only restore Powderly somewhat to popular favour, and the sooner he is forced to withdraw from the labour movement the better it will be for the workers. For in addition to his rascality, he is in economic matters a most ignorant ass. After the meetings in St. Louis Powderly went to Chicago, and addressing a large audience, delivered a teetotal speech. It is probable that an alliance between the Knights of Labour and the Farmers' Alliance will be formed. Talking to a reporter, J. F. Holland, member of the executive board of the Knights of Labour, said:

"There has been a great deal of talk in the federal trades unions of inaugurating a general strike on May 1, but I do not know whether or not it will be done. I have heard on very good authority that those in charge of affairs are opposed

to any such action. What the Knights of Labour will do I cannot say, but that they will order a general strike seems now most improbable. We do not try to accomplish our ends in that way."

A conference between representatives of the American Federation of Labour and the Knights of Labour took place at Philadelphia. There were present General Master Workman Powderly, Secretary Hayes, and A. W. Wright, representing the latter body, and President Samuel Gompers, Wm. Martin of Pittsburg, Henry Ehman and John B. Lennon of New York, representing the Federation of Labour. The conference lasted about three hours. The first business discussed was the present condition of the eight hour movement. On behalf of the Knights of Labour it was stated that the executive board could do nothing as a board until the general assembly, which meets at Atlanta on November 12, has acted on the matter. On behalf of the Federation it was stated that letters had been sent to public men, clergymen, authors, editors, manufacturers, and business men generally, explaining what was wanted by the workers and asking opinions on the subject. The Knights of Labour representatives offered a written proposition which suggested a mutual exchange of working cards, a mutual recognition of trade labels, and the adoption of a rule which would prevent one body from organising the suspended or expelled members of another. The Federation proposed that the Knights of Labour discourage the formation of trade organisations within the order, the promise being made that the Federation would then urge the members of unions to connect themselves with mixed assemblies of Knights of Labour. It was agreed that the matters above referred to should form the subject of discussion at future conferences, it being also agreed that these conferences should be continued from time to time. This is the third conference that has so far been held. Another will be held between the meeting of the general assembly of the Knights, beginning at Atlanta, November 12, and the annual convention of the Federation at Boston, commencing December 10. I shall watch this new harmony with a great deal of interest, but I believe no good can come of it, as neither of these large organisations is based on sound economic or political principles.

Chief Arthur, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, talking of the Convention of this organisation to be held this week, said:—

"This Convention will be the most important ever held by the brotherhood. The question of federation with other labour organisations will be decided. I am opposed to the federation, and if the order is not maintained separate and distinct from all other organisations, the engineers must look for a new chief. The brotherhood is a peculiarly unique organisation, and cannot mingle with any other labour association with benefit to either—in my opinion."

Thomas A. Edison, the most Chimborazo-like fraud of this century, has come back, and has ventilated his views on art. Of course he has made an ass of himself. He couldn't help himself however. Said he:—

"I saw all the old masters. Their work cannot be compared with the modern. They painted pictures of impossible men and women. No such human frames and proportions were ever born. I had a tape line, and I made measurements of them to satisfy myself on that point."

Measuring a Raphael with a tape line. Great Scott! What next? This beats the man who buys books by the pound. Well, we are a great people, we Americans; we are indeed!

The Missouri anti-trust law is having just the effect I always maintained such laws would have—the forcing of trusts and trade associations into one huge corporation and a more complete monopoly. The jute-bagging combine is now organising in this manner.

Nationalism is making progress in California. There are now organised in that State 20 Nationalist clubs, and one magazine has been started called *Looking Forward*.

The International Working People's Association is making great efforts to commemorate the worker's Good Friday on the 11th of November in a fit and becoming manner all over the country. A splendid propaganda pamphlet has already made its appearance. Let us hope that the meetings will be well attended. You over there can only hope, but we over here must also work hard to bring about such a result.

The trouble in the ranks of the Socialist Labour Party is not over yet, but so far the Schewitsch side of the party has won the day. This is the faction which has by some sort of legal and constitutional *coup d'état* forced the Rosenberg section out of power and office. The Rosenberg section met in Chicago, Ills., in convention, which lasted from Sept. 30th to Oct. 2nd. Rosenberg charged Schewitsch with being a political boddler, but being absolutely without proof for such an accusation he succeeded through such silly statements in damaging his own cause. The principal business of the convention was the denouncing of our five martyrs. F. Busche, the miserable late clown-editor of the *Workmen's Advocate*, went even so far as to say, "If the Anarchists flaunt the bones of their martyr-saints in our faces we must meet them with scientific Socialism." Chicago was made by this section the executive quarter of the party. Tommy Morgan, of Chicago, voted for Boston, as Boston according to his opinion is at present the intellectual centre of the labour movement in the States. The name of the organisation was changed to "The Socialistic Party of the United States." Conventions are to be held every four years, *i.e.*, in the spring of the presidential years. The accepted platform contains the following planks:—

"(1) The nationalisation of capital and the title to labour-saving inventions and land in the order of their monopolisation. (2) The organisation and direction of the industries by the State in the same order. (3) The employment by the State of all able citizens in such callings as they may be fitted for. (4) General and equal public education and training by the State."

One thing is certain, and that is, that this new Socialistic Party of the United States will be very short-lived. Cranks and idiots cannot maintain for long a reform or revolutionary organisation even if they label themselves Socialistic, a term which I am certain Busche does not understand.

The larger part of the old Socialist Labour Party met under the leadership of Sergius Schewitsch, on October 12th, in Chicago. Disagreeing as I do in fundamental principles, as well as in economics and tactics, with this part of the party, I at least respect the people it is composed of, for they are neither cranks nor idiots nor rascals. In a mass meeting held on last Sunday in Chicago, Schewitsch spoke out well for our martyrs, and said that even if the bomb had been thrown by one of the five it would have been a disgrace to hang the thrower, as he would have been in the right. The police themselves had acted illegally first by attacking a peaceable meeting.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 16, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday November 3, at 8.45 p.m., J. E. Benson, "Ernest Jones: Chartist, Poet and Politician."

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

### Great Revolt of Labour at Bristol.

Many of us were beginning to almost despair of the provinces, which have not, as a rule, shown that they have fully learnt the lesson taught to sweated labour by the dockers' strike. We know that in most large provincial towns sweating is carried on quite as cruelly as in London: sometimes, indeed, it is a great deal worse; yet, save for a few isolated instances, the storm of revolt which had swept through London had hardly affected the provinces, till Bristol surged up into enthusiastic rebellion on Tuesday October 22nd. That all has not been well at that important seaport in the west of England has indeed been evident for some time. The crowd who, when the gas-men struck, barricaded the bridges and drove back the blacklegs with volleys of stones, would hardly have acted with so much vigour and determination had they not also suffered from bitter wrongs. So when the deal-runners struck they found plenty of imitators—the dock-labourers, corn-porters, carters, cotton-hands, wharfingers, swayers, haulers, scavengers, and warehouse-porters, all abandoning their work and parading the streets by thousands. The strike spread like an epidemic, and it seemed at one time as if the whole town would be out. What has been the consequence? Why, alarmed at the spreading revolt, and dreading something more serious than a mere cessation of work, if the strikers became hungry, the masters have in many cases given in. The dock-labourers and deal-porters have gained their demands; and when the leaders of the London dock strike—Tillett, Mann, and Thorne—arrived there on Saturday they found that the greater part of the battle had been won without their aid—won by the people's own courage and determination. This is a bright example to other provincial towns.

### The Bus and Tram Men.

The bus and tram men have found a leader at last. It has long been evident that the people at the head of their union have lacked courage and ability for their work. They have made up for their lack of either by getting plenty of middle class patronage for the union. The consequence of their timidity has been that the men, hearing repeatedly from the middle-class persons that they must not strike, because it was wicked, and so on, came to the conclusion that there was no backbone in the business, and it was not worth while to risk their places for a union that could only "petition." The consequence has been that out of 13,000 tram-men only 1,000 have joined the union. But now there is better hope for the men. John Burns has taken up their cause, and if his action comes up to the tone of his first speech the tram and bus men will soon have the rich companies at their mercy. For good or for evil, the name of John Burns is now a tower of strength. He is a terror to every sweating employer, and a hero to most workmen. The tramway companies had better agree with their enemy in the gate, or in a very short time not a single tram or bus will be running in London.

### The Strike at Silvertown.

There is little to report this week. The manager objecting to interview the "agitators," some of the men who are on strike have seen the almighty Mr. Gray, but as the firm were not willing to concede anything worth mentioning the negotiations have not succeeded. The strike still goes on; it is now in its seventh week, and there are many women and little children suffering bitterly from hunger. Any one having a trifle to spare might send it to the Strike Committee, Railway Dining Rooms, Silvertown.

### A Victory for the Sheffield Fibre Drawers.

We are glad to hear that this strike is now over. The men have gained a complete victory, Messrs. Laycock having withdrawn all the objectionable rules. The men have been well supported by the public during the strike, and the national union which their secretary, as our readers will remember, came to London to form a few weeks back, is progressing splendidly. Our readers will also remember that the men were helped throughout the whole of their struggle by the Sheffield Socialists, who have worked very hard on their behalf.

### The Provinces Awakening.

The latest phase of the gas worker's agitation in Manchester seems likely to end in a strike. The gas committee of the Corporation, after considering the men's demand for an eight hour day and increased scale of wages, have refused to accede to their demands in full, but offered certain concessions which are not accepted because they would make distinctions among the different classes of workers; thus, eight hours was offered to one section and not to another, and 5 per cent. advance in some cases. Unless the full demands are complied with a strike will be declared on Wednesday night Oct. 30th, which will leave the great Cottonopolis in complete darkness. This is the first fruits of a 21 day's old branch of the Gas Workers and Gas Labourers Union.

Our comrades Maguire, Sweeney, and Paylor have been very busy in Leeds organising the tailoresses. The gas workers in Bradford have gained their demands. Their agitation has been mainly brought to a successful issue owing to the efforts of Mr. Bartley and our comrades Scott, Jonett, and Bland. We are sorry we have not more space to give details. N.

### The Boot and Shoe Workers Waking Up.

The effect of the dock strike and the labour agitation which has been going on of late will be felt for a long time to come. The West-end cord-wainers, belonging to the Amalgamated Society of Shoemakers, have decided to demand an increase on their wages of 1s. per pair in the spring of the New Year. The East-end operatives too, who work on the modern system of sub-division of labour, have just decided through the local branch of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, to give the employers six months' notice that if workshops are not provided for them by the 1st of May, 1890, they will cease work until they are. At present, besides receiving sweating prices for their work, the men are forced to find their own workshops into the bargain, which is generally one of the two rooms they call "home." Besides the dirty character of the work, which makes their "homes" wretched and miserable, the system of "outdoor" workers gives great facility to the smaller sweaters, who are thereby enabled to get work from several firms and "sweat" men and lads in order to increase their own wages. By forcing the employers to find workshops of their own, it is hoped to considerably diminish the practice of "sweating" in the East-end boot and shoe trade. G. C.

## AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

A FEW weeks back a horrible murder was perpetrated in one of the collieries owned by the A. A. Co., called the Glebe Pit, in which eleven men lost their lives, while seven narrowly escaped. In one part of the pit the masters forced the men to work the "pillars" out, which is very dangerous work. By all accounts it seems that many "pillars" had been worked out, which left the roof no support. It was, indeed, known among the miners that there would sooner or later be a great fall, and many of them refused to work; but the "bosses" warned them that if they did not they would be dismissed. This frightened some, so they went into the mine as usual one morning to be buried alive. Just before the fall the cracking of the roof alarmed some, who made for the mouth of the pit; but on their way they were met by an underground "boss," who, when he heard what was expected, bullied a few of them into returning to their work, stating that there was no danger. Those who yielded went to their fate. The fall came, blocking up the main entrance altogether, no doubt settling down where all the pillars had been worked out. A relief party was at once set to work to try and effect an entrance through the debris, at great risk to themselves. They worked for many days without coming upon any of the entombed men; at last they came to one, but dead and almost unrecognisable! At this point the "Company" refused to carry on the rescue work, on the ground that they could not bear the responsibility of any fatality which might occur to the relief party, as the work was so highly dangerous! So the government has stepped in and declared that it will carry on the relief work and pay the piper! A bit of cool cunning trickery on the part of the "bosses"!—but here is a bit which must be related. Soon after the disaster, Lord Carrington (our "Governor") came to the mine, and even went down below to have a peep at the "fall." Now, it is widely rumoured that he is one of the directors of the Company which owns the mine, and that it is his influence that has got the government (at the expense of the taxpayers) to bear the cost which the mean "Company" should have borne. Two of the Company's horses have been found—one being alive; three men have also been come upon, but all dead—victims to the present system!

The Melbourne Age recently reported the doings of the "Melbourne Charity Association," and lauded the officials of that institution up to the skies for their "great endeavours" in collecting and distributing to somewhat relieve the poor starving wretches of Melbourne from hunger. But further on the report shows "that the society received £500 in subscriptions, absorbed over £400 in salaries and office expenses, and distributed but a paltry £30 in relief," and then goes on in a wriggling manner to make it appear that "it is not a charity but a medium between the giver and the taker, an agency which warns off the undeserving but seeks out the deserving." The officials, it would seem according to this, are the "undeserving" (?), while the worn-out human machines are the "undeserving"!

The other day a boy in Sydney was sentenced to six month's hard labour for wandering about the streets "without visible means of support"! Poverty seems here as well as with you to be a terrible crime.

Hamilton, N.S.W., August 25, 1889.

ROBERT STUART.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 9, 1889.

3	Sun.	1640. Long Parliament met; William Lenthall chosen Speaker. 1815. John Mitchell born. 1872. Demonstration of Fenian sympathisers in Hyde Park.
4	Mon.	1789. Revolution Society of London sends congratulatory address to National Convention at Paris. 1839. Frost's rising at Newport. 1867. Bread-riots at Exeter and other west of England towns. 1867. Garibaldi defeated at Mentana.
5	Tues.	1605. Gunpowder Plot. 1789. Distinctions and orders abolished by National Convention. 1809. Great meeting at "Crown and Anchor" tavern to celebrate anniversary of the acquittal in 1792 of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, etc. 1822. Trial of Edward Browne, William Crilly, William Flinn, John O'Neill, Daniel Moore, Edward Hughes, and Lawrence Woods, at Dublin, for administering and taking Ribbon oaths.
6	Wed.	1773. Henry Hunt born. 1788. Second Convocation of the Notables begins; sits till December 12. 1793. Philippe Egalité guillotined. 1793. Edinburgh Convention dispersed by force. 1811. Trial begins of Edward Sheridan, M.D., and Thomas Kirwan at Dublin for taking part in a meeting to cause petitions to Parliament for the repeal of the laws against Catholics. 1830. Peasant riots in southern England. 1841. First number of the <i>Oracle of Reason</i> , Bristol, edited by Charles Southwell. 1842. William Hone died. 1880. Trial of Kviatkovsky and fifteen others at St. Petersburg for taking part in terrorist attempts. Sentences: death, 2; hard labour, 12; Siberia, 2.
7	Thur.	1683. Algernon Sidney tried for high treason. 1817. Jeremiah Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam, and William Turner, Luddites, hanged at Derby. 1837. E. P. Lovejoy killed. 1852. Third Empire established.
8	Fri.	1674. John Milton died. 1793. Madame Roland beheaded. 1848. Robert Blum shot.
9	Sat.	1830. Royal visit and Lord Mayor's Show postponed; unemployed riots in London. 1856. Etienne Cabet died.

SYLLABUS of Lectures, in connection with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition now open, to be given in the New Gallery, Regent Street, on Thursday evenings, at 8.30 p.m.—Nov. 7, William Morris, "Gothic Architecture." 14th. Henry Holiday, "Stained Glass." 21st. T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, "The Decoration of Bound Books." 28th. Lewis F. Day, "Ornament." Dec. 5, Walter Crane, "Design and Expression." Admission 2s. 6d.; art students and employés, 1s.

A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. November 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Ports down Road, W.

CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday November 3, at 8 p.m., H. M. Hyndman, "The Revolt of London."



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collection, Propaganda Committee, 1s. 1d.; Council collection, 3s.; and Samuels, 6d.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

### IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

### REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday evening (S. Presburg in chair) G. Cores lectured on "Practical Socialism"; many questions and interesting discussion.—P.

**EAST LONDON.**—Good meeting on the Triangle outside hall opened by Mrs. Tochatti, who sang "Leisure and Pleasure," and addressed by J. Turner and J. Tochatti. Meeting inside the hall addressed by Tochatti and Davis. Other songs were sung and the meeting closed.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting held at Latimer Road; speakers were Maughan, Dean, Lyne, jun., Weardale (S.D.F.), and Tochatti; 27 *Weals* sold and 1s. 5d. collected. No meeting at St. Ann's Road owing to weather. Wm. Morris lectured at 8 p.m. at the Clarendon Coffee Tavern to a good audience, afterward the lecture created an animated discussion; 13 *Weals* sold and 1s. 5½d. collected.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—No outdoor meetings have been held during the week on account of bad weather. Good muster of comrades at business meeting on Wednesday. Settled re banner, platform, and capitation.—J. T.

**SOUTHWARK.**—On Sunday, Oct. 20, we held a meeting when the rain ceased, Cores speaking. On Sunday last no meeting held because of the wet weather.

**EDINBURGH.**—Splendid meeting on Sunday night in Moulders' Hall; Gilray delivered excellent lecture on "The Social Creed of Christianity"; good discussion. New members are being made every week. The present winter course of lectures promise to be the most successful yet held.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Tuesday evening our comrades were unable to hold any meeting on Cathedral Square owing to the rain. On Sunday at one o'clock, Joe Burgoyne and Gilbert spoke on Jail Square; and in the evening members turned up well at Paisley Road Toll, where Joe and Tim Burgoyne, and Gilbert, spoke to a good audience.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday 27th Hubert Bland gave two addresses at Vine Street Radical Club to fair audiences; morning, "Where Radicalism Fails," and in the evening, "The Meaning of Socialism"; middling discussion. On Monday night Barclay gave the opening address in our new premises on "Principles." Sunday collection, 16s. 8½d.; 93 *Commonweal* sold.

**MANCHESTER.**—An agitation has been going on for some time amongst the men employed in the health department of the Manchester Corporation. The S. L. called a meeting of the men for Sunday the 27th, and in the meantime a branch of the Gas-workers and General Labourers' Union was formed by W. Horrocks, organiser for Lancashire, and a Socialist of Salford. Despite an exceptionally wet day, a number of the men turned up in Stevenson Square on Sunday and were addressed by Ritson, Bailie, and Barton of the S. L. The meeting was adjourned till next Sunday, when, if the elements be more favourable, a meeting of all workers in the department will take place. A strike has taken place at Berry's Blacking Works, Manchester, the largest firm of the sort in England. The men who lap up the packages are paid at the rate of 1d. per gross, and for all over 140 gross in one week, 1½d. Those who weigh the blacking get half this amount. No union existed amongst the men, but some members of the S. L. working there agitated them so that they demand 1½d. per gross for all work done. Mr. Berry, who is now very rich, though twenty years ago he was in much the same position as most of his men now are, did not see his way to grant this most meagre demand. The men turned out, and still remain out, though it is expected that what they now ask will speedily be conceded. On Monday morning a meeting of the strikers took place in a mission room, when Bailie of the S. L. addressed them and urged upon them the necessity of being organised. A branch of the G. W. and G. L. Union was therefore formed, all the men giving their names and paying their first contribution. The shirt-makers, men and women, in Manchester have formed a union, of which you shall hear more later on. This is one of the most sweated of the many sweating trades in this city.

**NORWICH.**—Thursday last Lenney read a paper to a large number of comrades on "Organised Labour"; warm discussion followed, considerable opposition put forward. Saturday evening commenced a series of social gatherings of comrades; numerous revolutionary songs were rendered, and dancing kept up to a late hour. Sunday afternoon comrade W. Moore addressed a good meeting in the Market Place; audience very attentive. Other meetings could not be held, owing to weather. In the evening, at the Gordon Hall, a pleasant evening was passed. Good sale of *Commonweal* and fair collection.

**YARMOUTH.**—We held a meeting at the Coffee Tavern, Pier Walk, Goleston, on Monday last, when Reynolds gave an address on "Organisation"; 1s. 3d. collected towards paying expenses. On Thursday night, in the Market Place, Reynolds and Lee addressed a large audience on the same subject. On Sunday we held no meeting in the morning or afternoon. In the evening, at Colman's Granary Quay, we held a splendid meeting, addressed by Ruffold and Reynolds; 1s. 10d. collected, 17 *Commonweal* sold.—J. H.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday November 3, at 8 p.m., lecture by A. Brookes, "Brotherhood." 10th. D. J. Nicoll, "The French Revolution."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday November 3, at 7.30, Members' meeting. Comrades are requested to turn up at meeting on Triangle at 8 o'clock.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Nov. 3, at 8 p.m., A lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday November 3, at 8 p.m., W. S. De Mattos will lecture on "The Radical Policy and Practicable Socialism."

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E. SPECIAL.—Comrades who have given in their names for the branch are asked to attend and after the open-air meeting is concluded talk over business in connection with the branch.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. In the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Tuesday November 5th, at 8 p.m., Sidney Webb will lecture on "What Socialism Means."

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Rehearsal. Thursday, at 8 p.m., Discussion Class. Social meeting for members and friends—admission free. Hall open every evening from 8 o'clock.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. At the Great Yarmouth Radical Club, on Wednesday November 6th, Mr. Dawson will read a paper on "Socialism." Comrades, attend in strong force. Mrs. Schack will be in Yarmouth on the 10th for the commemoration of Bloody Sunday and the Chicago Martyrs.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 2.

8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church .....Samuels  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Mowbray

SUNDAY 3.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Dean, Crouch, R. J. Lyne  
11.30..... East India Dock Gates .....Leggett  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Maughan, J. F. Lyne, Saint  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street .....Davis  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Mowbray  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll and Mrs. Schack  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....Cores  
11.30..... Starch Green .....Turner and Tochatti  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Cantwell and Parker  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....Davis and Mrs. Schack  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Mowbray and Kitz  
8 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Mowbray  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....The Branch

TUESDAY 5.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

THURSDAY 7.

8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Mowbray

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Phillips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11 a.m.; Wymondham, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30 p.m.

**Sheffield.**—Sunday: Hillfoot Bridge, at 11 a.m.; Mars Hill, Attercliffe, at 11; Rotherham College Yard, at 6.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Fish Wharf, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

**SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION (EDINBURGH).**—Economic Class every Friday at 8 p.m., at 35 George IV. Bridge. Lecture on Sunday November 3, at 6.30, in the Moulders' Hall, 105 High Street, "Socialism and Free Education," by a French comrade.

**GLASGOW—SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.**—Walter Crane will lecture in the Waterloo Halls on Sunday evening November 3, at 7 o'clock—subject, "The Educational Value of Art." William Morris in the chair. A conference of friends willing to assist in the cause will be held in one of the Waterloo Rooms on Sunday at 2 o'clock, when Crane, Morris, Walker, and Sanderson will be present.

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## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore need not work, and of another that has no property and therefore must work in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must abuse by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be used by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be free because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be brothers, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be equal, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

**Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,**

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be given to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be taken by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 13 Farringdon Road, London.

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 200.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CHICAGO MURDERS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Let the voice of the people be heard."—Parsons.

A MEETING to celebrate the Anniversary of above events will be held next Monday evening, November 11th, at 8 p.m., at

#### SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE.

The following comrades will speak:—James Blackwell, G. Brocher, F. Feigenbaum, R. B. Cunninghame Graham, Frank Kitz, Peter Kropotkin, Wm. Morris, C. W. Mowbray, D. J. Nicoll, John Turner, H. H. Sparling, and Lothrop Withington.

The following resolutions will be submitted to the meeting:—

#### CHICAGO MARTYRS.

"That this meeting, called together to commemorate the legal murder of four men in Chicago on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel), the driving to suicide of another (Lingg) in prison, and the cruel imprisonment of three more (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe), by the government of the State of Illinois, for the crime of encouraging workmen on strike and helping them to carry on the struggle against their masters, and the further crime of trying to maintain the rights of free speech and public meeting, calls the attention of the workmen of the world to the gradual abrogation of these rights in all capitalistic countries, and while emphatically denouncing the tyrannical interference with these elementary rights, points out that it is a natural and necessary result of a so-called Society based upon the robbery of Labour."

#### BLOODY SUNDAY.

"That this meeting also denounces the similar attack on free speech and the right of public meeting in London on Sunday, November 13, 1887, through which three men were killed (Linnell, Curwen, and Connell), one (Harrison) so injured that he died after a painful and lingering illness, and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial, and it again calls for the immediate and unconditional release of George Harrison, condemned to five years' penal servitude for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

Revolutionary songs will be sung during the evening, including the *Marseillaise*, *Carmagnole*, *Linnell's Death Song*, *When the People have their Own Again*, and *Annie Laurie*.

By order of the Committee, H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Sec.  
13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

ON AND AFTER MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11th, THE  
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OF THE

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24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields,  
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Exchanges and Correspondents Please Note.

#### In Memoriam.

Murdered by law, Nov. 11, 1887.

GEORGE ENGEL

ADOLPH FISCHER

ALBERT R. PARSONS

AUGUST SPIES

Killed himself in prison, Nov. 10.

LOUIS LINGG

Imprisoned for life.

SAMUEL FIELDING

MICHAEL SCHWAB

Fifteen years' imprisonment.

OSCAR NEEBE

### A DREAM OF THE PAST AND PRESENT.

It was the close of an evening in May of the present year. The damp, uncomfortable crowd had melted away and left the slow rain to fall on the slippery pavements uninterrupted; the dreary square where creaky wagons, meek old horses, slow farmers, and enterprising buyers were wont to throng lay empty and silent as the night closed in, save for the tinkling of tram-car bells and the tread of a lone watchman's feet. In the centre, where the tracks curved apart, leaving an oblong space, a tall object gleamed clearly against the background of dark warehouses and sombre skies; a pile of rocks, and above them a form, a manly form, with uplifted hand and awe-inspiring presence. The sky arched over the uncovered figure for the first time. A vague white shape, like a ghost, had stood there many a night, frightening timid horses and belated wanderers; but now it towered revealed—a policeman rampant on a great block of stone. The night grew heavier and blacker; the rain turned to a thick mist, from which wavering forms seemed to gather; the cars crept into the light of the dim lamps and out again like ghosts of long departed vehicles; the one watchman, excusable under such dismal conditions, sought shelter in a hospitable "all night" retreat; nothing real or living looked upon the motionless form out in the wierd night.

Then, the gathering forms from out the mists seemed to take shape and being. They became more dense and frequent, and hovered about the huge figure, the pedestal and the stone steps. They were more than shadows: they were men—tall, strongly-formed, stern-visaged men, in quaint dress of a hundred years ago. A majestic figure with the familiar face of Washington stood gazing at the statue with wondering, frowning expression; a little lower, Jefferson leaned, staring in perplexed sternness; Benjamin Franklin peered through one rounded hand to read the inscriptions on the base, referring occasionally to a manuscript he held in the other. Patrick Henry stood upright at the foot with folded arms and stern demeanour. The "unknown orator" gazed upon it sadly, while Randolph, Adams, Hancock, Jonathan Parsons, and other patriotic heroes of that time were grouped about. Behind them hovered a shadowy form with a Liberty cap above her brow and a countenance sad and dejected.

The musical voice of Washington broke the silence. "So! this in America after one hundred years! A strange figure to represent a free, prosperous and moral people, and set up for a strange purpose, it seems to me."

"Adams," spoke up Jefferson, quite abruptly, "is this a specimen of that federal army you so determinedly organised against the wishes of the people?"

"It is not," replied Adams, with stately courtesy. "That army was for the defense and dignity of the nation in its relations with other countries; it was not intended as a threat against our own people."

"A State militia was instituted later on—perhaps this is a representative?"

"No, sir; for you will remember the militia consisted of every able-bodied man in the State. All citizens drilled and carried arms. With one comprehensive sweep of your spiritual gaze you can take in the sleeping thousands around us who lack everything that can make life enjoyable; they possess no arms—they dare not. Yet over here is an army and a well-filled arsenal, ready to meet—an invader? a foreign



foe? Ready to spring to the aid of the poor and weak? Ready at the call of the useful portion of society to protect their rights? No, indeed! They go into action only at the command of wealth, when labouring men grow discontented with their poverty. There is no other enemy in the field—none but these disarmed and helpless people who toil. Look farther away, where restlessly sleep thousands of starving workers thrust out of the mines in which they would gladly toil while strength remained. They have laboured all their lives for barely enough to sustain existence, and now they are denied that privilege. They are pitifully hungry and pitifully humble. And yet they are threatened with an armed militia if you 'dare.' The one or two guns that some of them possessed have been 'confiscated'; property rights are sacred only when millions of unearned wealth are considered. Could we have foreseen that such scenes could be possible, either our struggle would have been more deadly and determined, or it would not have been made at all."

"Many believed we had secured the rights of man in that crisis that tried men's souls," said Paine. "But I knew that sooner or later the masses of the people would suffer, when human rights were made of less consideration than property rights. Through such a principle, a class like this became possible," pointing to the statue, which had strangely taken on an intense, a listening expression. "A class coming out from the people themselves, but endowed with extraordinary powers, surrounded by all the possibilities of despotism and every incentive to corruption, whose existence depends on the thriving of vice and crime; which grows on the misery it is supposed to suppress, breathes easily only in an atmosphere of corruption, is unlimited in power, answerable to nothing, responsible to no being on earth or out of it. Does such a class harmonise with a society organised on free and equal principles?"

A queer, hard little voice came from the bronze lips above them: "Now you fellows are having it all your own way, going for us down there. Maybe we've got a word or two to say for our side; and by your leave I'll rest my arm a bit, for it's mighty tired, I tell you."

"Tired commanding peace, when there is no peace," said Patrick Henry.

The statue assumed a more comfortable position, and continued: "Seems to me, you're pretty free in criticising my existence. Now, I know your names—I've heard of you frequently, and you're behind the times. You don't appear to understand I am a necessity of modern civilisation. In me you see represented the whole police force of the State of Illinois—and I'm proud of it. We're a great institution—one of the great institutions we're fond of saying you men founded, and which 'furriners' can't understand. To be sure, none of us were born here, but we know how to protect American liberties; we do it with a club and a dark cell. You fellows lived in a primitive age; we are prospering, enterprising, driving. Property interests are very important, and it is absolutely necessary to preserve law and order."

"Yes," said Paine, "your modern juggernaut drives desperately over the thousand devotees in its track, and you are created to keep the wrecks thus made from clogging the wheels. Of course you are necessary—you must pile the mangled victims out of the way, that the car may go on undisturbed."

"Is tyranny ever necessary?" queried Henry.

"Yes, to enforce a wrong. When good is to be accomplished, the freer the people the better," answered Jefferson.

"I'm afraid you don't appreciate me," said the policeman. "No one is louder in praising the forefathers than we; indeed, we carry on our work in the name of the law and order you established. We go in for 'patriotism' and 'free institutions' heavy. Didn't you see us marching for you, not long ago?"

"We repudiate you," said they all, with one voice. "We made no place for you when we founded a free and equal government. Liberty does not exist where classes are maintained by such as you."

The policeman looked astonished, and nearly toppled over. "Well! you'll admit I represent a worthy object in standing where I do?" he faintly said.

"H'm!" Jefferson began, when Franklin interposed: "I find this inscription in front of the pedestal—'Dedicated by the people of Chicago, May 4, 1889, to the memory of the brave defenders at the riot, May 4, 1886'; and at the back—did this personage address these words to some one behind him I wonder?—is this inscription: 'In the name of the State of Illinois, I command peace!'"

"Knowing the circumstances as we intuitively do," said Washington, with a delicate irony in his voice, "I would ask—was there a riot on the night specified?"

"Why, sir, there was an outdoor meeting—a large crowd of working people and common citizens, and some people were ranting about their 'wrongs,' as they called them—"

"Which looks like making use of the right to meet and state grievances," interrupted Jefferson.

"And there were some loud and bitter ejaculations from the audience when a speaker mentioned that a few workmen had been killed by the police."

"Was there any fighting?"

"No; but their temper—"

"Any attempt at violence?"

"No; but their passions were excited."

"Any direct threats made?"

"No; but they endangered—"

"The privileges of a few despoilers!" interjected Paine.

"The people were dispersing, were they not?" resumed Washington.

"Over one-half were gone; but the rest might have meant mischief."

"When your police marched on them, what were they doing?"

"Standing about and listening to the closing words of a speaker."

"What does the word 'riot' mean here, if this is the case? Never repeat the mockery of the 30th of April in my name while this remains. I refuse to father a country harbouring a lie like that. Erase it."

"By your own showing," said Thomas Paine, seizing the opportunity to speak, "you broke up a peaceable meeting of citizens, met according to constitutional rights to discuss grievances. Twice before in this city you have committed this same outrage and citizens have been clubbed to death. You have violated our most sacred principles. The people ought to resist such attacks; someone believed in the rights we sought to secure to the people when they forcibly repelled your invasion."

"We only did as we were ordered," rather meekly murmured the "representative"

"Willingly enough, I dare say."

"We thought we were putting down a dangerous element."

"You were creating one. Repressed thought will result in an explosion as surely as will confined steam. We used to be sure this country never would suffer from that evil, for freedom of speech was our dearest hope. But you commemorate its death, I fear, instead of keeping in memory the names of a few men who died while blindly obeying the commands of their superior officers. Were that your only object we would not be here. But your existence only perpetuates the memory of an act for which you should forever hang your heads in shame."

"And who are these," asked Washington, "whom you put to death in revenge?"

A thick mist rolled away like a curtain, and disclosed the white robed forms of Parsons, Spies, Fischer, Engel, with bright enraptured faces as they appeared on that last fatal morning; a little farther stood Lingg, beautiful and sad, driven to his death by persecution as surely as the others had been.

"Did these men kill the officers you commemorate?"

"Well, not directly, but their talk might have incited—"

"Their talk was what ours was a hundred years ago," said the old heroes with one voice. "King George would have put us to death if he could; you have killed the forefathers of the new century—the new régime of liberty. But their names will live, as ours have done!"

LIZZIE M. HOLMES,  
In San Diego (Cal.) Beacon.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### GERMANY.

The anti-Socialist law has been made to suit every purpose; so it seems at any rate by what has just happened at Weimar, the former city of poets. M. Manfred Wittich, a literary man of some repute, intended to lecture on "Goethe and His Times," and, forsooth, the lecture was prohibited under paragraph so-and-so of the muzzle-law. The next best "move" the police authorities could now make would be the suppression of Goethe's works themselves, for they contain numerous passages which do not suit Bismarck's way of thinking, and besides Germany of nowadays is not in the least worthy of reckoning Goethe among its illustrious men.

A rather interesting pamphlet has lately appeared at Berlin, dealing with the working women's question: "Die zwanzigjährige Arbeiterinnen-Bewegung Berlins und ihr Ergebnis" (Twenty Years of the Working-women's Movement at Berlin and its Result). The authoress of the pamphlet is one who has done very good work herself in that direction, and we feel sure that Miss Adeline Berger's observations will be of good help to those who work in that special field.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

As we approach towards the end of the year, the various Socialist organisations are preparing their calendars. Our Austrian comrades have just issued their *Oesterreichische Arbeiter-Kalendar* (Austrian Workers' Calendar) for the coming year. It is a nice little volume, full of interesting matter, among which we especially notice the following: "Johann Philip Becker," a biographical sketch; "Social and Political Review of the year 1888-89"; the "Laws Concerning Labour in Austria"; "Socialism and Darwinism," by K. Kautsky; "Importance and Aims of Trades' Unions"; "Woman in Ancient Ages," by Minna Kautsky; "Labour and Capital, and their respective value"; "Honour and Crime," a novelette; "The Heritage of the Poor," a novelette; poetry by Anton Weiser, Herwegh, Karl Knipf, Ille, W. Hasenclever, and H. Determann. It is to be had for 40 kreutzer, at 6, Gumpendorferstrasse, 79, Vienna, office of the *Sozialdemok. Monatschrift*.

At Brünn, the editors of the *Volksfreund* (the Friend of the People) have started a series of pamphlets, of which the three first have now appeared: 1. "What exists and what we want" (has been confiscated); "Capital and Labour" (being a translation of Domela Nieuwenhuys' Dutch *résumé* of Marx's "Capital"); 3. "Collection of Socialist Poems" (has been confiscated).

Comrades Dr. Adler and L. A. Bretschneider, formerly editors of the suppressed *Gleichheit* (Equality), have published a verbatim report of the trial, which brought to an untimely death that valuable and most interesting Socialist paper. It can be had for 15 kr., at the office of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* at Vienna.

In the course of last week, not less than four new "Arbeiter-Bildungs Vereine" (Working-men's Educational Clubs) have been founded—at Graz, St. Veit, Seestadt, and Liebwärda respectively.

We are very glad to hear that the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers' Paper), which hitherto was a fortnightly, has now become a weekly organ, as was formerly *Gleichheit* (Equality).

At Reichenberg (North Bohemia), a new Socialist paper has come to light, *Der Freigeist* (Free Spirit) published by comrade Josef Schiller, and edited by comrade Karl Schiller. It is to appear as a fortnightly to begin with. We wish good success to our new colleague. (The address is Wallensteinstrasse, 15, Reichenberg).

### BELGIUM.

The coalminers' strike of the Mons basin (province of Hainault) is still

growing, and the strikers appear to be as firm as ever in their demands. The coalowners' companies begin to be shaken in their confidence; several of them, in the Levant and in the Flénu coalfields, have issued a manifesto to their workers and to the public generally, showing that the rate of wages has in late years risen in the same proportion as the value of coal. But on the side of the workers it is asserted that the coalowners have made use of bogus figures, thus trying to deceive the population. The manifesto is not likely to produce any effect whatever on the situation. Last week a deputation of coalminers waited on the Minister of Public Works, asking him for his support. By whom the miners have been advised so to waste their time and their travelling expenses we do not know; perhaps the *Parti ouvrier* does. Anyhow, it is stated that the strikers are so determined to persevere to the utmost that great hopes of victory may be entertained. It is pretty well certain also that, unless ample concessions are made very soon, a general strike will ensue. At the present time, ten thousand men are out.

In their manifesto the coalowners have "forgotten" to state how the prices of the shares have risen in 1889 as compared with 1888. We give below the price of the shares, in francs, of the various collieries at the same day, 22nd of October, of each of these two years:

Name of Colliery.	Price at 22 Oct. 1888.	Price at 22 Oct. 1889.	Surplus per Share in 1889.
Anderlues —	2,100	2,375	275
Bonne-Espérance —	215	220	5
Carabinier —	227 50	235	7 50
Charb. Belges —	155	220	65
Cheval. Dour —	850	1,500	650
Couch. du Flénu —	207 50	275	67 50
Courcelles-Nord. —	615	690	75
Falunée —	415	442	27
Fontaine-l'Evêq. —	275	415	190
Gosson-Lagasse —	1,450	1,930	480
Grand-Bouillon —	44	51	7
Gr. M. feu Dour —	550	815	265
Hornu-Wasmes —	1,950	2,175	225
Houil. Un. Char. —	175	230	55
Kessales Jemep —	1,550	2,040	490
Levant-Flénu —	1,750	2,200	450
Marihaye —	630	880	250
Monc. Bayemont —	525	617 50	92 50
Monc.-Fontaine —	1,600	2,000	400
Nd. de Charleroi —	830	975	145
Prod. du Flénu —	2,600	2,000	400
Sacré-Madame —	1,590	1,990	400
Sars-Lonchamps —	500	815	315
Ouest de Mons —	202 50	351	149 50

It is wellnigh certain that these figures entitle the workers to an increase of wages, and we hope that they will stand by their guns to the end.

#### HOLLAND.

The essays of S. E. W. Roorda van Eysinga, who died last year at Geneva, after having passed many years far from his native land, have now been collected and published at the Hague, in eight parts, where they can be had at the offices of *Recht voor Allen*, for 2 sh. They are well worth reading, and some of them might be usefully translated into English.

At last our Dutch comrades have succeeded in getting hold of the strongest fortress of reaction in Holland; they have formed a branch of the social-democratic party at Maastricht.

#### SWITZERLAND.

At last the Attorney-General, who has been desired by Bismark for that once glorious little republic, has been chosen. It is an individual going through life by the name of Scherb, and his first move, according to his German instructions, has been to order the trial of three Anarchists, supposed of having had something to do with the recent Anarchist manifesto placarded on the walls of various Swiss towns.

#### RUSSIA.

Nicolas Tchernischewsky is dead. Only a few weeks ago he was definitely set at liberty, after a life of heroism and martyrdom. We will try in our next issue to say what he has done for the cause of Socialism, to which he has been, amidst indescribable sufferings, "faithful unto death."

VICTOR DAVE.

#### SWEDEN.

Six large match factories—four in Kalmar, one in Ystad, and one in Wexjö—have suddenly been closed, and about 4,000 workers have been brought to starvation at a moment's notice. The factories all belong to an English company, and it is extremely probable that there is some foul financial speculation in the matter. Nobody in Sweden knows (or pretends to know) the financial situation of the company, but it has brought 4,000 hardworking Swedish citizens into horrible misery just at the moment when the long and hard Swedish winter is beginning. These are the blessings of international capitalism! There is not even the satisfaction that exploiters and exploited stand face to face—that the latter can (as a preliminary step to general revolutionary ideas) learn personally to hate his oppressor. It is worth mentioning that the wages in the factories of this company was 30 per cent. lower than in any other Swedish match factory. Also worth mentioning is the fact that the Swedish bourgeois press passes by the incident in silence—with fine feeling for the international interests of capital. Even in far-off Sweden journalists have learnt to limit their Chauvinism to instances when it is serviceable to their master, national and international capital. There is much to learn and to understand for poor, ignorant, overworked, and half-starved labourers in these gigantically and scientifically corrupt societies of ours.

An eminent Swedish actor and theatrical manager, Aug. Lindberg, has in Kristiania (Norway) made experiments with "working-men's nights" at his theatre, and with splendid success (financial and moral). His idea is to give the very best, most modern, and revolutionary plays in the excellent new dramatic literature of Scandinavia, to employ the best actors, and to lower the prices within reach of working-men. And the Norwegian workers have responded. They crammed the house when Ibsen's grand play "Gengangere" ("Ghosts") was performed, and they followed it with such deep feeling and applauded it with such an overwhelming enthusiasm as no bourgeois habitues could have done. Mr. Lindberg thanked his audience, because their warm interest and sincere desire to penetrate into the innermost meaning of the piece was a valuable contribution to the revival of true dramatic art. According to Mr. Lindberg, an audience of common bourgeois is quite incompetent of that sympathy and pure unartificial feeling, which alone make the actor develop his highest faculties. It is said that theatres in Stockholm and Copenhagen are going to follow the example. STN.

## CHICAGO AND LONDON.

### I.

"Our silence will be stronger than our speech"—

Speech foully stifled by the felon's rope;  
Speech ever sounding through its farthest scope  
The watchword, "Each for all and all for each":  
Silence, yea death's, electric, swift to reach  
Through the wide world, telling how hearts could cope  
With human wrath, for human love and hope;  
Silence proclaiming more than words could teach.

Therefore we mourn not, rather we rejoice

For them and for the cause they made their care;  
Since men now gather round us, and make choice  
The hardships of the pilgrim's life to share,  
And follow through the dawn their distant voice  
Toward a future infinitely fair.

### II.

That was a sight no watcher can forget—  
Where in the waste of streets it well might be  
That citizens should meet and speech be free,  
Ensnared in strife police and people met;  
There weapons gleamed above the parapet,  
And clinked to time from marshalled cavalry,  
While at high windows ladies laughed to see  
Peaceful processions savagely beset.

Hereby, O men of London, ye may learn

The two clear courses left you by the rich:—  
Either a life of hopeless toil, to earn  
The right of burial in a pauper's ditch,  
Or strife for freedom, definite and stern—  
Choose one of them ye must. Consider which.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 16, 1889.

10	Sun.	1786. Trial of Woodfall for libel on Lord Loughborough, afterwards Lord Chancellor. 1798. Trial of Wolfe Tone at Dublin, before a Military Court, for "that he, being a natural born subject of our Lord the King," was "taken traitorously acting in open arms, commanding an hostile force, for the invasion of this kingdom." 1862. T. B. McManus buried. 1880. Trial of Nihilists at St. Petersburg for Winter Palace explosion. Sentences: Kviatkovski and four others, death; eight men and three women, imprisonment. 1887. Louis Lingg died in prison.
11	Mon.	1640. Trial of Stafford for high treason. 1851. Great meeting in Free Trade Hall, Manchester, to greet Kossuth. 1864. J. R. McCulloch died. 1865. Capture of James Stephens, C. J. Kickham, Hugh Brophy, and Edward Daffy. 1887. Murder by law of Engel, Fischer, Parsons, and Spies.
12	Tues.	1671. Thomas Fairfax, Parliamentary general, died. 1794. Jacobin Club shut up. 1795. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Copenhagen House. 1819. County meeting of freeholders and householders of the county of Hereford declares the occurrences at Peterloo to have been "an infringement of one of the most important rights of the people, and a violation of the most essential principles of the constitution." 1852. After a six weeks' trial before a special jury at Cologne, three of the twelve Communist prisoners condemned to 6, three to 5, and one to 3 years' imprisonment, having already been in prison waiting trial for 21 months. <sup>1</sup> 1880. Capt. Boycott "boycotted"; origin of the term. 1885. <i>Arden</i> , first Greek Socialist paper, started in Athens. 1886. Imprisonment of Plato E. Draculis, editor of <i>Arden</i> .
13	Wed.	1830. First number of Carlile's <i>Prompter</i> , 3d. weekly; ran from Nov. 13, 1830, to Nov. 12, 1831. 1848. Trial of John Grant, Robert Hamilton, and Henry Ranken, Scotch Chartists, at Edinburgh, for sedition and conspiracy. 1861. A. H. Clough died. 1871. Richard Pigott sentenced to four months' imprisonment for libel in the <i>Irishman</i> . 1887. Bloody Sunday.
14	Thur.	1831. Hegel died. 1842. Strike "outrage" at Sheffield. 1882. J. G. Kinkel died. 1886. Socialist demonstration at Madrid.
15	Fri.	1815. Miners' riot at Wolverhampton against a reduction in wages; yeomanry beaten back twice with brickbats, etc. 1816. Meeting at Spa-fields (see Dec. 2) to vote an address from the distressed manufacturers to the Prince Regent. 1848. Count Rossi killed at Rome. 1848. Meissenhauser shot at Vienna.
16	Sat.	1819. Carlile sentenced for publishing 'Age of Reason.' 1820. "General meeting of the Noblemen, Freeholders, Justices of Peace, and Commissioners of Supply for the County of Lanark," held at Hamilton, after long consideration of Robert Owen's system, reports in favour of its adoption. 1867. Col. John Warren (15 years), Gen. William Halpin (15 years), and A. E. Costello (12 years), sentenced to penal servitude. 1872. Mutiny of metropolitan police, caused by the dismissal of their spokesman in the late successful movement for a rise in wages. 1880. A. Kviatkovski and J. Priasniakov hanged at St. Petersburg.

<sup>1</sup> The one condemned to three years was our comrade F. Lessner, the only survivor of the twelve; still a Socialist, and making propaganda in London.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.*

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

DETWILER (Chicago).—Your letter was insufficiently stamped, and cost us ten cents. Enclosure has been forwarded.

"AUSTRALIAN RADICAL" (N.S.W.).—Our manager complains of irregularity in your supplies, which causes disappointment to customers.

"AUSTRALIAN TRADES AND LABOUR JOURNAL".—Will some of our comrades oblige with the address of this paper? If possible, also with a specimen copy.

"REVISTA DA FLORIDA".—Freedom's address is: 7 Canel Street, Merrow Street, Walworth, London, S.E.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 6.

ENGLAND	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	BELGIUM
Church Reformer	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Antwerp—De Werker
Labour Tribune	Baecker Zeitung	Ghent—Vooruit
London—Freie Presse	Fackel	Liege—L'Avenir
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
Railway Review	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Barcelona—Revolucion Social
Sozial Demokrat	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Unity	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	FRANCE	GERMANY
UNITED STATES	Paris—Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
New York—Twentieth Century	La Revolte	Hamburg—Zeitgeist
Der Sozialist	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	AUSTRIA
Freiheit	Nice—L'Associazione	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
United Irishman	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Workmen's Advocate	SWITZERLAND	Lotlabana—Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal	Arbeiterstimme	
Investigator		

### NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. GLADSTONE'S speech to the working-men of Saltney last week, though as long as need be, and doubtless as attractive to the platitude-lover in its oratory as his utterances usually are, scarcely needs much comment in detail; it plays the same wearisome tune which we have been used to hear played from the period of "leaps and bounds" onward. It is called optimistic, but really and truly is in the depths of pessimism; for this is the meaning of it.

"Friends, we are very comfortable, and we should be glad if you also could be so, always so long as your comfort takes away nothing from us. To say the truth we fear that you are *not* living in comfort, but since it is for *our* good that you should go on living as you do, pray endure your misery, and don't try to alter matters. Meantime, we will do you this service, if no other; we will pretend that you are getting better and better as the days go on, and that really compared with what you were half a century ago (when you were all but in universal open revolt against us), you are quite happy, or at least ought to be. So be contented, thrifty, and hopeful—of *our* continued prosperity."

This sort of poisonous and lying twaddle was what was *always* said by Liberal politicians when addressing the workers twenty, nay, ten

years ago; it now needs a G.O.M. to say it in its completeness. Does the dim old man believe it, I wonder? Perhaps he does, as much as a hardened old politician can be said to believe anything. But just fancy this preacher of contentment, this old Conservative gentleman, being the dangerous revolutionary person who used to terrify the Tories so! He has undergone the usual fate of political heroes, and is now a stationary mile-stone on the road, marking the rate of progress which live men are making.

The Art Congress just over at Edinburgh was on the whole but a dull affair, and would have been very dull indeed but that to a Socialist its humours showed some signs of the times. It goes without saying, that though there were people present who were intent on playing the part of the art-philanthropists, all the paper-readers, except the declared Socialists, showed an absurd ignorance of the very elements of economics; and also, of course, that the general feeling was an ignoring of the existence of the working-class except as instruments to be played on.

Education was much talked of; but it was not understood that if you have condemned a man to be a slave, his education *must* be that of a slave. Art for the working-classes was talked of by men who chose to ignore the fact that men anxiously facing starvation, or wearily bearing it, are not free to receive pleasure from a work of art; although at the Congress meetings the clock-hands pointing to lunch-time at once emptied the room of the well-fed audience. Socialist artists and craftsmen (since there were none but Socialists capable of taking up the job) were set to lecture audiences of Edinburgh workmen on the due methods of work for producing popular art, though both lecturers and workmen audience knew but too well that such art was impossible for wage-slaves either to make or enjoy.

However, the said lecturers did not hide this fact under a bushel; and since a reactionist Edinburgh evening paper angrily declared that the Socialists had ruined the Congress, it is probable that their plain speaking had some effect. It must also be said that the working-men audiences received any allusions to Socialism, or any teaching founded on it, with more than assent, with enthusiasm rather. The definitely Socialist meetings, held under the auspices of our Edinburgh friends, were very successful, and the local Socialists are well satisfied with the result of the week.

W. M.

Last week saw another horrible proof of the reckless greed with which capitalists pursue profit as their sole aim. The Glasgow "accident," "fatality," or "disaster," as the newspapers have been calling it, or the Glasgow massacre as we know it to have been, has shocked and startled everybody. Everybody, that is, but the people responsible for that and similar events. They regard it, as indeed it truly is, as only an unavoidable incident of commercial methods. To get profit you must work cheaply; to work cheaply you must run risks—or rather, make your slaves run risks; running the risk long enough means that sooner or later the crash comes off and your poor slaves suffer.

But if you have only been careful enough in arranging and distributing the risk, the "catastrophe" is put down to "Providence" or some other irresponsible cause, and you escape all punishment. Nay! if you only weep and wail a little, spend a fraction of the blood-money you have made out of the system which produced the "catastrophe" in burying one or two of its victims and healing the bruises of one or two more, there will be few but will do you reverence as a more than perfect man. Only the bad and wicked Socialist will call you murderer and so spoil by a discordant note the chorus of your praises.

But the people are listening more and more to the bad and wicked teachings of the rights of man as against the powers of property, and they will soon demand that whenever such a thing as this in Glasgow occurs there shall someone hang for it—even if they have to do the hanging themselves!

If the London Trades Council were anything other than a discredited gang of ring-runners and place-makers, it would have long ago started a paper somewhat after the pattern of the Newark (N. J.) *Mutual Aid*. This is a small four-page journal co-operatively printed and published, and devoted to the positive side of boycotting as a weapon against sweaters and rat labour. It gives a list of fair houses and co-operative associations, as well as news of the trades union and co-operative movements, so that those who feel that way can deal exclusively with fair houses for all things. Failing the Trades Council, why does not the Labour Association take it up? By the way, can anyone tell us what the Labour Association is doing, if it does anything?

Another sign of the times is the public prayer in churches for the recovery of Mr. Bradlaugh. What would have been said a few years ago in reply to a prophecy that this would take place, will hardly bear imagining! I am glad to see that there is a chance of Mr. Bradlaugh's recovery (by virtue of the prayers?) because he is an open and sturdy enemy of ours, and therefore to be prized in these days of sham friends and would-be patrons.

S.



## IN THE UNITED STATES.

REPRESENTATIVES of State Socialism, Anarchism, and other phases of Radical thought met at Nassau Hall, in Boston, a few nights ago and decided to commemorate the Chicago murder by a public meeting on 11th November. A permanent memorial club was organised. The club voted to issue an address to the labour people of New England, in which the necessity for Socialist agitation shall be set forth. Committees were appointed to secure and decorate a hall, and in addition to several local speakers, the club voted to secure speakers from New York and Chicago.

Mr. Alexander Hogeland, president of the Boys and Girls' National Home Association, which has recently been in session in Washington, made the startling statement that there are 60,000 boy tramps in the United States. Now if this be true—and there is no reason why it should not be—then who can wonder that crime is constantly on the increase? But no matter. "This is a free country, and everybody can get there if he has the brains."

The Boston *Globe* publishes a letter of thanks from John Burns for £4 from citizens of Boston. "Although the strike is over, the money will be used for relief of dock-labourers." The sympathy of the Boston workers—I mean that part of them which believe in strikes, short hours, good pay, and all the rest of trades-unionism—does not seem to be able to take a very substantial shape. In spite of trade-union principles, they appear to cling, if the workers are concerned, to the motto, "Let everybody fight his own battles."

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers of the United States was convened in Denver on the 16th of October. Chief Engineer Arthur presided, and said, among other things:

"The present time represents the turning point in the history of the order, for it has become apparent that a feeling essentially radical has crept in and taken possession of a few of our members. This is dangerous, and must be suppressed; for, owing to this, statements seemingly contradictory have crept out and become public, which could never have happened with oneness of thought and honesty of purpose." He reiterated, with emphasis, his former statement that the organisation is law-abiding, and said, "To-day I clearly define our position toward railway corporations when I say that only as a last resort do we sanction a strike." Of the growth of the order, he said the membership was 26,000; during the year just ended it had paid out to widows and orphans of disabled members 206,000 dollars, making a total since its organisation of 2,608,169. He advised every man to endeavour, at whatever sacrifice, to save a little of his earnings every year, if no more than 25 dollars. "The possession of property brings respect, and always adds to the comfort and power of working-men, besides gaining the esteem of all good citizens."

What can be thought of a labour leader of this description? I do not know whether the men composing this organisation are to be pitied or to be cursed, but in any case they appear to be incurable idiots or they would have dismissed this humbug long ago.

The American Federation of Labour will hold its fourth annual convention in Boston, December 9. The circular hints at unification of the scattered forces of labour, and congratulates the Federation on withstanding the combined attacks of capitalists and politicians, and especially the secret machinations of conspirators within the very cordon of the camp of labour, meaning probably Socialists and Anarchists. On the eight hour movement the circular says: "It now becomes the mission of the Boston convention to transform the agitation which has become world wide into an organised movement for its realisation."

I am not aware of any "secret machinations" to oppose the eight hour movement. There has not even been opposition in the correct sense of the word, for a movement which does not exist can hardly be opposed.

In my last report I wrote something about the conference of the Schewitsch wing of the Socialistic Labour Party in Chicago. This wing is indeed the Socialistic labour party, as the Rosenberg side is absolutely without any significance. Next to the birth and rise of the Nationalist movement the split in the Socialistic Labour Party and the utter annihilation of the Rosenberg clique in this party are the most important events of this year in the State Socialistic camp. I am not in sympathy with the Social Democratic movement, as I cannot agree with my State-Socialistic friends either in tactics or in fundamental principles; but I am glad that Schewitsch and his friends have been able to freeze the Rosenberg-Busche faction out of their party. This faction is responsible for a good deal of the prejudice Socialism encounters among Americans. Now the State-Socialistic movement will be conducted on a more intelligent basis, and that is a considerable improvement. The convention got through the following business: A resolution endorsing the resolutions of the Paris Congress (Marxist) was adopted. Another defining the position of the S. L. P. towards trade unionism, saying that the party is in sympathy with the struggle of organised labour. As to political action, the convention resolved that under no circumstances should the party support a bourgeois party or its candidates. The eight hour agitation was also endorsed. In the platform of the organisation only few, and no important, changes were made. Brooklyn was chosen as seat for the executive; Boston for the board of appeal; and the party organs, *Der Socialist* and the *Workmen's Advocate*, will be edited and published in New York. The delegates to the convention visited in a body the graves of our martyrs in Chicago.

During the mass meeting at which Schewitsch spoke in Chicago, the reporters of the capitalistic press made out that the audience cheered the red and hissed the Union flag. Whether this was true or not, I know not. If so, it was to the credit of the feeling of the audience. In reference to this hissing-report, Schewitsch called on Mayor Cregier, and the following dialogue took place after the exchange of the usual conventionalities:—

"The Mayor. Mr. Schewitsch, much to my surprise you look like a respectable citizen; I had quite a different idea of your person.—Schewitsch. Are your words, Mr. Mayor, that you would like to drum me out of Chicago because of that flag incident, correctly reported?—M. No. I said those who insult our flag should be driven out of the city, nothing else; I made no reference to your speech. Although I do not agree with your views, I should never speak or act against freedom of speech.—S. Have you any objection that I called Chicago the Paris of America?—M. No, not in a certain sense; but I have it you meant it in the sense that Chicago is a revolutionary town.—S. Do you oppose all revolutions?—M. Most certainly.—S. Also that of 1776?—M. Oh, no; that's something different.—S. Why something different? Millions to-day live under a worse tyranny than that of the British ever has been.—M. I never studied social questions.—S. Then you don't know what Socialism means?—M. No.—S. You know what trusts are?—M. Oh, yes!—S. Have you ever heard that the natural development of trusts must lead to Socialism?—M. No. I am exclusively a business man, and have no time for these things.—S. Have you ever heard of "Looking Backward"?—M. No. What's that?—S. A book written by a man whose ancestors immigrated into Massachusetts about 200 years ago, and which

contains everything that's called 'foreign Socialism.' Do you know something of the Nationalists, who have a large organisation in this city?—M. No; you mean the Irish?—S. No; I mean Americans who preach pure Socialism. Do you believe that public opinion has completely changed as regards the trial of the Anarchists?—M. I don't like to talk about that.—S. Don't you think that the Cronin trial is a disgrace for Chicago?—M. I got nothing to say about that.—S. So you don't want to drum me out of the city?—M. No, sir. On the contrary, I hope you remain a good while."

This ended the talk. Mayor Cregier, of Chicago City, most certainly is an ass either in pretence or in tact. Rosenberg has written a letter to the Mayor of Chicago, denouncing "the band of demagogues, which desired to show their hate of Americans by insulting their flag," which well illustrates the miserable nature of the man.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 22, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "SOCIALISM AND STRIKES."

Sir,—In the issue of Oct. 26th, "W. G. W." appeals on behalf of uniting the different Labour Unions, saying with truth that the leaders of these bodies "seem inclined to move only in their own small circle instead of uniting the whole." I think the Council of the S.L. ought to take serious steps in the matter, and to push forward by some means the teaching of Socialism to the unions that exist both in London and in the provinces; in fact, to follow the initiative of the Socialists in Belgium, who, I see in last Saturday's *Weal*, are convening a conference of all the worker's societies in Belgium for the 1st of November.

Socialist teaching will have small chance if something is not done soon among the different unions that have lately been formed in London and elsewhere, for a reaction is sure to follow unless the workers are taught to strike for something else besides a paltry penny per hour extra, or half an hour's less work per day. Cannot some of our best thinkers in the League formulate some scheme whereby the different associations may be welded together, so that their members might be inducted into the primary teachings of Socialism? That, I think, would be a great help in spreading propaganda, and it is I think the best means to induce working-men to see their own interests, and also to see that each one's interest is identical. By all means, I say, adopt W. G. W.'s proposal, and thus Socialism will be able to keep its own end in view, or how else are working-men to be prepared, systematically, for the time when they shall rise to take possession of their own?—Yours, etc.,

H. C. K.

## MORALITY.

The "Scottish Socialist Federation," in the statement of its principles quoted in the *Commonweal* of Oct. 12th, uses a word which should not pass without protest when used by Socialists in connection with Socialism. It says it acknowledges "morality" with "truth and justice" as "the basis of behaviour." It speaks of "morality" as a definite thing, which, like the word "truth," conveys a definite idea to the mind. But the only "morality" which is known in Scotland is the conventional Christian "morality" of Scotland. Does the Scottish Socialist Federation mean that? If so, why is the "Scottish Socialist Federation" formed? and acknowledging "morality" why is it Socialist, seeing that Socialism is a protest against "the morals of the country." European morals are what we nickname "Mrs. Grundy." She has nothing in common with Socialism. The "Morals" of Europe, as taught and insisted on by all authorities—the only morals meant when one speaks briefly of "Morals" with a capital M—are, subordination to authority, marriage and the subjection of women, submission to exploitation, contentment in whatever slavery you are thrust, respect for "property" and a readiness to defend the wealth accumulated by one's owners, celibacy and prostitution for a vast proportion of both men and women; Faith, i.e., imbecility, the superstitious swallowing of some lie, any lie which it pleases "authority" to throw to you. These and such things as these are "morality," but my Socialism is a protest to the death against all of them and all such as they. If this is not the morality of the "Scottish Socialist Federation," what do they expect the Scottish people to understand as being their principles, and why do they use the word? Do they mean to be understood to approve of the Scottish Sabbath? Unless they do, they do not acknowledge "morality" in Scotland. This is but one item.

To repeat, there is no morality but the existing laws and customs which hold our present commercial and industrial society together. How can Socialists acknowledge it while using every endeavour to destroy those laws and customs? "Morality" is the merest shibboleth, like "glory" and "honour." Other than obedience to convention it has no existence whatever. Morals and Morality are absolute fictions. If they are to be regarded in the abstract, what are they? If in the concrete, where are they?

GEORGE PORTER.

## LITERARY NOTES.

The *National Reformer* for Sept. 1 has a very neat if by no means exhaustive criticism, by John M. Robertson, on Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, which is well worth reading.

Into the merits of the quarrel with Mr. Powderly and the Knights of Labour we cannot enter on this side for lack of knowledge, but truth compels us to say that, excepting the *Twentieth Century*, there is not a better conducted or better written labour paper in the States than the official organ of the Knights of Labour, the *Journal of United Labour*, edited by A. W. Wright for the Board of Trustees.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—Wm. Morris will lecture on Sunday Nov. 10. CHELSEA DISCUSSION FORUM, Swiss Cottage, 111 Kings Rd.—Sunday Nov. 10, at 8 p.m., "The Story of the Chicago Riots."

STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Nov. 10, at 8.30, N. W. Hubbard, L.C.C., "How should the Council deal with its Land?"

BORO' OF HACKNEY W. M.'s CLUB, 27 Haggerston Road, E.—Sunday Nov. 10, at 12 noon, Robert E. Dell, "How to Get what we Want."

BORO' OF BETHNAL GREEN RADICAL CLUB, 29 Abbey St., Bethnal Green Rd.—Sunday Nov. 10, at 12 noon, J. F. Oakeshott, "The New Radicalism."

GLADSTONE RADICAL W. M.'s CLUB, 22 Baroness Road, Hackney Road, E.—Sun. Nov. 10, 12 noon, Rev. S. D. Headlam, "Practicable Land Nationalisation."

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

### The Bakers.

The men have refused the master's offer of a 12 hour's working-day, and will hand in their notices this Saturday for the 16th. A considerable minority of the masters have already granted the 10 hour's working-day, so it is not likely the strike will be general. All promises well for the agitation.

### The Tramway Men.

The men have already benefited by finding a capable leader. The South London Tramway Company have reduced the hours of their employees to 12 and 12½ daily. This is the line where the men were talking of striking. The London Street Tramway Company have made a similar concession. The men are joining the union by hundreds.

### The Silvertown Strike.

Things are much the same as last week. Money is coming in better, and the strikers show a fine front. The monotony of the strike was diversified last week by a little excitement. One of the strikers, a girl who had come out on principle, went back to work after receiving a pair of boots from the Strike Committee. The indignant populace broke the windows of the house in which she was living, and she is now under police protection. The people of Silvertown have a strong detestation of treason.

### Trouble at the Docks.

The 4th of November, that has brought the docker's tanner, has brought fresh troubles with it. It is evident that the smouldering discontent which has been long prevalent seems likely to break into flame. The lightermen are striking; the men at one of the wharves are out, and a *Daily News* commissioner notes that the men have not received the tanner advance with many symptoms of joy. The lightermen's strike is a serious matter; there is still deep discontent concerning the blacklegs who still remain; and no one can tell how far the trouble may spread now it has once begun.

Later.—Matters are getting more serious. The South Side Strike Committee have issued a manifesto, in which they call the "glorious victory" a miserable sham, and call upon the men to come out for their dinner-money—the 3d. deducted from the 8d. gained. We hear that John Burns has thrown up all lecturing engagements in view of serious possibilities.

### The Labour Revolt at Bristol.

Most of the strikers have gained their terms and gone to work again. The hatters and the cotton-factory hands are still out. The shop assistants are now agitating, and are threatening to strike if their demands are not granted. The directors of the tram companies have been forced to make concessions to prevent their men coming out. During the strike the barge-men, who were also out, blocked the Feeder Canal leading into the floating harbour by chaining their barges together under a bridge. The traffic was completely stopped, owing to this simple manoeuvre, while the crowds that assembled refused to allow the barrier to be removed. An adventurous gentleman attempted to storm the barrier with a steam launch, but on being greeted with paving-stones gave up the attempt. The barges were at last removed by a hundred police, who got up very early in the morning and marched on the scene of action when there were no strikers about.

We have received an urgent appeal from our Bristol comrades for subscriptions for the women who are out at the cotton-factory. Subscriptions may be sent to Helena Born, secretary, British Workman Coffee House, New Street, St. Jude's, Bristol. These poor girls are subjected to the usual sweating and vexatious fines. It is a case which the Women's Trade Union Committee should surely take up.

### The Railway Men.

The new union of the non-aristocratic railway men appears to be progressing favourably. Our readers will remember that this is composed of the poorer railway workers who are not allowed by the aristocratic or older society to join them in their union. The new union has already reached North London, and promises to spread into the provinces. The officials are very wroth, especially with John Burns, and in their rage have taken a very mean revenge. In the *Railway Review* of November 1st they publish an article taken from the "*Times*"!! defending "the Trade Unions' officials against the attacks" of John Burns, who is accused of attempting "to inflame the passions of uneducated men." It admits, however, that the action of the older society has been "automatic." That is good. "Automatic" is good. The arguments of the *Times* need little refutation, its character is too well known. The officials of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants must be very hard up for a defender, when they are obliged to fall back upon a paper known everywhere as the worst enemy of the working class, as well as one of the most cowardly, lying, forging sheets in existence.

### The Strikes at Manchester.

The agitation of the gas-workers has been entirely successful. The Gas Committee of the Corporation, to avert a strike, have granted the eight hours day, in place of the twelve hours which has been the rule. The wages remain the same. Another easy victory has been won by the men employed at Berry's Blacking Works, who were on strike and formed a union. Mr. Berry made an unconditional surrender after a four days' struggle, which means that the greater part of the men get about 3s. a-week more in wages.

A second meeting of the Health Department employes, called together by the S. L., took place on Sunday in Stevenson Square. Barton and Bailie (S. L.), and W. Horrocks, organiser of the General Labourers' Union, addressed the men, who are determined to claim a considerable advance of wages and less work. They are now all organised.

### Jewish Workers in Manchester.

A large meeting of machinists, tailors, and pressers was held on Saturday, October 26th, in the Wellington Hotel, Strangways, for the purpose of considering how to become united with the Amalgamated Society of Tailors. Mr. Quinn, President of the latter Association, spoke at some length on the

necessity of union; he was followed by several English workers; and comrade Diemshietz received a hearty welcome on rising to speak in support of the resolution. J. Marshall read a letter he had received from the Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, pointing out the advantages the society would gain by affiliating themselves with the above organisation. A resolution was passed to the effect that in future the English and Jewish workers will work in union with each other, so that when one society demands an increase in wages the other will assist them in that direction.

J. M.

### The "Shop Assistants' Union."

The union is progressing slowly but surely. At Hammersmith a branch has been formed which promises to be very strong; another is in course of formation at Whitechapel for the East End district. Most of the work has to be done on Sunday, and also secretly, as should the masters find out their assistants have joined they would often discharge them. No class of workers require to be organised more, for as their manifesto says, the modern conditions are such that it is getting less and less possible to become masters themselves, and yet too many of them remain as snobbish as ever. However, the competition machine is grinding it out of them somewhat. The places of meeting are, for Hammersmith, Lockhart's, 11, King Street; for East End, 147, Whitechapel Road (first floor). Wednesdays at 9.30.

### The Carmen's Trade Union.

This union, the result of the late strike, is rapidly growing. At Nelson Street, Commercial Road, E., there is an exciting scene every Wednesday night, when the local branch business takes place at the "Crown and Anchor," the street being blocked with vans of all sorts while the men were paying their subscriptions; 134 new members were made the week before last, and last week members had to stand over as cards could not be made out fast enough. This branch is now over 400 strong. The police grumble and threaten the men for obstruction, but are really afraid to do anything as it would only advertise the organisation. The Wapping branch which meets at the "Prince Regent," St. George's Street, is also over 400 strong. At King's Cross the Midland Railway Carmen are joining secretly, and by their addition have sent the branch up to over 500. This shows what unskilled labour is capable of. During the dock strike numbers of them got the sack for going out to support the dockers (like our comrade Leggatt), but could get no assistance from the strike fund. Now they have got their own organisation, and are winning all along the line.

J. T.

## CAPITAL AND "LABOUR" AT LEICESTER.

THE mayor of Leicester is a bold man. It would not occur to most people that the present time was a happy one to induce representatives of capital and labour to meet at the same table for the purpose of having what may be called a friendly feed. Imagine, for instance, John Burns and Mr. Norwood eating and drinking together—or for the matter of that, any of the sweaters who have recently been exposed, enjoying their meals with the "pestilent agitators" who have caused all the bother. One fears that such feasting might end in a battle royal, when the wine was in and the wit was out, and the scene would hardly realise the common notion of a little heaven below, unless, indeed, it be the heaven of our remote ancestors, who, although Norse, yet were rather Irish in their notions, and required a combination of eating, drinking, and fighting to make up their paradise. But your admiration for the courage of the mayor vanishes when you find the name of Mr. Henry Broadhurst prominent upon the list, and himself occupying a place of honour as the representative of labour at the mayor's left hand, while Mr. Picton, M.P., as Capital, occupied a seat on the mayor's right. Among the honoured guests we notice the name of George Shipton (London), and after that we cannot doubt that the mayor has got hold of as respectable a body of "labour representatives" (!) as can be procured at a short notice. People who live upon the bribes of the capitalist and by sweating their own class were well suited to "represent" labour at such a banquet.

The mayor did more than give a dinner; he made a speech, which was useful in proving one thing, and that is, how small a quantity of brains it requires to be mayor of an important manufacturing town. Among the numerous gems of oratory with which his speech was studded we select the following: "He [the mayor] had no hesitation in saying, and in taking the consequences of it, that those who were agitating in favour of an eight hours movement were the greatest enemies of the country." "Hear, hear!" from the "representatives" of labour present. We believe some honest men who had got in among the flunkies present protested, but their protests are not noticed in the report I have been reading. Now where did our friend get his logic from by which he justifies this extraordinary statement? If this is correct, the greatest foes Britain has are the editor of the *Star*, Mrs. Besant, John Burns, not to mention lesser lights. I wonder how many workmen outside the unique specimens assembled in the mayor's dining-room believe this statement. How people who advocate such a moderate proposal as an eight hour labour day can be the worst enemies of the country—or the capitalists, which I suppose was what the mayor meant—I will leave the reader to find out for himself; it is too mighty a problem for me to understand. I should like also to know how the mayor reconciles his statement that "every sensible Englishman sympathised with the dock-labourers strike"—among whom, I presume, the mayor doesn't reckon himself—with his other statement that the leader of that strike, as an advocate of the eight hours movement, is "the greatest enemy of the country." Is it not likely that that dreadful person was only pursuing his deep and deadly designs in getting up that strike in order to drive in like a wedge that fearful instrument of hellish destruction to the honour and glory of England, the eight hour movement? We pause for a reply.

Mr. Picton, M.P., was also much disturbed in his mind, because he had been listening to some more dreadful persons in Regent's Park who had proposing to nationalise his machinery. In the speeches of all present there was a prevailing tone of uneasiness; though Mr. Broadhurst might declare that labour was no enemy of capital, and the capitalists might reply they were quite willing to be friendly to labour as represented by Mr. Broadhurst, yet it seemed that the red spectre stood at the banquet board while the lights burnt blue in that ghastly presence. It was vain to cry "Hence, horrible shadow! unreal mockery, hence!" The goblin wouldn't go, and the cry of the millions who starve and slave around, while their smug "representatives" feasted with their tyrants, rose like a mournful wail. How long? how long?

N.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Nov. 12, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collection, Propaganda Committee, 2s. 2½d.; P. C. Walken, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Edwards, 6d.; Two Members of the Clerkenwell Branch 4s.

**General Fund.**—P. C. Walkden, 5s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; G. G. Schack, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; F. C. S. S., 6d.; and P. C. Walkden, 2s. 6d.

## REPORTS.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A fair meeting held at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were R. J. Lyne, J. F. Lyne, and Dean; good sale of *Weal* and 7½d. collected. No meeting at St. Ann's Road owing to weather. W. S. De Mattos lectured at our rooms to a good audience on "The Radical Policy and Practicable Socialism," after which a great number of questions were asked and good discussion followed; 1s. 1d. collected and a few *Commonweal* sold.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—A fair meeting held at Mile End Waste on Tuesday, opened by comrade Foley and addressed by Turner; small sale of *Commonweal*. At the business meeting on Wednesday, two comrades attended from the Poplar group and reported work done; treasurer gave notice of resignation, as he leaves for New York on Thursday. He intends to try and form a Socialist League there, and be an agent for the *Commonweal*, also to correspond with the branch. No meetings held on Sunday on account of wet. The bad weather lately has spoiled the sale of literature. Comrade Leggett, of this branch, opened a discussion at the "Three Kings", Clerkenwell, Sunday night, on "Why I Became a Socialist;" good debate followed, in which several comrades took part.

**STREATHAM.**—Secretary of branch gave an address on "The Fallacy of Palliatives" at the "Leigham Arms." Two of our Streatham comrades took part in the debate on "Capital and Labour" at the Liberal Club. Short meeting at Fountain on Sunday; fair sale of *Weal*.

**ABERDEEN.**—At Castle Street on Sunday, 27th ult., and Saturday, 2nd inst., Duncan addressed good meetings. On Monday, 28th ult., Kropotkin lectured to about 1,000 people in the Albert Hall, Professor Ramsay in the chair. On the following night he spoke to an audience of 300 or 400 workers in the Friendly Society's Hall, the meeting being a free one; Bisset, a capitalist blacksmith and ex-president of Trades Council, in the chair. At both meetings questions were answered; the lectures were well reported in the local papers.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Tuesday evening Downie, Gilbert, Joe and Tim Burgoyne held a successful meeting on Cathedral Square. On Sunday, at 12.30, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke on Jail Square. At 2.30, a conference of members and sympathisers took place in the Reception Room of the Waterloo Hall—comrades Morris, Crane, Cobden-Sanderson, and Walker being present. The conference, though not so well attended as it ought to have been, was a most interesting and useful one. In the evening Walter Crane lectured in the Waterloo Hall on "The Educational Value of Art," William Morris in the chair. Although the evening was wet and there was a charge for admission, over 700 persons were present. Crane's lecture, which was a very Socialistic one, was listened to with great attention and frequent manifestations of approval. He illustrated his lecture with sketches on the blackboard which we heartily applauded. Cobden-Sanderson then delivered an eloquent address, which made a marked impression on the audience. A resolution expressing sorrow at the deplorable accident by which some thirty women and girls lost their lives two days before in the Greehead Mills, Glasgow, and expressing sympathy with their relatives and friends, was moved by Glasier and seconded by George McLean and carried unanimously. In closing the meeting Morris made a strong appeal in behalf of Socialism and the branch. A collection in behalf of the relatives of the Greehead disaster was taken on going out, and £7 10s. was collected. Financially the meeting was a success, and it will no doubt do much to popularise Socialism in the city. The visit of our London comrades has imbued us with new spirit and will, we hope, help to increase greatly the efficacy of the branch.—G.

**LEICESTER.**—T. Barclay lectured in the Vine Street Radical Club on Sunday, November 3rd, in the morning, to a small audience, on "The Principles of Socialism." In the evening, to much larger numbers, on "Labour and Capital." Both addresses were followed by discussion. On Monday evening Kate Barclay read a paper on "Thrift" at our branch meeting; good discussion.—A. G.

**MANCHESTER.**—P. Kropotkin gave a lecture to a large audience, and was most enthusiastically received; our members sold about 9s. of literature.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday last, owing to the wretched weather, no open-air meeting could be held; a number of comrades and friends turned up at our Hall, where some of the speeches of the Chicago Anarchists were read; comrade Swash spoke in support. In the evening a discussion was opened by Lenneying, subject—"What is Socialism?" Comrades W. Moore, Houghton, Emery, and others took part; very poor sale of *Commonweal*, owing to the weather.

**DUBLIN.**—The debate at the Progressist Club on "Anarchism versus Democracy," opened by comrade W. Thompson, was kept up for three evenings, owing to the great number desirous of speaking. The advocates of Social Democracy were the more numerous; the Anarchists having if anything the best of the argument; King, Wilson, Hamilton, Locke, Dr. Creagh (Beunos Ayres), and several others spoke.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE**, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday November 10, at 8.45 p.m., William Morgan, "The Late Strike of the Dock-labourers; Lessons Political and Social."

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday November 10, at 8 p.m., lecture by D. J. Nicoll, "The French Revolution."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday November 10, at 7.30, Members' meeting. At 8, meeting on Triangle. At 8.30, Chicago Martyrs Commemoration—speakers, G. Cores, H. Davis, and other comrades.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Nov. 10, at 8 p.m., A lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday November 10, at 8 p.m., J. Turner will lecture on "A Working-man as a Socialist."

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m. In the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Tuesday November 12th, at 8 p.m., George Bernard Shaw will lecture on "Radicalism and Social Democracy."

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday and Friday, at 8, Rehearsals. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, at 8.30, Social Meeting for comrades and friends; free.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. Mrs. Schack will be in Yarmouth on the 10th for the commemoration of Bloody Sunday and the Chicago Martyrs.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 9.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Cores

### SUNDAY 10.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station.....R. J. Lyne and Dean  
11.30..... Chelsea Embankment.....Samuels  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane.....Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road.....J. F. Lyne, Maughan, Crouch  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street.....Davis  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Kitz  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....The Branch  
11.30..... Starch Green .....The Branch  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Cantwell and Parker  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....Chicago Commemoration  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Kitz  
8 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Mowbray  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Clerkenwell Green.....The Branch

### TUESDAY 12.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

### THURSDAY 14.

8.15..... Hoxton Church.....Cores

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11 a.m.; Market Place, at 3 p.m.

**Sheffield.**—Sunday: Hillfoot Bridge, at 11 a.m.; Mars Hill, Attercliffe, at 11; Rotherham College Yard, at 6.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Fish Wharf, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

**THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.**—The Dublin Socialist Club will hold a Commemoration Meeting on Monday November 11, at 8 p.m., at 87 Marlborough Street. A Chicago comrade will address the meeting.

**SYLLABUS of Lectures**, in connection with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition now open, to be given in the New Gallery, Regent Street, on Thursday evenings, at 8.30 p.m.—Nov. 14th, Henry Holiday, "Stained Glass." 21st, T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, "The Decoration of Bound Books." 28th, Lewis F. Day, "Ornament." Dec. 5, Walter Crane, "Design and Expression." Admission 2s. 6d.; art students and employes, 1s.

**A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.**—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. November 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.



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## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto:

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS  
 CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING  
 TO HIS NEEDS.

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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 at 13 Farringdon Road, London.]

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 201.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

A CURIOUS article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* is a good example of how far the force of conventional ignorance can go. It is in praise of advertisements, and its writer actually says, and I suppose really does think, that advertisements cheapen wares! Says he, "The morning cup of cocoa pays for the morning newspaper," thinking apparently that the said cocoa is cheapened by its having to bear its share of the advertising-rag, differentiated by this that or the other political humbug, which we are pleased to call a newspaper.

Did it ever occur to this very droll writer that the said advertising sheet cost labour, and that that labour might have been employed in producing things useful to the citizens, instead of puffing the private adventure of some capitalist which has for its object the robbing of anyone who will allow himself to be robbed?

An advertisement is, in short, an act of war, and cheapens wares just as much as a battery trampling down a wheatfield cheapens bread. If the *Pall Mall Gazette* in its enthusiasm for advertisement, and the rotten rags called newspapers, would give us the statistics of advertising of all kinds, say in the form of the "Puffer's Almanack," it would earn my eternal gratitude.

Another *Pall Mall* writer (or perhaps the same) has a rapturous article on the subject of the Eiffel Tower, and hopes we shall have several in London. Now as to its beauty (?) tastes differ, but I shall not allow myself to be bullied by Philistia into silence even on that point; so I say that it appeared to me a hellish piece of ugliness; but let that pass. But what is the meaning or use of it? Its use is simply to catch francs. All the labour of the thousands of workmen employed on it has been devoted to the erection of a franc-catching trap; a piece of brigandage on the public.

That teacher of the public, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, ought to be able to see that these Eiffel Towers, advertisements, and the rest of it, are on one side of them mere acts of war of the predatory classes, the capitalists; and on the other bonfires wherewith to burn up the energies of the working-men, to waste their labour as much as if it had never been; to have fed, clothed, and housed the men who built the Eiffel Tower without providing them with "employment" would have been comparatively an act of wisdom. This is the kind of folly, to pay for which the lives of the workers are worn away in shame without their ever having had a day's real pleasure. Do not let us tolerate for a single moment any act of the accursed thing—Capitalism.

W. M.

To see how Socialism grows in favour it is only necessary to glance down any club lecture-list, or over the pages of any newspaper. I do not often see the *Weekly Budget*, nor I suppose do many readers of the *Commonweal*, but all the same it has an enormous circulation, mostly in country districts, so that it is interesting to note what a friendly attitude the editor assumes towards a mild (very mild!) kind of Socialism. The people must be more converted than some of us fancy when a firmly-established story paper such as this finds it necessary to progress in our direction.

A writer in the *Twentieth Century* has been "busting up" Henry George's reputation for originality by showing that 'Progress and Poverty' is only an old work by Patrick Edward Dove, worked over, re-written, and dressed in garments of more modern cut. To this Mr. George has replied in his own paper, but up to the present to no great effect. Of course, it does not affect the value of his book in the least that he took so much of it from another without acknowledgment, but it throws the same kind of light on his own character that his treatment of Socialists and others has done.

The Rev. T. W. Lewis, who describes himself as "a humble Methodist preacher, living and working to glorify God and do good to humanity," sends an article to the *New York Independent*, defending the action of the whites in killing twenty-seven Negroes in the State of Mississippi recently. He says, "The Anglo Saxon was born to rule in this Southern country." And again:

"I wish to say, in conclusion, that I am a true friend of the Negro. I preach to them. I believe they have immortal souls and are capable of advancement in morals as well as in mental culture. I preach a gospel of peace and love. . . . If we let the Negro alone, let him send his children to school, attend his church, see that he is paid for his work and not tampered with by designing white men, he is a peaceable citizen. But school him in politics, arouse his blood against the white people among whom he lives, and you make a fool of him. Yes; worse than a fool. You make him a dangerous element in society."

Whereupon comrade Pentecost in *Twentieth Century* comments in this fashion:

"This is the gospel of peace and love that is preached everywhere to working-men; for the Negro is the working-man of the South. Let him alone in his ignorance; let him send his children to school long enough to read and write a little; let him go to church, where he will be taught the virtues of economy and contentment in poverty; pay him for his work about one-fourth of what his work is worth; but do not train him in the art of getting his rights, do not arouse his mind, his blood, against his oppressors. If you do, you make him a dangerous element in society, which means, dangerous to the rich criminals, for whose benefit society is, at present, organised. This is the gospel that is preached by a large number of 'humble Methodist preachers, living and working to glorify' the God of the rich, and do good to the class that hires them to preach 'peace and love' to the poor; that is, that the poor should be peaceful and loving toward the rich."

Another "little war" is looming in the distance. There is one part of New Zealand known as the Uriwera country, where the Maories have remained isolated in their mountain fastnesses, refusing all contact with civilisation, adhering to their old customs and superstitions, and leading the life that their ancestors led before the arrival of Captain Cook. Gold is known to exist in the Uriwera country, and, if an attempt to "open it up" which is about to be made, is successful, the place will be soon rushed by crowds of intending diggers. Conflicts between the whites and Maories will then be inevitable; and the usual result inevitable also.

There has lately been going the round of the papers an amusing and true story at the expense of the Hamburg police. When the embassy from the Sultan of Zanzibar was in the city the African diplomatists lodged in the Hamburger Hof, whose landlord, in honour of his guests, hoisted the red flag of Zanzibar upon the roof of his hotel. To a German policeman the sight of a red flag is more enraging than it is supposed to be to a bull. The astonished chief of police marched into the hotel and asked the landlord what the — he meant by unfurling the revolutionary symbol in so conspicuous a place. The landlord explained that the official flag of the African monarch was unfortunately the exact double of the official flag of the European anti-monarchical party; and though he danced with rage, the professional defender of law'n'-order could only glare helplessly at the offending flag which waved so tauntingly in front of him.

Competition is killing itself all round, and combination—not yet for the common benefit—is taking its place. The publishing house of "George Routledge and Sons" is to be turned at once into a Limited Liability Company. But a more important change is under discussion. This is an amalgamation of the future Routledge and Co. with Messrs. Warne and Messrs. Ward, Lock, and Co. If this should really come about, it will be a very powerful combination. A second scheme is also talked of, in which three other well-known publishing houses are interested; Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co., Messrs. Trübner, and Mr. Redway. These rumours may be incorrect or premature, but they are certainly well founded, and show which way the current sets, S.

## A LONG-DELAYED REPLY.

*Unity*, the organ of the leading Friendly Societies, in its October number had some friendly notes upon our reply to its former attack upon Socialists, which should have been answered before, but one thing and another has kept us from dealing with them as they deserve. This we are all the more sorry for, as the *Commonweal* was spoken of in a very complimentary way.

First of all, *Unity* says that we have not "attempted to parry the attack" which it made upon us for quarrelling and the like. Well! as to that, we sometimes quarrel, of course, as all men do, and never pretend otherwise. It is deplorable, no doubt, but very natural under existing circumstances. Really, our friend should see that our anxiety to alter the system under which we live is not because we are perfect, but because we want a chance of becoming so.

Another part of the charge was, that we took part in labour troubles without all of us being workmen. That we fully admitted and do admit, but where is the harm of it when all is said? It is a pity, perhaps, that workmen cannot wholly rely on themselves for their own emancipation, but it is not a pity that members of the privileged class should cast aside their privileges and step down to fight for the common good.

*Unity* thinks it scored against us as we did not reply more fully. We have said what seems to us necessary, but if more is needed we shall be glad to be told so.

And now for the answer to our "assault." "Our Socialistic friend," says *Unity*, "finds fault with Friendly Societies because they have not publicly taken part and identified themselves with the great strike, and, further, with us, for not having expressed in these columns our sympathy with the poor dockers. But surely the writer ought to know that trade disputes have nothing directly to do with Friendly Societies as bodies." Nothing to do directly, at least as far as their primary objects are concerned, we know that well enough. But the article goes on to say that: "The affiliations are mainly composed of the working-classes," (who have presumably nothing directly to do with wage-disputes!) "and we have no reason to believe that they, as individuals, have gathered their unspotted skirts around them, and passed by on the other side." Our charge was against them as organisations. What did they do?

"As bodies, they have no power to vote their money to other than specified purposes; but we know that the members have subscribed, as we ourselves have done, though the names do not appear in bold print. So far from 'passing by on the other side,' we have used both money and influence on behalf of the starving poor." All this may be true; we hope for the credit of human nature that it is. But is money everything? Our friend confesses that it is not, by coupling it with "influence." But here we would ask again, What influence was exerted? and where? and when? A no doubt estimable but comparatively unknown private person probably exerted his personal influence on the right side—but as editor of *Unity* he said nothing—at a time when silence could bear but one construction. And the same behaviour on the part of Friendly Societies as a whole was what we complained of. They had no power, it is said, to vote their funds for other than specific purposes. Granted; but need that have prevented them from voting that a collection be taken up at each meeting? Need the inability to vote money from their funds have prevented their voting sympathy? To place their organised influence, the assurance of their support, behind the struggling dockers, to let the public know that they, the more fortunate of the workers, were on the side of their weaker brethren—was this impossible?

"We rejoice in the victory that the dockers have achieved." Glad to hear that, anyway. "The battle was well fought and nobly won; and we admire John Burns for his active and self-denying labours." Sorry you didn't make it easier for him! "But Burns preached simple justice, and that was the reason he received support." What is "justice," friend? "If, instead, he had preached Socialism pure and simple, as we understand it—and we must confess that, although we have been studying the subject for some time, we are still somewhat mystified—the influence he would have been able to exert would have been altogether different. People subscribed for fairer wages for the oppressed poor—not for social upheaval." But they didn't subscribe until the "social upheaval" was taking place. On our back page will be found a statement of our principles, which may help to clear *Unity's* ideas of what Socialism is. It may be seen from that statement that we are concerned not so much with "fairer" wages as with fair wages—otherwise, that the full product of labour should go to the labourer. If that is not "simple justice," what is?

*Unity* goes on to say: "Well, we guess we are on the right side of the labour battle, if it means paying a fair day's wage for a fair day's work" (see questions above), "and we wish all our brethren would endorse the sentiment." But they don't, and won't so long as they are allowed to think that the whole duty of man is to "benefit the community at large, by relieving the rates, and by making provision for disasters which would otherwise entail suffering on relatives and friends."

Next, complains *Unity*, "our contemporary objects to the Friendly Societies having lots of money. The seven millions sterling possessed by the Oddfellows, for instance, is apparently an eyesore to the Socialist. Why, we don't quite see." Here, again, our friend is confused. What we objected to was not the possession of so much money, but the use made of it—putting it out at interest, deriving revenue from unpaid labour. "Now, in conclusion, we should like to ask,

Does the Socialist really object to the principles upon which affiliations are founded; and the work which is carried on upon those principles? Are Socialists wanting to fight Friendly Societies, Trade Unions, and everybody? If so, What are their principles? and How do they want to apply them? We await with interest an authoritative answer, an answer of reason and argument, not of thinly-veneer abuse, which may be, and indeed is, amusing—very amusing—but not convincing. If Socialism be right, then we are not above being Socialists ourselves; but we must be shown that it is right."

We do not object, we say again, to men combining for mutual benefit. How could we, when what we preach and work for is universal combination for the common good? What we do object to, is the tendency of those who combine for some partial and personal benefit imagining that thereby they are helping to solve the social problem. And we are wanting to fight anybody and everybody who by so acting gets across our path. Along with this number of the *Commonweal* we are sending *Unity* our manifesto, with such of our pamphlets as happen to be in print; and in our turn also we shall "await with interest" and confidence the close and searching criticism, the detailed and studied reply which we know will be accorded us by *Unity*. More than that, we shall await with quite equal confidence the, perhaps later, but still sure, conversion of our friend, the editor of *Unity*, to Socialism, and his admission that he has come to see that neither Benefit Clubs, Trade Unions, nor Co-operative Societies, together or separately, can work out the salvation of the working folk, but that they must melt into something wider and deeper, something that shall embrace them all, and more, the ownership and administration by the community of all the means of life—Socialism. S.

## IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

THE state of affairs in Johannesburg and in Kimberley just now is such that no tradesman, unless he is a fool, ought to even think of coming out from Britain. In Kimberley (diamond-fields) the De Beers Company has given notice that they intend to shut down two mines (Dutoitspan and Bielfontien). This will throw 200 white and over 1,800 native workers out of employment. This restriction is expected to raise the price of diamonds in the home markets and so increase the shareholders' dividends. In Johannesburg matters are indeed critical. Cape Town people are fond of proclaiming—aye, even from the housetops—that there is no such thing as a poorhouse in their midst. No; with the paupers as with the Robben Island lepers, a prison does instead. Woe to the poor wretch who is found wandering about "without any visible means of support." The following cutting is from the *Cape Times*, and may be taken for truth. Sometimes when reading the said paper I think that it must have been

"A page of the [*Cape*] *Times* the Devil read,  
Then threw it down. Ahem!  
I'm the father of lies, I know, he said,  
But I'm damned if I father them!"

"A coloured woman named Sarah Daniels, who presented a pitiable sight on Saturday morning as she stood in the Police Court, was charged with being found wandering about without visible means of support. On Friday she was found in a state of starvation by a constable, who 'humanely' took her to the station. She had been for some time in the hospital, and since she left it she had nowhere to go to. Mr. Crosby passed a sentence of fourteen days' imprisonment." If the "visibility" of the stockbroking, shareholding, dividend-hunting gentry's means of support were demanded, the gaol would have a good many more insiders. And on the whole, it would be the best place for them, until they had learnt to earn their living honestly.

The *Eastern Star* (Johannesburg paper), commenting on the dilapidated state of the prison and the need of its repair, says that there are "176 scoundrels inside it." The population of Johannesburg is about 25,000. What a terrible large number of scoundrels there must be at large, to be sure. The difference in this case is that "the cute legal scoundrels are outside, the simple unauthorised ones in."

The scarcity of food tended to bring the strike of engineers, blacksmiths, etc., in Johannesburg to an end, but not before the demands of the men had in most cases been granted.

In Matabeleland the natives are beginning to scent danger and have driven most of the whites out. Colonel Carrington, who is near Matabeleland with a force of border police reports that he expects to be attacked every day by the Matabeles and that he is dissatisfied with the small force at his disposal. I expect to be in Matabeleland about March, and if there is fighting going on then shall be more likely to take sides with the Matabeles, who are a brave, manly tribe, than with the Rudd-Rhodes Syndicate. J. B.

## LITERARY NOTES.

The *National Economist*, of Washington, D.C., is the organ of the Farmer's and Labourer's Union of America, and so far as we can see from the numbers which have as yet come to hand, is a "live" paper, solid and square for labour interests and progress generally.

Ten years is the average life of the London dock labourer who sticks to it, and the wages never reach above 30 cents an hour. The worst English prisons do not succeed in using up an average man in less than 15 years, a margin of five years thus standing in their favour. Why wonder at crime in London.—*Boston Herald*.

SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.—There seems to be a split in the Socialistic Labour party. With Socialistic aspiration after a better state of things we have great sympathy, but with Socialistic politics none at all. Politics is necessarily bad because it necessarily involves more or less of lying, humbug, and hypocrisy. Truth and politics cannot live in the same town. Neither ballots nor bullets are necessary to accomplish what most people want done. It is a fallacy to suppose that we must get things done either by ballots or bullets. All that is necessary is that a sufficient number of persons shall want the things done.—*Twentieth Century*.



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## GERMANY.

The intended strike of the bookbinders at Stuttgart has been avoided, the masters of *sixty-five* firms having given way and accepted the new tariff claimed by the workers. Only a very few small employers have not as yet acceded to the toilers demands. Some time ago the bookbinders of Munich also succeeded in bettering their lot, and it is now hoped that their colleagues in every town throughout Germany will soon follow suit.

The German engineers are very busy just now in order to strengthen their organisation, and to induce all the men in that trade to join the existing union. The central committee of their union have sent out emissaries in all parts of the country, and their corporative organ, which is issued at Nürnberg, is rapidly increasing its circulation. At Nürnberg itself the progress of the union has been very rapid; three years ago only 80 members were on the books, and now there are over 1,200. At Stuttgart, the locksmith's union was only formed two or three months ago, and it has already 200 members. They have also in the last-named town founded a professional school, which is frequented by 60 pupils.

The male and female workers in the hosiery line at Chemnitz (Saxony), who have been on strike for seventeen days, have now resumed work after having won a complete victory. They have obtained in the various parts of their trade an increase of wages of from 5 to 15 per cent., the system of fines has been reduced, and an official scale of wages has to be placarded in all the workshops.

The 8th part of the "Berliner Arbeiter-Bibliothek" (Berlin Worker's Library) has just been issued. It is entitled, "Die wirtschaftlichen Umwälzungen unserer Zeit und die Entwicklung der Sozialdemokratie" (The economical Revolutions of our Time, and the Development of Social Democracy), by comrade Max Schippel, chief editor of the Berlin *Volks Tribune*, 32 pages, small 8vo, for 1½d.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Our Vienna comrades have started a new organ, which will defend in a satirical manner the interests of the working-classes. It is entitled, *Gluhlichter* (Glow-lights), humoristic-satirical worker's paper. To begin with, it is to appear fortnightly, under the editorship of comrades Hans Czermak, administrator of *Vorwaerts* (Forward), the organ of the book-printers' unions of Austria, and Hans Bernauer, compositor. The editorial address is, H. Bernauer, VIII., Lenaugasse, No. 16, Vienna; and the address of the administration, *Gluhlichter*, I., Am Bergel, No. 1, Vienna. We wish our humouristic comps over there good luck in their venture.

## RUSSIA.

Last week we took from the telegraphic messages of the daily press the sad tidings of Tchernyschewsky's death, and announced at the same time that we intended in the present issue of this paper to deal at some length with the life and works of the founder of scientific revolutionary Socialism in Russia. We are now glad to say, in contradiction of this press news, that the illustrious sociologist is not dead at all, but on the contrary enjoys at the present time rather good health. Again, the news respecting his *free pardon*, which was here given some weeks ago, must be contradicted. We have the authority of Dr César De Paepe, the translator into French of Tchernyschewsky's economical works, for stating that he has only been transferred from Astrakan to Saratoff, where he is still under *severe police supervision*. But in this last place of confinement the Czar's heroic victim is at liberty to devote himself to scientific work. He has already written, under the *nom de plume* of Andreief, several essays in a Russian review. He has also translated into Russian language Weber's Universal History. It is announced that he is now engaged on a considerable critical work on Karl Marx's 'Capital.' We are exceedingly glad to be able to communicate these good tidings to our readers, and we earnestly hope that he may be preserved for a long time to come to the cause of Socialism, for which he has suffered twenty-five years of his life in the mines and in the prisons of Siberia.

## HOLLAND.

On the 3rd November last the cigarmakers of Holland and Belgium met in a conference at the Hague and discussed the following agenda: 1. Situation of the two countries in relation to their trade; 2. Creation of branches both in Holland and Belgium, and of one general union for both countries; 3. Trades unions and their interference with politics; 4. Nomination of a committee for the organisation of an international cigarmakers' congress; 5. Ways and means by which to obtain a reduction of the work hours; 6. Ways and means by which to obtain equal wages for male and female workers; 7. Creation of a trade organ for both countries. We have not as yet received the minutes of the proceedings of the Hague conference, but we may say that the convening of an international congress of cigarmakers has been decided for the month of September 1890, and the trades organ *De Sigarenmaker* (Cigarmaker) of Amsterdam has been declared the official paper of the union.

VICTOR DAVE.

## GREECE.

Here is one of those events which are of frequent occurrence in Greece, that ancient centre of civilisation, where all the royalties of Europe were gathered the other day to sanction, by the royal wedding at Athens, the sway of the capitalists and the exploiters. An Athenian (landowner, capitalist, and lawyer) was killed by a peasant lass of seventeen, Chariclea Verthi, whom he violated in a country house. The girl was working hard on his estate for a miserable wage, on which her family depended, her brother and father being out of employment. The rich lawyer, against whom the girl fought desperately but in vain, went to sleep after his brutal achievement, but the Greek heroine determined to lodge a bullet in his head. This she did by means of the sporting gun of her sleeping enemy, which was hung above his bed, and delivered herself afterwards to the police, saying that she had exterminated one of the enemies of the honour and happiness of her class. This little social drama shows that even in that young nation of modern Hellenes, who but for the politicians, might make rapid progress in civilisation, the rich class are the most immoral element of the community; and on the other hand it shows that the poor are full of the spirit of rebellion against bourgeois tyranny.

P. E. D.

Bow LIBERAL CLUB, Broke House, Ford Street, Roman Road, E.—Sunday Nov. 17, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw, "Radicalism and Social Democracy."  
STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Nov. 17, at 8.30, Henry Harris, M.R.C.S., "Birmingham and Manchester; a Comparison."

## THE AGE.

(HENRICH HEINE. Translated by EMMA LAZARUS.)

My heart is heavy; from the present  
It yearns towards those old days again,  
When still the world seemed fair and pleasant,  
And men lived happy, free from pain.

Now all things seem at six and sevens;  
A scramble, and a constant dread;  
Dead is the Lord God in the heavens,  
Below us is the Devil dead.

And all folks sad and mournful moving,  
Wear such a cold, cross, anxious face;  
Were there not still a little loving,  
There would not be a resting-place.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 23, 1889.

17	Sun.	1794. J. Horne Tooke tried at the Old Bailey for "high treason," an alleged conspiracy to "depose the King and overturn the constitution." 1830. Revolt of Warsaw. 1838. Battle of Prescott, Upper Canada, between royal troops and rebels.
18	Mon.	1811. Stocking-weavers' riots at Nottingham, caused by the introduction of frames, which threw many out of employment. 1838. First number of the <i>Northern Star</i> , Leeds, weekly, 4½d. 1887. Law and Liberty League founded.
19	Tues.	1792. Decree of fraternity and assistance to all peoples passed by French Convention. 1798. Wolfe Tone died in prison, having lingered a week since his attempted suicide. 1827. Election riots in Paris; barricades thrown up; several deaths. 1879. Michael Davitt, Killen, and Daly arrested for "sedition," in being active in the anti-rent agitation.
20	Wed.	1887. Socialist and Radical demonstration in Hyde Park.
21	Thur.	1768. First letter of "Junius" in <i>Public Advertiser</i> . 1838. Anti Poor Law riot at Todmorden. 1852. Napoleon III. "elected" Emperor. 1880. Colonel J. W. Peard ("Garibaldi's Englishman") died.
22	Fri.	1641. Carrying of the "Grand Remonstrance." 1838. Suicide of Robert Watson, secretary to Lord George Gordon at the time of the riots, and afterwards member of the London Corresponding Society. 1861. Thomas Slingsby Duncombe died. 1887. Swearing-in of special constables in London began.
23	Sat.	1499. Perkin Warbeck hanged. 1805. William Cobbett gives evidence for the Crown against Mr. Justice Johnson, on trial before the King's Bench for libel on the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. 1834. Rowland Dettrosier died. 1867. Judicial murder of Allan, Larkin, and O'Brien at Manchester. 1884. Unemployed riots in Paris; desperate fighting between workmen and police and gendarmes.

## SOCIALISM IN LEEDS.

WE have been so eaten up with work in this town of late that report-writing for the *Commonweal* had to be left over. The Builders' Labourers' Union which we had the pleasure of inaugurating, and which came out so victoriously from the strike it was engaged in, now numbers over 900 members and has about £300 in hand. No sooner was their business settled than an agitation arose amongst the gas-workers, and a great number of meetings have been held in connection with their grievances, at which the various speakers of our society have taken part. Our rooms have been thrown open to them during the agitation, and matters are rapidly coming to a crisis. Another week will see them out on strike, and Leeds in darkness, if their demands are not conceded. A meeting in connection with the gas-workers' question was held on Sunday last, at which about 5,000 were present.

In addition to our work amongst the gas-men, we have been agitating amongst the tailoresses with the object of forming them into a union. A meeting was held a couple of weeks ago at one of the Board schools, and a goodly number of names enrolled. Our work has been greatly accelerated by a strike at one of the shops, where 600 girls and women came out, and the union now numbers about 1,500 members. The strike still continues, and when I mention that about two public meetings are held each day, you will perceive that our hands are full. The girls have been out about ten days (as I now write), and about £250 has been collected for them. A local paper has opened a strike fund, and is giving prominence to the dispute, devoting a couple of pages daily. When I tell you that several column "interviews" with various members of our body have appeared in the press, you will perceive that Socialism is going ahead and becoming more tolerable—mayhap perforce—to the "respectables."

With all this on our hands, we have had to find time to go around and give the municipal candidates fits; and only last week a deputation of workmen came to our club and asked for assistance, as they intend striking. As the delegates represented about 400 men, lively times are anticipated. We shall try to form them into a branch of the N. U. G. W. & G. L.

Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., once instanced Leeds as a town where Socialism could never take root. We hope within a very short period to make it such a hotbed of Socialism that Mr. Broadhurst will be unable to get a following.

I will report again in a couple of weeks as things develope.

P.

The Hartford (Conn.) *Examiner*, in a recent editorial, says: "What is the primal cause of all the poverty, suffering, and misery we behold in the world? Our answer would unhesitatingly be, the want of thought among the people. The majority of the people don't think, particularly the honest ones, therefore they are a prey to those who do."



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism, as distinguished from Individualist Anarchism on the one hand, and Parliamentary State Socialism on the other. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

Advertisements can only be inserted if unobjectionable in all particulars. Scale of charges and special quotations may be obtained from the Manager.

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Remittances should be made in postal orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. K. WILKINS (Dunedin, N. Z.).—Have written you by last mail. Can you help us to get news and correspondence from your part of the world?  
“CENSORIOUS.”—If there were fewer fine-spun fringes on your belief there would be a chance of more down-right earnest in your work. A wise pioneer does not trouble about whether a cross or a crescent is marked on the handle of a comrade's axe; he looks to the edge of his own and hews right on.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 13.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Knights of Labor	SWITZERLAND
Die Autonomie	Vorbote	Arbeiterstimme
Freedom	Cincinnati (O.) Volks-Anwalt	ITALY
Justice	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Tribune	Philadelphia—United Labour	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	Princeton (Mass.)—Word	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Seville—La Solidaridad
Social Demokrat	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
cafaring	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
ilmarnock Standard	Altruist	Porto—A Revolucao Social
New South WALES	Washington—Natl. Economist	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	Paris—Le Proletariat	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Bourse du Travail	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
UNITED STATES	La Revue Europeenne	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme.
New York—Twentieth Century	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	DENMARK
Der Sozialist	HOLLAND	Copenhagen—Arbejdereen
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Middelburg—Licht en Waarheid	SWEDEN
Jewish Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	Malmö—Arbeter
United Irishman	Antwerp—De Werker	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung		Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts

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Exchanges and Correspondents Please Note.

THE ART CONGRESS.

LAST week was an eventful one with us in Edinburgh. Not that we can say the Art Congress has, from a general point of view, been a success. On the contrary, the members have been few and the papers seldom brilliant. It started badly. The Marquis of Lorne may be an excellent person, but he made a poor president. There was a select audience of about four hundred to hear his opening address, but to three-fourths of them it was mere pantomime of a rather awkward kind. I was disposed to consider myself one of the victims, but on talking the matter over with one of the apparently privileged order on the platform he assured me my position was the more enviable. A glance at the address in the newspapers went a long way to convince me he was right. The marquis, however, is hardly to blame for his ludicrous suggestions or incoherent commonplace. He makes no pretention either to have any knowledge of or any interest in art; and if the Association are such frightful snobs as to be satisfied with an empty title, they must take the consequences. There was a want of sincerity indicated in such a selection, and it was also manifested in many of the papers. The faddists were of course present in great numbers, with their pet schemes for the Encouragement of Home Industries, and such like. Worthy people they are, no doubt, and one would never think of visiting their proposals with unqualified condemnation: some good may result from them. One might tolerate them if they talked with more humility about them. It is when they pose as the regenerators of society and submit their little schemes as panaceas for our social ills we regret their want of insight. They had their innings, but we found them tedious, because, with due allowance for good intentions, they promised to heal but very slightly the hurts of the people.

Needless to say there were also a few Philistines, who distinguished themselves by attacking Ruskin and his doctrine of morality in art. One might have sympathised with them if convinced their hostility had been directed to the morality of Pharaism. We have too much of this miserable conventionality everywhere, but we felt somehow the critics had more than their own share of it; for after all, the morality of Ruskin is nothing more than fidelity of execution and sincerity of purpose. One has merely to define morality on its practical side as an attempt to get into right relations with each other and the objects around us, to realise the impossibility of any genuine art existing without it. The absence of this very morality not only accounted for much that was irrelevant in this criticism of Ruskin, but might also explain some defects in the productions of many of our artists. It must, however, be confessed they are not as a class conspicuous for the want of it. Quite the contrary. They are not only much more susceptible to beauty, but also in consequence more capable of generosity. The Socialists, for this reason, carried off the honours of the Congress. Their merits no doubt entitled them to do so, but still it was to the credit of the members they were so appreciative. The presidential address of our comrade Morris drew the largest gathering of the week. He was in fine form, and delivered his weighty words in splendid style. Nothing could have been better than the impression produced, for the audience not merely admired its ability, but were moved by its reasoning.

The most successful meetings of all, however, were perhaps the lectures given to working men. These were led off by Morris and Crane and finished by Walker and Sanderson. We were not only much gratified by the reception given by the artizans to our comrades, but proud also to think they had been found most competent to address them on matters relative to their handicrafts.

Crane and Morris also lectured under the auspices of the Socialists to fashionable audiences in a West-end hall. The charges were high, and the attendance, considering the time and weather, was good. Crane's subject was “The Educational Value of Art,” and it took well. He was in good form, and his illustrations of the Crag Baron, the Bag Baron, and the Capitalist elephant on the tortoise of Labour were most effective and instructive. Morris lectured on “The Origins of Ornamental Art.” We hope he will soon publish it, for, as one of the audience remarked, it was the best lecture he had heard given by Morris. It was too rich food, however, for many of them to assimilate at once, but they understood enough of it to see Socialism was not the vain thing they had been taught to believe. It would, in short, be hardly possible to exaggerate the amount and value of the work done in public and private during the past week by our comrades in this city.

The proceedings terminated on Friday night by a regular Socialist meeting, with Crane in the chair and Morris as speaker. It was not only well attended in point of numbers, but the quality of the audience was also excellent.

The Branch held a Social in honour of our comrades at the close, and kept it up with speech and song to “the wee short hours ayont the twal.” Altogether we have been refreshed and strengthened by the visit of our comrades from London. G.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

## ANNIVERSARY OF CHICAGO MARTYRS AND BLOODY SUNDAY.

THE South Place Institute was overcrowded last Monday with an enthusiastic audience, which vociferously cheered the songs and speeches, and unanimously voted the resolutions submitted to it.

The proceedings opened by the choir singing "*When the People have their own again*," after which the following resolution was moved by the chairman in a brief and simple speech:—

"That this meeting, having heard with deep regret of the death of Lulu, the youngest child of their murdered comrade, Albert R. Parsons, desires unanimously to express its unfeigned and fraternal sympathy with the widowed and bereaved mother, and to assure her of their participation in her great sorrow."

The choir then sang Parsons' favourite, "*Annie Laurie*," after which the first resolution was moved by C. W. Mowbray (S.L.) and seconded by James Blackwell (Freedom Group); F. Feigenbaum (Berner Street Club), Lothrop Withington, and Peter Kropotkin supported, the latter making pathetic reference to an episode of Siberian life which had recently come to light, and asking the meeting to include the Russian comrades in their memory with the martyrs:—

"That this meeting, called together to commemorate the legal murder of four men in Chicago on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel), the driving to suicide of another (Lingg) in prison, and the cruel imprisonment of three more (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe), by the government of the State of Illinois, for the crime of encouraging workmen on strike and helping them to carry on the struggle against their masters, and the further crime of trying to maintain the rights of free speech and public meeting, calls the attention of the workmen of the world to the gradual abrogation of these rights in all capitalistic countries, and while emphatically denouncing the tyrannical interference with these elementary rights, points out that it is a natural and necessary result of a so-called Society based upon the robbery of Labour."

A collection was then taken, and realised £5 19s.

After a few minutes recess, "*Linnell's Death Song*" was sung by the choir, and the second resolution was moved by Frank Kitz, seconded by William Morris, and supported by D. J. Nicoll:—

"That this meeting also denounces the similar attack on free speech and the right of public meeting in London on Sunday, November 13, 1887, through which three men were killed (Linnell, Curwen, and Connell), one (Harrison) so injured that he died after a painful and lingering illness, and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial, and it again calls for the immediate and unconditional release of George Harrison, condemned to five years' penal servitude for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

During the evening several telegrams (which will be printed in full next week) were received and read to the meeting, eliciting loud applause.

The meeting closed at a late hour by singing the "*Marseillaise*," and giving three cheers for the Social Revolution.

## BURIAL OF LULU PARSONS.

On Wednesday, 16th October, Lulu E. Parsons, the only and deeply-loved daughter of our dead comrade Parsons—the child of his hope and his most ardent love—was buried near the eastern boundary of Waldheim Cemetery, Chicago. Mrs. Kinsella, Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Sund, and Mrs. Appel were the pall-bearers, and there were a large number of mourners and many tributes and signs of sympathy. The casket, a plain white one, was literally covered with flowers. The name "Lulu" appeared in immortelles on several wreaths. Bright red ribbons streamed from two or three. Mrs. Parsons stood with difficulty while the casket was borne past her to the grave, and sat down on the turf when the simple ceremonies began. Mr. Holmes stood beside the coffin, which was uncovered, and made a brief pathetic address, in the course of which he said: "The child who gave such bright promise of womanhood is gone from our midst; cut off in the early springtime of her life. For more than a year she bore her sufferings; bore them with sweet, uncomplaining patience that excited wonder and admiration in all who knew her; bore them even with cheerfulness, for her's was a disposition of gladness and sunshine. Time was when she was the pride of a fond father's heart; that father who paid the penalty of a crime the most heinous of which civilisation can conceive, the crime of loving oppressed humanity better than himself, the crime of loving justice and truth more than power and pelf. She was the light of her mother's eye; that mother who stands desolate and alone in her overpowering grief—twice stricken by the remorseless hand of Destiny. To those of you who knew our little Lulu I need speak no word of praise. To know was to admire and love her. To you who knew not, or scarcely knew this child, I will say she was one of the brightest, fairest flowers ever gathered into the bosom of our common mother. She was beautiful, and gave promise of a more beautiful womanhood. She was gentle, and good, and patient; loving and lovable. She was a beam of sunshine, reflecting the radiance of all that is good and glad in nature; and she gave abundant promise of superior intellectual force, of rare versatility and talent. And yet she was but a child—a child in years and in feeling; not precocious or self-conscious in the least, but happy, frolicsome, gay as a butterfly. Such was the little creature for whom we join this stricken mother in mourning." At the conclusion of the address Mrs. Kinsella sang "*Annie Laurie*" in a sweet, subdued voice, and the friends then slowly filed by to take a last look at the waxen face beneath the glass. This over, Mrs. Parsons quickly went away, the coffin was lowered into the grave, and very soon the little Anarchist maid was sleeping near her murdered father under a canopy of flowers.

The Montreal *Witness* alleges that at Woodstock, Ontario, a number of once useful, but now feeble and helpless poor men, are in prison just because they are poor. The climax is reached in the statement that a lady, a scholarly and accomplished Scotswoman, the cousin of a pioneer Presbyterian D.D. and the widow of a Baptist deacon, is now lying in jail because of her helpless poverty. It is hard to believe these statements.—*Christian Leader*.—They are not so much unlike what we have here. It requires little effort to believe and know them—even in Scotland.—G. McL.

## IN AUSTRALIA.

SINCE the last communication to the *Commonweal* an incident of a most striking and startling nature has come to light. In the last letter from here a short epitome of the A. A. Co. Glebe Pit disaster was given, and the verdict of the coroners' jury stated. Since then, however, the rescue party have discovered the whole of the buried men, and the philanthropic company which murdered them in its rush for gold has kindly condescended to pay the expenses of their second burial, on account, probably, of the profit their previous burial (alive) brought it. The rescue party left the crosscut to work in Murphy's heading, with the object of finding deputy-overman Hodson and Messrs. Meadows, Grant, and Beaumont. On Tuesday 3rd inst. the body of Hodson was found at the end of a forty-five yard passage which he and his fellow-sufferers had scraped out with their hands and a piece of tin. His body was well preserved, and the features were actually recognisable, after being buried alive for eight or nine weeks. His fellow-victims were found forty-five yards away, their bodies being dried and parched, besides being wasted away by the starvation they had endured. It was decided by the coroner that an inquest should be held on the body of Hodson. At the inquest evidence was advanced to substantiate the insinuation made by the vast majority, that they had actually died of starvation. At the last moment Dr. Harris gave it as his medical opinion that the men had not died of starvation, but had died of suffocation about forty-eight hours after the occurrence of the disaster. However, evidence is brought forward in the shape of a food-tin with the following inscription scratched upon it with a pin: "John Meadows 30 years 7 days starvation," which completely disproves that assertion. It is now rumoured that Dr. Harris was got at by the company, who endeavoured to save some of their ill-gotten gains from going back to the murdered men's relatives. However, proof is wanting. The inquest is adjourned, so we do not know what the verdict will be; but if we were on the jury it would be one of wilful murder against the A. A. Co. And right here let me give the reason for those four men being in the pit and entombed as they were to die slowly and horribly from want of food and air and water. The manager, fearing that a fall was going to occur, sent down the deputy-overman with the three others stated to extract a Tangye pump and save it from being buried and lost to the A. A. Co. Seeing that the company knew exactly where these men were, anyone would have expected them to make an effort to save their lives; but no! they left that for the State to do.

Seeing that the State had to come to the rescue, and seeing that the poor slaves of the company were sacrificed in an attempt at saving a paltry pump, the reader may not unnaturally be inclined to think that the A. A. Company is a poor company struggling along for a bare existence. Let the following report tell its own tale: "The A. A. Company in their report state that the accounts for 1888 show the following balances for the year: Unappropriated capital, £10,966; net revenue earned £113,887; amount available for dividend, £102,988. The dividend paid in February absorbed £80,100; and it is proposed to appropriate a further £50,000 to the payment of a second dividend at the same rate—viz., 50s. per share. The total sum distributed in dividend in 1888 will thus amount to £100,000, or 25 per cent. on the total capital." Figures and facts which, read in connection with the murderous details already given, show the character of this company. But the character of this company is that of the whole capitalist system, which produces such monstrosities.

Great sympathy is felt here for the London dock-labourers in their strike, and subscriptions are pouring in from all sides. The sum they are fighting for is just half what the dock-labourers get here. So many subscriptions are coming in from capitalists that some of us are beginning to suspect them of making a move to attract attention and cause a wholesale emigration to Australia, to reduce the wages of labour here when the time comes round. The labourers here receive twice as much in wages as in London, but pay away thrice as much in rent, which causes a considerable increase in the cost of living, and so brings their wages to about the same as in England. We still have, both in Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, and New South Wales, our usual body of unemployed, numbering in all about 10,000 or 12,000, they being a necessary part of the capitalist system.

The *Australian Radical*, though it has severed its connection with the Australian Socialist League, is still hard at work preaching Socialism. Its circulation is gradually increasing, and there is good hope that it will soon be able to resume its old size. The Melbourne Socialists are working very hard, and with apparent success. The Sydney Socialists are considerably reduced in number by recent events; although the principles they advocate are fast taking root. Unflinching energy can alone make the movement a success, and here, as elsewhere, there is none too much of it. However, a right good work is being done with what we have, and you may confidently look for great developments on this continent before very long.

With fraternal greetings to all comrades,

J. E. ANDERTON.

Radical Office, Hamilton, near Newcastle, N.S.W., Sept. 10.

## SOCIALISM IN YARMOUTH.

At the Radical Club, Yarmouth, on Wednesday 6th, Mr. Dawson read his paper on Socialism, which was most abusive. He was well replied to by Reynolds, after which the discussion was adjourned until Wednesday next. On Sunday 10th we celebrated the anniversary of the Chicago murders and Bloody Sunday. In the morning, on Priory Plain, we began by Mrs. Tochatti singing "The Starving Poor," followed by a few remarks from Reynolds; after which Mrs. Schack gave an earnest address on the events we commemorated, explaining their meaning to an audience of over 1,000 people, who listened with great interest. We closed the meeting by singing the "March of the Workers," the audience taking up the chorus with great gusto. In the afternoon, at Colman's Granary, Mrs. Tochatti opened with "Tralfalgar Square" and the "Marseillaise," followed by Ruffold, and by Mrs. Schack with a touching address on the Trafalgar Square murders. Mrs. Tochatti then sang the "Carmagnole," and Reynolds addressed the meeting, which closed by singing "The Starving Poor." Reynolds kept up a discussion with a Scotch fisherman who made a little opposition for a long time after the meeting, but Scottie seemed to get the worst of it. In the evening, at same place, Mrs. Tochatti opened with "Annie Laurie," followed by Mrs. Schack with another long and earnest address, in which she appealed to the Yarmouth people to accept Socialism. After Mrs. Tochatti had sung "Linnell's Death Song," Reynolds followed, again bringing the Scotchman to the front with his Christianity. We closed with the "Marseillaise," after which we adjourned to comrade Headley's, and spent the remainder of the night (up to 1 a.m.) in singing revolutionary songs, with the help of comrade H.'s fiddle. 36 *Commonweal* sold, 6s. 4½d. collected, and good sale of literature.

J. H.



## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

### The Railway Men.

The union is increasing rapidly. John Burns stated in his speech at the Priory Hall, Vauxhall, "that the General Railway Worker's Union had within a month enrolled in London alone 3,000 members. Of 6,000 men employed at the Broad Street Goods Depot of the London and North-Western Railway, 536 joined the union last Wednesday, and as a result of that union already many of the London and North-Western Company's guards, drivers, firemen, and platelayers had secured a rise of 2s., 3s., and in some cases 4s. a-week." The union is also getting a fair hold in the provinces. It now numbers over 6,000 members.

### The Wharf Men.

Most of the men who came out on the Surrey side last week against the deduction for the meal-times, have gained their point. It is evident that the capitalists are routed all along the line. The workers seem victorious everywhere.

### The Lightermen.

We are glad to hear that the men have won. The masters, doubtless, thought the Mansion House Committee and Lord Brassey (the arbitrator) would side with them, but they have found out their little mistake. The middle-class have had quite enough of strikes at the docks, and they don't want any more. There was great danger if the lightermen held out, that every one at the docks would soon be out also, so the Lord Mayor, the conciliation committee, and the arbitrator suddenly ranged themselves on the side of the men, to the great disgust of the masters, who complained pathetically that it was all through that John Burns, who had got such powers of speech that he could talk over our Lord Mayors. When we take into consideration the danger of the work of lightermen upon the river at night, and how many lives of these over-worked men are yearly drowned in the gloomy waters of the Thames, we can only be glad that such work will be largely diminished in the future.

### The Silvertown Strike.

A number of the girls on strike at Silvertown were summoned before Mr. Bagallay charged with the serious crime of intimidating the blacklegs employed at Silver's works. The intimidation consisted of a free expression of opinion in the form of hooting and hissing. To the great dissatisfaction of the firm and their philanthropic manager Mr. Gray, none of these youthful criminals suffered severely for their "wicked" behaviour, Mr. Bagallay merely binding them over in their own recognisances of £5 to come up for judgment when called upon. The company have therefore not gained much by this attempt to legally intimidate the strikers. The directors are also trying another form of intimidation; they are removing their machinery to France, with the help of certain members of the Society of Engineers, who are thus disgracing themselves by fighting against their poorer and weaker brethren. What can be said of these people—who have been repeatedly asked to "come out," but have always declined—but that they are blacklegs of the worst type? There is some excuse for a poor starving wretch who does a mean action for the sake of a crust of bread, but there is none for members of the wealthiest trade union in England, who have deliberately lent themselves to such meanness. If they have not manhood enough to do their duty, their society ought to make them do it.

The strikers distributed numerous copies of a manifesto at their meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, in which Lord Salisbury, Conservative Prime Minister, and Edmond Robertson, Radical M.P., are denounced as shareholders who gain their dividends from the slave-driving of English men and women. The *Daily News* objects to this sort of thing, and says that a man is not responsible because he holds shares in such a concern. No doubt the editor knows that many respectable Liberal philanthropists are partners in such iniquity, and fears that they also may be exposed.

### Impending Strike of Bakers.

It is evident that the workmen and their masters are on the verge of a severe struggle. The masters held a meeting, at which they decided to stick to their proposal of twelve hours work instead of the ten hours a-day which the men demanded. The men wisely decided, in spite of the interested advice of the capitalist press, to insist upon the ten hours limit, and last Saturday, Oct. 9th, they sent in their notices. Already the wisdom of this course has been shown, for over a thousand masters have given way, among them the notorious Bread Union, the boss of which, Mr. Bouthorne, declared a little while ago that he would never give in to the union demands. Now, however, the serving of the notices has cooled his warlike ardour, and in the 250 shops of the Bread Union the ten hours limit will prevail. The bakers held a splendid demonstration in Hyde Park last Sunday. It was a fine afternoon, which reminded you more of the succession of bright Sundays which accompanied the demonstrations of dockers during their famous strike, than the usual dull and gloomy weather which you expect at this period of the year. Many of those who were present declared that there were if anything more people in the Park than during some of the dockers' demonstrations. One thing was quite certain, the enthusiasm ran quite as high as ever it did during any demonstration held during what we may call the great strike period. The bakers appeared in high spirits, and rejoiced greatly in the popular favour accorded to them. The central figure of the demonstration of course was John Burns, who seemed in good form, judging from the vigorous applause that rang out from the listening crowd. The enthusiasm was literally at boiling point at John's platform. On the whole, the demonstration was an immense success, and we imagine that any master present would feel forced at once, by its size and enthusiasm, to surrender as quickly as possible.

### Bury Gas Stokers.

On Saturday, the gas stokers and about two-thirds of the yardmen at the Bury Corporation Gasworks struck. For some time the men have been employed at 4s. 8d. a day of twelve hours, and they have asked for 5s. a day of eight hours. Their demands were conceded, and it was thought everything had been arranged. The yardmen asked for 22s. per week in place of £1, and time and a half for Sunday. The price paid was 5s. per day for every two tons of coal carbonised, but as some of the men did not carbonise the full quantity a proportionate reduction in their wages was made. This the

men resented, insisting that they should be paid the full 5s. and price and a quarter for all coal gas carbonised above that quantity. When the men asked for the interview they said they must have it in half an hour or the committee must wait their time. The committee offered to comply with the men's requests; the men then produced a document which they demanded that the committee should sign, saying they were the Manchester terms. The committee declined to sign, but promised if there were any differences in carrying out the arrangements to remedy them on explanation. The men refused these conditions, and would not return to work. A number of fire brigade labourers and others were got to work, but of course they were not equal to all the strikers. The committee are offering 5s. a day to labourers, but cannot get enough rats to go on with. A large staff of police are on duty at the gasworks. The streets last Sunday night were in darkness.

### Bristol Cotton-workers.

These are still out. The first distribution of strike relief took place last week, and on Sunday the strikers demonstrated at the principal churches in the city. The directors still continue obdurate, and the struggle promises to be a long one. Funds are urgently needed.

### The Leeds Gas Workers.

On Saturday, the Gas Committee put an end to the dispute between them and their employés at the different gas works in Leeds. The demands of the men, comprising a reduction of hours and an increase of wages, represented an advance of nearly 40 per cent., which the committee thought was unreasonable. They offered 20 per cent. advance, but the men held out, with the result that they have secured their full terms. The only alternative was a strike on their part, and this must have entailed very serious consequences. The men had taken care that, in the event of their demands being refused, there would not be gas in stock sufficient to last beyond Tuesday night or Wednesday morning. Three hundred retorts could not be made productive last week, because the men would not allow the rats to enter the works for that purpose. The pressure of gas had to be reduced both on Friday and Saturday. The committee were thus placed in great straits, and had to give in to the men, for they were not prepared to take the grave responsibility of allowing the town to be without gas.

### Strike of Quay Labourers in Cork.

The labourers of Penrose's and other quays in Cork to the number of over a hundred, struck on Saturday for an increase of wages. The men put forward a demand for an advance of 1d. an hour (from 4d. to 5d.) in the day rate, and an advance from 4d. to 5d. in the night work. The ordinary employés of the Cork Steamship Companies have not joined the strike, and are not expected to do so.

### STRAIGHT TALK TO A TIMID MAN.

A MAN in San Pasquale, California, is in a state of mind because he owns a farm, which he fears some of these desperate reformers will be for taking away from him. So he writes to the *Twentieth Century* that "confiscation of land is not right. I have a little farm of 320 acres, and it represents a life of toil to me, and I think no one else has any right to it." And the answer he receives is:

"This is a pretty good specimen of the way in which a good many people approach the consideration of questions of right and wrong. They don't begin by asking, Is this thing right? Does duty to my fellow-men require that I should act thus and so? What they want to know is, how it is going to affect them—what it is going to do for them—what it is going to take from them—what will be its cost or profit. 'I have a 320 acre farm,' says our San Pasquale friend. 'Your reform would take it away from me. Therefore your reform must be contrary to justice.' That was just the principle that lay at the bottom of all the pro-slavery arguments a generation ago.

"This San Pasquale farmer lives in a State in which only a small fraction of the earth's surface is being utilised for any purpose whatever. Let him stand upon the nearest unused tract of land—I guess he won't have to go far from his own house door to reach it—and ask himself this question: 'Is it conceivable that any man, or any body or assemblage of men—any individual, corporation, or community—can have a moral right to forbid me or any other man to go to work on this land and produce things by applying labour to it?' Never mind whether it injures men to be so forbidden or not—that is a secondary question. The real question is, Is it right to forbid them? If my San Pasquale friend will ask that question of his soul, and keep on asking until he gets an answer, he will find the gospel of emancipation illumined with a sudden light, that will reveal its beauty and its glory to him as he never dreamed of them.

"Only let San Pasquale be honest. If no man or body of men have a right to forbid any man to apply his labour to any piece of land that no one else is using, then the man who compels his fellow-man to pay, in money or in kind, for the privilege of using vacant land is a thief, no matter if a thousand statute laws are passed to make his stealing legal. And the duty that this San Pasquale farmer owes to himself and his fellow-men is to denounce the stealing. Whether the result will be the loss of his 320 acre farm or not is altogether beside the question. Men who stand by and see their neighbours' pockets picked, and say nothing about it for fear of something happening to themselves, are simply cowards.

"But San Pasquale need not be afraid. If he is really using 320 acres of land, he has a right to use it, and nobody has a right to forbid him, or to make him pay one penny for the privilege. And if he will think a little, he will see that the best thing that could happen for him would be that other men should be allowed to use land too, without being blackmailed for it. For the crops that San Pasquale raises on his 320 acres are of mighty little value to him, unless other people are utilising other tracts of land to produce things to give him in exchange for his crops; and the more other men produce, the better will be the market for what he himself produces. The corner-stone of civilisation is the Golden Rule—the simple law of justice. If our San Pasquale farmer wants prosperity and happiness for himself, he can secure those blessings only by seeing to it that others are not deprived of them by theft and rapine."

The nutrition of a commonwealth consisteth in the plenty and distribution of materials conducing to life. As for the plenty of matter, it is a thing limited by nature to those commodities which, from (the two breasts of our common mother) land and sea, God usually either freely giveth, or for labour selleth to mankind. For the matter of this nutriment, consisting in animals, vegetables, minerals, God hath freely laid them before us, in or near to the face of the earth, so as there needeth no more but the labour and industry of receiving them. Inasmuch that plenty (next to God's favour) dependeth on the labour and industry of man. Hobbes: *Leviathan*, 1651.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—F. C. S. S., 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; J. Rose, 1s.; A. J., 1s.; R. J., 1s.; J. B. G., 1s.; and B. W., 6d.

## REPORTS.

**EAST LONDON.**—Splendid meeting on Triangle held in Commemoration of Chicago Martyrs, addressed by Davis and Cores; in hall, meeting addressed by Cantwell, Davis, and Cores; very good impression made.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road; speakers were R. J. Lyne and J. F. Lyne; all *Commonweal* sold. J. Turner lectured to a good audience on the subject of "A Working Man as a Socialist"; a good muster in room.

**SOUTHWARK.**—At Bricklayer's Hall, on Monday, Nov. 4th, comrades Cores, Mowbray, and Samuels debated the question of "Foreign Competition and English Labour" with Messrs. Pettifer, Edgcombe (editor of *Fair Trade*), and W. F. Drew (Tory candidate for West Southwark). The hall was crammed, and the meeting afforded a good opportunity for preaching the principles of International Revolutionary Socialism to an audience of workmen not very well acquainted with our ideas.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 4th inst., a lecture entitled "Looking Forward," by Professor Orchardson, of New York, was read and discussed. On the 6th, comrade Glasier, of Edinburgh, lectured on "The Ethics of Socialism" to a good audience in the Unitarian Church, the meeting being held under the auspices of the Bon-Accord Inquirers' Society, which is mostly made up of Socialists; comrade Webster occupied the chair. The lecture was very well received, and questions were put at the close. This is the first of a series of lectures to be delivered in the same place, the speakers yet to come being Forrest (Kilmarnock), Webster (Aberdeen), and Walker (Glasgow).

**GLASGOW.**—On Tuesday evening, no meeting held on Cathedral Square, owing to bad weather. On Sunday, at 2 o'clock, Glasier, Joe Burgoyne, Tim Burgoyne, and Gilbert spoke to a good crowd. At 5.30, Joe Burgoyne, Tim Burgoyne, and Gilbert addressed an unusually large meeting at Paisley Road Toll. At 7 o'clock a meeting of members was held in Rooms. On Monday evening the members gathered in Rooms to commemorate the anniversary of the Chicago murders and Bloody Sunday. A resolution testifying the members' devotion to the cause for which our comrades died in Chicago and London was passed, and appropriate speeches, readings, and revolutionary songs were given.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday 10th C. W. Mowbray lectured twice in the Radical Club, Vine Street, to good audiences—morning, "The Chicago Martyrs"; evening, "The Difference between Radicalism and Socialism." The last named was remarkably stirring. The lecturer hit straight from the shoulder, and brought down the house repeatedly, his revolutionary proposals being lustily cheered by Socialists and non-Socialists alike. Collection, 13s. 5d.; *Commonweal* sold, three quires.

**MANCHESTER.**—The branch entertained P. Kropotkin at the club on Nov. 7th, when a most enjoyable evening was passed, none being better satisfied than our comrade, who addressed us in an impressive oration on the progress of the movement. His other engagements did not permit of his giving a public lecture for the League. We held a meeting at Philips Park on Sunday morning; Barton and Bailie spoke; a large number of *Commonweal* and other literature was sold. In the afternoon, a meeting was held at our usual station to organise the carters and lorrymen of all the railway companies. In the evening, at the club, a public meeting commemorating the Chicago martyrs was held. Several comrades spoke in English and Yiddish, and revolutionary songs were sung.

**NORWICH.**—Owing to disappointment of London comrades, commemoration meetings were postponed until 17th inst. Sunday last, good meeting held in the Market, addressed by comrades W. Moore and Swash; both spoke upon the Chicago murders. A meeting was also held at Blofield; comrade Thompson spoke; large quantity of literature distributed. In the evening a meeting was held in the Gordon Hall; comrade Emery opened and Poynts followed; an interesting address upon the Chicago Anarchists was given; discussion followed, after which "Annie Laurie," "All for the Cause," etc., were sung by different comrades. Good sale of literature.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Nov. 9th, T. Hamilton lectured on "What is Malthusianism," opposing the doctrines of Malthus from the Christian standpoint. King, Wilson, O'Gorman, St. Rich, Kavanagh and others spoke.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—We had a busy day here on Sunday. In the morning, in Sneinton Market, Peacock and Proctor held a meeting in support of their candidature at the ensuing School Board elections; 6s. collected for election fund. In the afternoon the gas-stokers held a demonstration, at which Proctor and Peacock spoke. In the evening Proctor presided at a lecture on "Education" at the Secular Hall by Mrs. Annie Besant, and subsequently, with Peacock, Whalley, Knight, and Rooke, addressed a large meeting in Great Market; 6s. collected for election fund.

**SHEFFIELD—COMMEMORATIVE MEETINGS.**—Saturday 16th: Gower Street, at 12.30; Orchard Street, at 7. Sunday 17th: Orchard Street, at 11; Hall of Science Conference, at 3; Tea and Social Gathering, at 5; Lecture by Mowbray on "Revolution or Reform," at 7. Monday 18th, lecture by W. Morris, at St. Paul's Central Schools, at 8—"Socialism."

**SYLLABUS of Lectures**, in connection with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition now open, to be given in the New Gallery, Regent Street, on Thursday evenings, at 8.30 p.m.—Nov. 21st, T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, "The Decoration of Bound Books." 28th, Lewis F. Day, "Ornament." Dec. 5, Walter Crane, "Design and Expression." Admission 2s. 6d.; art students and employees, 1s.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday November 17, at 8 p.m., W. Blundell, "Physical and Mental Starvation."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday November 17, at 7.30, Members' meeting. At 8, meeting on Triangle. At 8.30, W. B. Parker.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. A Lecture, Reading or Discussion every Sunday at 8 p.m. Wednesday Nov. 20, at 8 p.m., W. Morris will lecture on "Gothic Architecture." French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday November 17, at 8 p.m., R. E. Dell will lecture on "Why I am a Socialist."

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m. In the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Tuesday November 19th, at 8 p.m., William Clark will lecture on "A Practicable Labour Programme."

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8.15, Lecture in Gordon Hall by H. Samuels. Monday and Friday, Rehearsals. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, at 8, Social Meeting for members and friends; free.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 16.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Cores

### SUNDAY 17.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....J. F. Lyne and Crouch  
11.30..... Chelsea Embankment ..... Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road.....R. J. Lyne, Maughan, Dean  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street .....Davis  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Kitz  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....The Branch  
11.30..... Starch Green .....The Branch  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Parker and Cores  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....Davis  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Kitz  
8 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....The Branch  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Clerkenwell Green.....The Branch

### TUESDAY 19.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

### THURSDAY 21.

8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Cores

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

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## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not *use*, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto:

**Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,**

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 202.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE success of the bakers' strike is producing the usual crop of advice from the capitalistic press. They are told, for instance, that now would be the time to form a union between the masters and men, a kind of court of conciliation between the two bodies whose interests are opposed to each other by the very nature of the arrangement between masters and men. Fancy a court of conciliation between a Roman landowner, of the time of the great revolt of the slaves, and the unskilled labourers of *his* factory-farm! And then remember that the modern employee and the above-said landowner are essentially in the same position, except that the ancient slave-owner had to *buy* his slave while the modern one has his slave gratis.

Meanwhile, our baker friends no doubt think that they are lucky, and that ten hours is a short days work. I do not; neither will they in a year's time. Besides, of one thing they may be sure, that their masters are even now engaged in considering how and in what form they shall take back the advantages (real ones this time, I admit) which have been gained by the men. As for them, their attitude must be a fighting one, until their fighting has abolished masters and they set themselves to work like men, and are no longer set to work like machines.

Baron Huddleston's zeal for his employers, the governing classes, has probably not done them much good; he has a little overdone it, and made it somewhat clearer than it was before that the impartiality of the law, when it is a question of freedom *versus* respectability, is a transparent fiction. If that pretence were to be maintained, would not a judge, even as a matter of decency, be *expected* to give his charge on some such principles as these?—"I am a Tory, a reactionist, and as such I look on Mrs. Besant's views with the greatest horror; if the jury are to be left free in their verdict, and both sides have fair play, I must all the more not express my personal and party views; so I will just tell them what the law is and not say a word more."

That is what the baron *might have been* expected to say if the governing classes (largely manned by lawyers) cared to keep up even the pretence of fairness in the law courts. But, as it is, no one expected him to do anything but what he did do, that is act as an advocate for the defence. Clearly, therefore, no one expects the law courts to be fair in cases *where any public interest is involved*. And other cases—what business have they to be tried at all at the expense of the public? Our whole system of civil and criminal law is as regards the upper classes, whose instrument it is, a mere muddle of incongruities, and as regards the workers a mere instrument of oppression. And the fact is that the upper classes put up with those preposterous incongruities, *because* in spite of their absurdity they do not injure the system much as an instrument for the oppression of the poor, which is its primary purpose.

Imperial Federation is on its dunghill again, but not crowing very loud in the person of Lord Rosebery, who, though he began with some Jingo sentences of the usual type and ended with conventional rubbish about the Anglo-Saxon race and the Amphictyonic Council, employed the greater part of his time in pointing out with some skill that Imperial Federation is impossible, and that it is a mere party cry to catch votes.

In case any of our readers should be caught by the sound of the word "Federation," I must remind them that this "Imperial Federation" means in the first place, a Jingo competitive scheme for doing as much injury as possible to all peoples and countries outside the British Empire; and in the second place, a plot for setting schemes a-foot for bolstering up the tottering capitalist *régime* by finding new markets for it; that is to say, new commercial fields for the exercise of the "sword of cheapness." It is, in short, one of the dams which the middle-classes are building against the rising flood of Socialism. Happily, it is a dam built of paper and big words.

Mr. Goschen on the stump at Cardiff said some rather smart things about the Liberal party, and amongst others, in answer to cheers for Gladstone, wished that in the new Liberal Government the G. O. M. could have the real ordering of affairs, quoting (naturally with approbation) G. O. M.'s servility about the Royal Grants, and then going on to say that Gladstone would be controlled by Parnell, and his lieutenants by various politicians supposed to be progressive. This is amusing, but couldn't Goschen have carried it further and told us who were to control the controllers? I am afraid that the said controllers, Parnell, Tim Healy, Labouchere, and the rest, are at once too stupid and too political (*i.e.*, false) to allow the people and common sense to control them. They will just stand with staring eyes and gasping mouth, not knowing what to do—but to stick to office.

For the rest, Mr. Goschen was somewhat too optimistic. "The system of limited liability and a wider diffusion of wealth had made working-men capitalists in a small way, and given them not only profits on their wages [what *does* that mean?] but on the capital they invested. Did not this result prove [?!!] the fact that capital was not antagonistic to labour, but was really the accumulated earnings of labour? Capital was no longer regarded as a kind of vampire, for workmen had a large share in the increased prosperity of the country, and they were entitled to it."

Mr. Goschen must have a strong belief in the gullibility of working-men to deliver himself before them of such a mass of lies and twaddle. But he appears to have been justified by the ignorance of the Cardiff workmen, who hooted him for his political views and cheered him for his economics (?). But really, I repeat, he is too optimistic. Things have got a little further than that, thanks to the Socialist propaganda: working-men who are "capitalists" know that their "small way" is a very small way; that their wages are even in times of "prosperity" none too large to be eaten, worn, and paid to the rent-collector. They are at this moment showing all over the country that capital is antagonistic to labour by *forcing* capitalists to pay them more.

It is true that some of them know that "capital is the accumulated earnings of labour"; but more still know that they are robbed of their earnings, and the number of these is increasing every day, and more and more workmen are becoming alive to the fact that (individualist) capital is a kind of vampire—and the worst kind—and that in spite of the large share they have in the "prosperity" of the country, they have no share in *its* land, but must swelter in slums summer and winter, enjoying no beauty or pleasure of the "land they live in," with leave when they come out of their slums to "move on" on the highway and nothing else, under penalties of fine and imprisonment.

"At present," says this trickster, this battener on other men's labour, "things are prosperous, and prosperity does not give rise to violent political changes." Letting alone the baseness of the cowardice which thus hugs itself on the supposed sloth and apathy of the oppressed, we might ask this person how long this prosperity will last, and what kind of changes the next depression following on inflation will give rise to? Let us meanwhile go on steadily with our propaganda, in the hope that not *all* men are curs who will be "contented" with a little more dogs' wages than they have been having of late; that not *all* men are so stupid as to be humbugged by politicians of the Goschen type.

W. M.

Those who are fond of talking about the glorious benefits of English rule in India, and its absolute fairness and justice, may very usefully spend an hour or two in trying to reconcile their pet ideas with the facts that are set out with calmness and moderation in a pamphlet issued by Mr. Wm. Digby, and which may be got by writing to his address (Coromandel, Elm Road, Beckenham, Kent). Everybody has heard of the "Crawford scandal"; of the system of corruption, bribery, and blackmailing that had obtained in Indian high officialdom for many years past. But who that have heard of the case know that the evil would never have come to light had it not been for the Mamlatdars, or native magistrates, whom Crawford had been plundering, and

from whom he had been wringing bribes by threats of stopping their promotion or procuring their dismissal?

These men came forward under a solemn and public pledge of immunity from the Government, and gave evidence which opened up all the secret dark places of a vast conspiracy to the light of day. But, as might be expected, when the question is between poor men, as are the Mamlatdars, and the powerful and highly-placed officials of one of the principal departments of a corrupt class government, the promise of immunity has proved to be worth less than the paper it was written on. The poor Mamlatdars are being dismissed, even as though no such promise had been given; ostensibly their punishment is for bribery—really it is for “splitting” on a superior. And of such is class-government everywhere!

The De Beers Consolidated Mines Company has undertaken a scheme of a model village for their white workmen, having found the advantages of the “compound” for their black labourers, on which we commented some weeks back. None who remembers about the “compound” will marvel that the “model village” fails to arouse overflowing enthusiasm in the breast of the workman. With Pullman and similar places in my mind's eye, and having had recently forced on my attention the immense additional power conferred on an employer by the ownership of all the available houses near his works, I am not disposed to follow the *Cape Argus* or the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* in singing the praises of Kenilworth, as the new suburb of Kimberley is to be called.

Speaking at the opening of the Rochdale Chamber of Commerce, Lord Derby drew loud cheers from his audience by declaring, “No one has a right to make a profit out of disease, or over-crowding carried so far as to produce disease.” But if they don't quite go the degree specified, neither Lord Derby nor his audience could see any harm in either making profit out of poverty or overcrowding. S.

## BUREAUS OF LABOUR.

“PROCEEDINGS at the Sixth Annual Session of the National Convention of Chiefs and Commissioners of the various Bureaus of Statistics of Labour in the United States, held at Indianapolis, Indiana, May 22 and 23, 1888.” There it is! put it all down, Mr. Printer: omit not a comma of that thirteen-line title-page of an eighty-seven page pamphlet. Let all the reading world see with what sort of straw an unhappy devil is expected to make Socialist bricks—and does it too! Let readers see and acknowledge the genius which can triumph over the malignant ingenuity of the *Commonweal's* Literary Organiser of Labour, whose sole function in life seems to be to draw a princely revenue and sit on his throne like some old mythological god, setting his bond-slaves tasks which innermost he deems impossible. But in the Greek fable the good young—or good old—person eventually accomplishes the seemingly impossible task—virtue is victorious and vice is vanquished; and so now, in spite of having a school of statisticians with no statistics, or hardly any; in spite of the fact that much time was taken up with what might be and should be done, rather than what had been done; in spite of two or three other facts which probably struck the before-mentioned pen-driving boil-it-down despot as helping to the impossibility of the task he was ordering,—this column shall prove that, like King Charles's head in Mr. Dick's memorial, Socialism will get in.

Taking the report page by page, the first item of promise is found in a letter from Carrol D. Wright, head of the Bureau of Statistics of U.S. and president of the Convention, but unfortunately absent. He desired to call attention to the need of statistics on mortgages and other debts of record. It appears that some work has been done by independent bureaus, but the results are not yet full enough to systematise or utilise. Whenever the record can be completed, it will be found to present a very droll state of affairs, and will prove once more how exact an economist the prophesying poet often is. Says Russell Lowell to the Landlord—

“What boots your houses and your lands?

In spite of close-drawn deed and fence,  
Like water 'twixt your cheated hands  
They slip into the graveyard's sands,  
And mock your ownership's pretence.

How shall you speak to urge your right,  
Choked with that soil for which you lust?  
The bit of clay for whose delight  
You grasp is mortgaged too; death might  
Foreclose this very day in dust.”

To one who has studied statistics of the wealthy (?) classes, it must stand as one of the hollowest shams of this age of shams, the claim for consideration on the score of wealth and social position. Some years ago it was estimated that the landed gentry of this country were indebted by way of mortgage in not less than £250,000,000. Revelations in the Bankruptcy Court and by Private Bill legislation, lead to the supposition that probably another £250,000,000 is owed by this same gentry and not secured so safely to the “shent per shent” mongers.

In addition to this tremendous rebate, there is another load which in the long-run will have to come on real property. According to the

Local Government Board 14th Annual Report, 1885, the amount of Local Government loans outstanding had risen from £92,820,100 in 1875 to £159,142,926 for year ending 1883, an increase of over 71 per cent., being an annual average of £8,290,353 of new loan debt. In 1883 the gross estimated rental had increased by £37,263,436, rising from £132,571,829 in 1873 to £269,835,285 in 1883, an increase of only 28.1 per cent., the rental value only rising 27.4 per cent. as compared with 1873. To present these figures in another fashion, it means, roughly, that while the gross rental increased 5s. per £, the mortgaging by the rating authorities increased by 15s. on the £ gross. Only at this rate it looks very much as if the rental value of the country was being mortgaged pretty quickly; but, as a matter of fact, the rate of increase increases; yet hardly any general notice is taken of it.

People often discuss the so-called National Debt; but at the above rate the Local will soon be more important than the National. This is the comparison for about the same periods:

YEAR.	NATIONAL.	LOCAL.
1875	£768,945,757	£92,820,100
1883	£754,455,270	£159,142,926

Just as the land is the source of all wealth—the bank to which ultimately all must apply for drafts—so it is the ultimate place of deposit and security, and ultimately either the land must bear and pay all debts, or they will be repudiated. In face of this, it is absolutely marvellous the way some talk of my land and my wealth, when in many cases, one way and another, it is mortgaged up to 30s. in the £; the final logic of the position being a form of national bankruptcy, and then, of necessity, nationalisation or municipalisation.

There is little doubt that in America a somewhat similar state of things would be revealed, if all facts could be got at.

The Convention finally resolved to call on the Census Department to include the enquiry in its scope.

Probably, seeing the amount of space occupied in dealing with the above item, the autocratic demon who rules the scissors and paste is now anathematising the convention of statistic-boilers; but there is plenty matter yet to prove how useful to Socialists are statistics and their manipulators, sometimes to the regret of the latter.

Probably few if any of the members of the Statistical Society or of the Convention of Statistical Bureau managers would care to lay claim to the gift of prophecy; but I am strongly in sympathy with the writer who says,

“The only reason why we cannot see the future as plainly as the past is because we know too little of the actual past and present; these things are too great for us, otherwise the future, in its minutest details, would lie spread out before our eyes, and we should lose half of our sense of time present by reason of the clearness with which we should perceive the past and future; perhaps we should not be able to distinguish time at all, but that is foreign. What we do know is, that the more the past and present are known the more the future can be predicted; and that no one dreams of doubting the fixity of the future in cases where he is fully cognisant of both past and present, and has had experience of the consequences that followed from such a past and such a present on previous occasions. . . . Those who are most firmly persuaded that the future is immutably bound up with the present in which their work is lying will best husband their present, and till it with the greatest care.” (Erewhon, by S. Butler, 1873.)

This may seem remote from the Convention report, but it is not. One of the commonest and wickedest of catch-cries for some years has been the one started by the Manchester school of manufacturer-politicians, who, to foster manufactures, decried agriculture, on the ground “that agriculture don't pay”; “better to buy food with our manufactured goods than to grow.” The result has been that we are now at the mercy of the foreign grower eight months out of every twelve for all the bread we eat, and for meat and fruit and much other food we are in the same position. The pages of the *Commonweal* have shown repeatedly that the demand for our manufactures is decreasing because our food-growers abroad are becoming manufacturers also, and not only supplying themselves but also cutting into our colonial markets, and so again reducing our chance of buying food with manufactures. But now mark the result, as shown by our Convention report. President James H. Smart, LL.D., of Perdue University, read a paper on “Industrial Education”—a paper which would please some whom readers of the *Commonweal* know.

“One of the greatest industrial problems of to-day is involved in this question, How to keep our sons and daughters out of the whirl and rush of city life and in the pure free air of our rural life; how shall we keep them in the ranks of the great producing classes and out of the ranks of the non-producing and of the destructive classes? . . . Science teaches us that nature will not be cheated. It teaches us that we cannot expect the soil to respond with a continued harvest if it is subjected to a constant robbery. It teaches that taking money out of the soil and putting it into a bank may make rich fathers, but that it will be likely to make poor sons, and that the safest bank of deposit for a farmer is his farm.”

But “close farming will never be done under the landlord and tenant system”; and in America as in England, boys seeing that to be a farmer too often means to work a lifetime on a farm means the enrichment of the landlord shark, get away to the city, where at least there is some excitement to bear off the wear of the slave-claim. A smattering of many sorts of theory—gained at some cost of farming capital—is all the equipment the boy has to start for the nearest city and “pick up” a living by “picking up” a trade.

The result of all this on farming and food supply is seen in the following from President Smart's paper:

“Those who have studied the progress of agriculture in Indiana will tell you that one of its most alarming features is the degeneracy of the soil. In

many cases the shrinkage in its productive power has been fully 50 per cent. and in some it is going on at a very rapid rate. This is certainly alarming. But what is true of this State is true of many others. President Adams, of Cornell, says: In New York the crop of wheat went down in twenty years from 13 bushels per acre to 10.3 bushels per acre; of corn from 29.3 to 23. Going to the South we find that in N. Carolina during the last ten years—for there were no figures during the war—the crop of wheat has declined from 8 bushels to 5.9 per acre; corn from 16.4 to 11.5; oats from 12.9 to 8.7. In Georgia wheat fell from 7.3 to 5.1; corn from 11.1 to 8.7; oats from 10.2 to 9. In Mississippi wheat from 9.2 to 5; corn from 13.8 to 13.5; oats from 14.5 to 11.5. In Texas wheat fell from 12.5 to 8.5; corn from 19 to 18.5; oats from 27.2 to 22.8. Coming back to north and north-west, in Kentucky from 1864 to 1884 the product of wheat declined from 10.2 to 7.7 bushels per acre; corn from 28.5 to 24; oats from 24.2 to 16.3. In Indiana wheat from 14.3 to 10.4. In Illinois wheat went down from 14.3 to 10; corn from 33 to 25."

And so on, and so on—a great and unmistakable reduction per acre; and it is the merest trifling with an important topic to try and dodge the proper conclusion by urging that the deficit can be made up by extra acres.

Then the paper takes a turn which should delight the supporters of the Arts and Crafts Society. The boys who, half-balled, enter factories and shops to get a living by "picking up" a trade "become restless, tired, and discouraged, and leave the business to possibly try another, and thus become the good-for-nothing jack-of-all-trades, or to join the ranks of the non-productives and possibly the ranks of the destructives." "The picking-up process has a moral aspect which has wastage in it. Every handicraft carried to a high degree of excellence may become a fine art, and with no loss of time. There is no dignity in labour, but dignity may be put into labour." This is a point on which some of our leaders have been most urgent, and it surely may be taken as good that Socialist teaching and doctrine is backed up by such a different school.

If President Smart can be relied upon, the state of affairs which is coming among craftsmen is as alarming in the direction of manufactures as are the other figures given in the matter of food. Returns were gathered from a number of persons able to give reliable information, and particulars procured as to carpenters and joiners, pattern-makers, moulders, blacksmiths, and machinists, and it was reported:

"That out of every ten who enter a carpenter's shop with the intention of learning the trade, 4 abandon the business; of ten pattern-makers, 2; of ten blacksmiths, 6; of ten moulders, 5; of ten machinists, 6. Of those who pursue the business and become professed journeymen, but 3 become first-class workmen; of ten pattern-makers but 2; of ten blacksmiths but 2½; of ten machinists, 3½. And in form of a table the result is as follows, which shows the number of boys out of every hundred who enter each trade mentioned who become first-class workmen: Carpenters, 18; pattern-makers, 16; blacksmiths, 10; moulders, 17; machinists, 14. Being an average of fifteen to each hundred."

We see by facts such as these the pretty pass to which our hundred-year-old competitive-factory-manufacture agriculture-don't-pay system of society has brought us to the verge of; for the experience of America is also the experience of England.

The constantly increasing employment of automatic machinery, doing skilled work by the aid of unskilled labour, has also to be taken into consideration; but as the last paper printed in the report is an exceedingly interesting one on "Some Moral and Economic Consequences of Using Labour-Saving Machinery," which is worth detailed treatment not now possible, it only remains to conclude with the charming view of future possibilities which is suggested by a passage from a paper by T. V. Powderly of Scranton, who urged the "Settlement of the Apprenticeship Question by Inaugurating Industrial Schools":

"At the rate at which science is advancing, there will soon be no shoveling of earth, no levelling of hills by hand, no digging of trenches, no cutting of earth, or wood, or iron by hand; all of these things, and all else that enters into the industry of the world, will be done by the aid of science. There will be no trades or tradesmen of any special callings or crafts. In the world's production nothing should be missing, nor should one man have an advantage over another which nature does not give him."

As a final note of defiance I fling that one passage in the teeth of the abstraction to whom I referred at the opening of this notice, and claim that that one sentence is warrant and proof that good Socialistic doctrine can be found in most unpromising quarters when one knows how to dig for it.

THOMAS SHORE, JUL.

[NOTE.—If any readers of above can forward any other years' reports of the Convention, or a copy of the 20th vol. U.S. Census, or of any special labour bureau report, the Editor will probably be able to make use of them to good effect.]

**PROFIT AND LOSS OF THE LONDON STRIKE.**—Up till now no clever figurer has demonstrated to the London dock labourers that really, after all, the result of the late strike was of no real advantage to them, for "don't you see that it will be years before the slight advance in wages will aggregate as much as the time and money lost by the strike?" The clever figurer will appear in due time, however. In the meantime it may be worth noting that the Rotterdam dockers' strike was won in a week. Perhaps the clever figurer will take this into his calculation when cyphering up the profit and loss of the London strike? Figures can't lie, if you have all the figures and if you have seen carefully to their arrangement; but if you allow fools to mix figures with their foolish imaginings, none but fools will trust the story they will tell. That's what makes so much of the statistical information on which the world's economic legislation is based so valueless, and the legislation so mischievous. One of the good results of the late London strike which can never be put down in figures, is the discovery which the dockers have made that they have a capacity for organisation, self-control, and consequently self-help, which has been hitherto unsuspected. A movement which evidences considerable vitality for the organisation of London working-women is another outcome of the strike which cannot be reckoned in figures.—*Journal of United Labour.*

## A DEATH SONG.

(Written to be sung at the funeral of Linnell, first victim of Bloody Sunday; reprinted by request.)

WHAT cometh here from west to east a-wending?  
And who are these, the marchers stern and slow?  
We bear the message that the rich are sending  
Aback to those who bade them wake and know.  
Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,  
But one and all if they would dusk the day.

We asked them for a life of toilsome earning,  
They bade us bide their leisure for our bread,  
We craved to speak to tell our woeful learning,  
We come back speechless, bearing back our dead.  
Not one, etc.

They will not learn; they have no ears to hearken,  
They turn their faces from the eyes of fate;  
Their gay-lit halls shut out the skies that darken,  
But, lo! this dead man knocking at the gate.  
Not one, etc.

Here lies the sign that we shall break our prison;  
Amidst the storm he won a prisoner's rest;  
But in the cloudy dawn the sun arisen  
Brings us our day of work to win the best.  
Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,  
But one and all if they would dusk the day.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1889.

24	Sun.	1848. Flight of the Pope to Gaeta. 1867. Fenian funeral demonstration in London. 1872. Escape of Col. Sokoloff from banishment as author of a dangerous work, 'Otsheheptzi,' the truth of which he had the courage to defend in court. 1887. Deer raids by crofters in the Lewis.
25	Mon.	1632. Baruch Spinoza born. 1830. Peasant revolt in Wiltshire. 1881. Sankovsky attempted the life of Cherevin, Assistant Minister of the Interior, who afterwards became Chief of Gendarmes. 1886. Great demonstration of the unemployed in Hyde Park.
26	Tues.	1811. John Gale Jones convicted of "seditious and blasphemous libel."
27	Wed.	1382. Philip van Artevelde slain. 1793. Rev. Winterbotham fined £200 and imprisoned for four years for two seditious sermons (see July 25 and 26); and Daniel Holt for "seditious libel" in pamphlets intitled 'An address to the Addressers' and 'An Address to the Tradesmen, etc., of the Town of Newark on a Parliamentary Reform.' 1799. Trial of John Devereux, at Cork, for taking part in the '98 rebellion. 1879. Trial of Mirsky, for attempt on Drenteln, Governor General of St. Petersburg, and others for different offences. Sentences: hard labour, 2; acquitted by the court but banished by administrative order, 6. 1887. Monument to Manchester martyrs unveiled at Limerick; sharp encounters between police and people.
28	Thur.	1838. Conference at Birmingham between "physical" and "moral" force Chartists. 1839. Explosion of an "infernal machine" in the Rue de Montpensier, Paris. 1871. Murder of Rossel, Ferré, and Bougeois. 1883. Execution of Sudeikin and Sadovsky at St. Petersburg.
29	Fri.	1803. Proclamation issued at San Domingo by the three military chiefs, Dessalines, Christophe, and Clervaux, declaring the independence of the island and renouncing for ever the dominion of the French. 1811. Wendell Phillips born. 1872. Horace Greeley died. 1874. James Watson died. 1887. Trial of John Most at New York for "inciting to violence" by protesting against the Chicago murder.
30	Sat.	1789. Dr. Guillotin proposes his invention (afterwards called <i>La Guillotine</i> ) in his report on the Penal Code to the States General. 1847. Communist (and first really international) Conference held; Marx and Engels instructed to draw up Communist Manifesto. 1871. Murder of Gaston Cremieux. 1878. G. H. Lewes died. 1879. J. A. Roebuck died. 1879. Great demonstration in Hyde Park against the arrest of Killan, Daly, and Davitt. 1879. Unsuccessful attempt to blow up imperial train on the Crimea railway.

## LITERARY NOTES.

*Great Thoughts* (1d., 132, Fleet Street) is of the *Tit-Bits* order, but of a higher species than that most successful flat-catcher. In the current number is a portrait and criticism of comrade Morris; the portrait none too like and the criticism none too adequate. However, they are both passable of their kind, and are "better than nothing" as the saying goes.

The *Bridgeton Single-Tax Review* (3d. weekly) seems to be an enterprising attempt on the part of some Glasgow members of the Scottish Land Restoration League. It has 16 pp., mostly filled with advertisements, and so much reading matter as it gives is passably written and to the point.

The *Political World* (3d., Bouverie Street, 1d. weekly) came out last week in all the glory of its Walter Crane cover, and had a strong leader on the Indian scandal, spoken of in our front-page "Notes." The week before it had a striking cartoon on the law'n-order juggle as worked by the Tories—with changed names it would have done for the Whigs.

The *Illustrated Weekly News* (1d., 297, Strand), of which we have just received the ninth number, is apparently an attempt at reconciling labour politics with ordinary newspaper methods. With the exception of Mr. Morrison Davidson, the labour expositors have not yet been of the most hopeful kind, but all the same we shall watch with much interest for the result of the experiment.





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THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. B. C. G.—We do not receive the American Labour Tribune.  
T. F. W. (Birmingham).—Your statement shall appear in our next number.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 20.

ENGLAND	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Justice	Pacific Union	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
London—Freie Presse	St Louis—Anarchist	A Revolta
Illustrated Weekly	FRANCE	GERMANY
Norwich—Daylight	Paris—La Revolt	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Railway Review	Bourse du Travail	Hamburg—Zeitung
Sozial Demokrat	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	AUSTRIA
Seafaring	Lyon—L'Action Sociale	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
INDIA	HOLLAND	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	BELGIUM	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Worker	DENMARK
Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	Copenhagen—Arbejder
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	SWEDEN
Jewish Volkszeitung	Geneva—Przedswit	Malmo—Arbetet
Workmen's Advocate	ITALY	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	WEST INDIES
Investigator	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Cuba—El Productor
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Chicago—Knights of Labor	Madrid—El Socialista	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Seville—La Solidaridad	CAPE COLONY
Milwaukee—National Reformer		Cape Argus
Philadelphia—United Labour		

THE GREAT LABOUR MOVEMENT:  
IS IT TO BE THOROUGH?

THE present labour movement is a most important one. The movement is general among the wealth-producing classes, and their bosoms swell with expectations of the future. Crushed to the earth by long ages of tyranny, victims of long centuries of oppression, they hope by organisation to secure a brighter future. Accustomed for generations to look upon the supremacy of the powers that be, the supremacy of the aristocratic and the commercial classes, and their own slavery and degradation as the normal conditions of society, no wonder at their apathy in the past. But to compare their apathy, their indifference of but as yesterday with their enthusiasm of to-day, and we may all hope that the days of political and social oppression are numbered.

But is the present movement of the workers to be *thorough*, thorough in its organisation, and thorough in its aims and objects? or is this grand uprising of the masses to be frittered away in seeking mere palliatives only? Are the mere effects of political tyranny and social oppression to be combated, while leaving untouched the principles from which they spring? Such has been the rule with all the trade

movements of the past. Are the workers to seek only a small improvement of their miserable position, such improvement to depend on our imports and exports, on the constant extension of our foreign markets, such improvement to be swept away on the certain recurrence of commercial depression? Is such to be the fate of the present movement? Is it to begin and end with speeches, cheers, and resolutions only? Is the present great upheaval of the toiling millions, with their grand spontaneous organisations, to aim at nothing higher than a mere modification of the thousand oppressions under which they groan? Or is it to aim at the destruction of tyranny in every form in every department of modern industry, of oppression in all the relations of life, the supremacy of labour, the triumph of equal liberty, of universal justice?

For ages the aristocracy was supreme, and the result of that supremacy is the monopoly of the land. For generations the commercial classes have been supreme, and the result of that supremacy is the possession of the instruments of labour. The supremacy of these classes means the dependence and degradation of the workers. Is that supremacy to be recognised in the future? If yes, the continued slavery of the workers must be accepted. The one logically follows from the other. No mere modification of tyranny will destroy that supremacy; no mere temporary advantages, no mere advance of wages even, will result in the emancipation of labour.

The dominant class (or classes) for the time being is always revolutionary in relation to those who have previously governed. At the same time the dominant class (or classes) is always more or less reactionary in relation to further progress. This was the case with the aristocracy in relation to absolute monarchy. It was the same with the commercial classes in relation to feudalism, but both the aristocracy and the commercial classes are reactionary in relation to the wealth-producing classes; and the workers must of necessity become revolutionary in relation to the non-producing classes—to all who live on taxes, rents, and profits. Such is their logical, their historical position. If, then, the present great movement is to be anything more than a mere temporary one; if it is to sweep away the political tyranny and the social oppression which now prevail; if it is to end in the emancipation of labour by destroying not only the supremacy, but the existence of the non-producing classes, then the workers must recognise and accept their true position, with all its rights, its duties, and its obligations, that of the one great revolutionary element in modern society, whose success and future welfare is bound up with, and dependent on, the triumph of the Social Revolution.

Do the leaders of the present movement, those who are organising it, and to whom the workers now look for guidance, thoroughly understand this? Is such their aim, is such their intention, to raise the aspirations of the workers upward, and to lead ever onward to the social redemption, to the regeneration of society? We all know that in every town and in every country there are men who have advanced to a certain point, but who cannot advance further. They are to be found not only in connection with the political organisations, but very largely in connection with trade societies. Accustomed to nothing higher than political peddling and contemptible compromise, they cannot comprehend the simple truth that the workers are, and of necessity must be, revolutionary in relation to all the other classes of society. These blind leaders of the hitherto blind masses know perfectly well that as the workers learn their true position and become revolutionary, that their position as leaders will be gone for ever. Hence they will, as far as possible, prevent the movement becoming anything more than a grand display of empty speeches, enthusiastic cheers, resolutions based on generalities, and comparatively useless organisations. It is then the duty of the true leaders of the workers to-day to prevent this great movement, with its grand organisations, from being tricked away for party purposes, or its organised strength wasted on petty and degrading compromises.

The time has come for the workers to take their stand on principle, to assume their true position in society, to struggle for their social redemption, the emancipation and supremacy of labour, which means and can only mean the triumph, in all its fulness, of the Social Revolution.

J. SKETCHLEY.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

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LONDON, W.C.

Exchanges and Correspondents Please Note.

GLADSTONE RADICAL W. M.'s CLUB, 22 Baroness Road, Hackney Road, E.—  
SUN. NOV. 24, at 12 noon, William Clarke, "Practicable Socialism."  
LEWISHAM AND LEE LIBERAL CLUB, 170 High Street, Lewisham.—Sunday  
Nov. 24, at 8.30, Rev. S. D. Headlam, "Practicable Land Nationalisation."  
BOW LIBERAL CLUB, Broke House, Ford Street, Roman Road, E.—Sunday  
Nov. 24, at 8.30, Sydney Olivier, "A Socialist Programme for London."

## SOME GREETINGS.

THE telegrams herewith given were received during the South Place meeting, and were read to the audience as received :

## SHEFFIELD.

"Sheffield Socialists send fraternal greetings. Hope cowardly murder of Chicago comrades will stimulate all to work more energetically for speedy success of Social Revolution."

## GLASGOW BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"Greetings to London comrades ! Long live the glorious memory of this day ! Prosper the cause for which our comrades in Chicago and London died. Hurrah for the Social Revolution !"

## DUBLIN.

"Dublin Socialists join with you in celebrating the anniversary of Chicago murders."

## ABERDEEN BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"Aberdeen Branch sends revolutionary greetings, with best wishes for the success of your meeting. May their silence and our speech hasten the coming of the light !"

## INTERNATIONAL CLUB, MANCHESTER.

"We are with you in sympathy for our murdered brothers of Chicago. We shout as Engel did, Hurrah for Anarchy !"

## NORWICH BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"Norwich comrades join in honouring the memory of Chicago martyrs, and send revolutionary greetings."

## MANCHESTER BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"Comrades of Socialist League and International Club wish success to meeting. The Revolution is hastened by the memory of its martyrs."

## YARMOUTH BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"The comrades of the Yarmouth Branch send their heartfelt sympathy with the meeting in commemoration of Chicago Martyrs and Bloody Sunday, and wish it the greatest success."

## FROM WALTER CRANE.

"Not able to attend, but hold up my hand for the resolutions."

## WAGES AND PRICES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE labour market is "fairly well supplied," says the Johannesburg *Star* of Oct. 11, "indeed, in some trades there are more hands than there is work for." We know what that mild way of putting it really means ! In the wagon and cart building trades, and also in the farriery trades, fifty-one per week are the present hours, but the carpenters and builders work but forty-eight hours—eight and a-half per day, and a half-day on Saturdays. The following were the current rates of wages per day :—Carpenters, 20s. to 25s.; masons, 25s. to 27s. 6d.; ornamental plasterers, 27s. 6d. to 30s.; painters, 20s. to 22s.; blacksmiths and farriers, 20s.; wagonmakers, 20s.; cart trimmers, 20s.; cart painters, 20s. In the wagon and cart-building trades these rates were paid to good hands ; but in some cases, where greater excellence is shown, 10s. per week extra was paid. Ordinary workmen in all branches were abundant, and could be got at much lower rates. Meanwhile, prices were proportionate. For such timber as was obtainable, 2s. 3d. per foot was the current rate. Ruling rates for iron were 1s. 4d. to 1s. 5d. per foot. Of breadstuffs the market was almost bare ; 50s. per 100-lb. bag was the wholesale price of flour, for a fraction less for large parcels, retailers asking as high as 55s. Boer meal and mealie meal were also in very short supply, 50s. being the current rate for the former, and a trifle higher for the latter. The master bakers, in view of the high price of flour, had in some cases, where the price for a 1-lb. loaf has been 4d., raised it to 6d., and in others the 16-oz. 6d. loaf has been reduced to 14ozs. Sugars (white) are quoted at 57s. 6d., and for the lower qualities (brown) 50s. White crystals are retailed at 9d. per lb. Milk of brands is very scarce, and readily commands 17s. to 18s. per dozen wholesale. Later advices give the prices at nearly double those just quoted. On the 22nd of October the 1-lb. loaf had risen to 1s., and was expected to go higher. But the workman's benevolent friends over here tell him only of the wages he will get, and nothing of the prices he must pay.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it ; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

CHRISTIANISING THE NATIVES.—The *Cape Argus* in a recent number had the following cutting from an up-country paper :—"Those engaged in the Colesberg extension have adopted a rascally dodge for getting more work out of the natives. A distance is marked off which is estimated to be within the ability of the natives to finish in a day if they work extra hard, and at the end of the piece allotted, a 'vaatje' of brandy is placed. When the end of the line thus marked off is reached the natives have the liquor divided amongst them. So great is the desire to obtain the converted 'soepje' that natives work doubly hard to obtain the price of a pennyworth of drink, and a full shillingsworth of extra labour is obtained by the employers. It is a most corrupt system, and should not be permitted. The Kafirs are sufficiently demoralised with brandy, without any immoral inducements of this sort."

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "MORALITY."

DEAR COMRADES,—Being a member of the Scottish Socialist Federation, I should like to say a word with reference to George Porter's letter. The hysterical excitement under which it must have been written is really quite inexplicable, the only apparent cause of it being so absurdly inadequate. There cannot be the slightest doubt that we have here a clear case of much ado about nothing. But for all that, it may be well to assure George Porter that he need not be at all afraid that the morality acknowledged by the S.S.F. is not true Socialist morality, or that it is identical with the conventional Christian morality of Scotland, which he painfully and unsuccessfully labours to prove to be the logical inference from the use of the word "morality" in our statement of principles. Moreover, he may rest satisfied that the S.S.F. are using every means in their power to let people understand the great difference between the old morality and the new. I suppose I must also point out to George Porter that he is wrong in saying that the paragraph he saw in the *Commonweal* of October 12 is our declaration of principles ; it is merely the "concluding remarks," an exhortation to those holding our principles to stick by them ; and the word "morality" being used in this context cannot possibly be interpreted as "obedience to convention" by any but the most stupid. For our principles are of course an emphatic enough protest against the present "morals of society."

But George Porter's limitation of the use of the word is arbitrary and narrow in the extreme, and few besides himself would attempt to justify it. The word, as everybody knows, means sometimes the practice, sometimes the doctrine of moral duties, the context of course determining the sense in which it is to be taken. And the doctrine of moral duties is the doctrine of those rules of conduct which must be followed if the social welfare of mankind is to be realised. Surely, then, the S.S.F. make quite a legitimate use of the word in asking members to acknowledge morality as the basis of their behaviour—in other words, to obey the rules of conduct necessary for social well-being. It is true there are always differences of opinion as to what the proper rules of conduct are. Therefore the exact meaning to be attached to the word "morality" doubtless depends on the principles of the persons using it. But if these are made clear, its indefinite character disappears. And the S.S.F. certainly cannot be charged with not stating boldly and clearly what their principles are.

The fact is, the word, like "glory," "honour," and other similar words despised by George Porter, has a real value for Socialists ; and its value lies in its association in men's minds with ideas of social welfare (rightly conceived or wrongly), and in its expressing the idea of something obligatory in matters of conduct, the idea of the necessity or duty of following a particular course of action (whatever it may be) which has for its avowed end the good of the community. It is for this reason that, if we Socialists maintain that certain laws and customs are condemned by Morality, thoughtful and earnest people, having at heart the welfare of society, will certainly feel it their duty to consider whether we are right or not ; and even though they should be unable to agree with us, they will nevertheless be inclined to give us credit for doing what we believe to be our duty.

Hoping you will excuse this long letter, which perhaps treats too seriously what is really a most puerile objection, I am yours fraternally,

J. HALDANE SMITH.

SIR,—As a member of the Scottish Socialist Federation, though not writing officially on its behalf, I may be allowed a word or two in reply to comrade Porter's letter in *Commonweal* of 9th inst. When, with jaded energies and in a stifling atmosphere—things all Socialists are accustomed to—I was present at the drawing up of our principles, I had a sure presentiment that though we passed the word "morality" it would not be passed elsewhere. Its inevitable fate was to be "jumped upon."

So far, then, I have anticipated and am in sympathy with comrade Porter. But my sympathy ends here. No one will deny he has done the jumping vigorously ; and he can readily be trusted, despite protest, on occasion to serve the terms "truth" and "justice" in like manner. He has consciously framed for us two conceptions of the term morality. It is either a mere shibboleth, and consequently has a meaning which is really nothing, or it is the ethics of Mrs. Grundy, and to be moral is to keep the Sabbath, and generally to have the manners of a Scotchman, which is bad. But I venture to say he has unconsciously set before us another conception. He has passed under review existing economical and social arrangements, and, in the light of a higher morality—Bax's "New Ethic" presumably—has condemned them. While, then, this new ethic is higher than that of the market-place—if it can be said to have one at all—is there anything in existing conditions with which we can compare it ? In a word, can any good thing come out of this Nazareth of competitive society ? There obviously must be something which is akin to it, else how other could we form the conception ? Well, then, friendships have been formed, miserable types, pale shadows, they may be of the comradeship of the future, but having in them something of truth and reality. It will not be permissible to say that in those friendships there is an unwritten code of honour—that is to make use of a shibboleth—but one may be allowed to say that they carry with them a sense of responsibility of what is due to one another. (I live in constant terror of Porter's analytical ability, and fear to use almost any term in the English language.) This, then, is something like the sense in which we use the term morality. It is not sufficient to give an intellectual assent to the doctrines of Socialism ; one must not be just quite a stranger to its spirit. A magnificent peroration about the degradation of women would, for instance, have its oratorical effect considerably weakened, not to say anything worse, if it came from the lips of one whose relations with them were notorious for all that was selfish and unfeeling. Again, to give a merely individualistic direction to what has been collected for a common purpose, to break faith, and so on, do not tend, to say the least, to strengthen the sentiment of comradeship. To sum up, then, as I have little time to spare and post-time is near, it may be said that he who would do such things is no Socialist. Very possibly. We preach a higher ethic than does the average man ; if our conduct can be no improvement on his, let it not at least sink below it ; if we fail of any special fidelity or devotion to commend our doctrine, let us at least not give the enemy any unnecessary occasion to blaspheme.

JOHN GILRAY.

BORO' OF HACKNEY W. M.'s CLUB, 27 Haggerston Road, E.—Sunday Nov. 24, at 12 noon, George Bernard Shaw, "A Socialist Programme for London."

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

### The Bakers' Strike.

Last week the masters surrendered by hundreds. Nearly all large firms have given in, and the struggle is now principally with the small sweating masters in the poorer neighbourhoods. There are now about 250 men out. Whitechapel seems the centre of resistance by the masters. The men are in the habit of parading daily and playing the "Dead March" outside the unfair shops. Fifty thousand handbills have also been printed, two with the words "Don't buy at this shop," which will be distributed to the sweaters' customers. Possibly these measures may have a persuasive effect upon the hard hearts of the slave-drivers.

At some of the shops which have yielded blacklegs are still employed, and the men very properly refuse to work with them. Some employers have put the price of bread up a halfpenny a loaf, which covers the whole cost of labour involved in making it. The men threaten that if the employers put the bread up more than enough to cover what the men ask for, the men will ask for still more money.

Our comrade Mrs. Lahr has done good work in speaking at bakers' meetings, and pointing out to them that there was something more for the workers to gain than a ten hours' working day. This has offended some of the conservative members of the Strike Committee, one of whom was rude enough to push her off the platform at the Hyde Park demonstration, but was obliged himself to retreat before the angry crowd.

### Threatened Strike of Busmen.

Last week the agitation of the tram and bus men promised to result in a strike in West London, through the London Road Car Company working their men 17 hours a-day. This extraordinary slave-driving, the company stated, was rendered necessary to accommodate the visitors to Barnum's Show; but the men didn't see why they should slave their hearts out to get the company their big profits. Matters came to a crisis at last, at a meeting of the men in the small hours of Friday morning, Nov. 15, when it was decided to send in an ultimatum to the company, giving them three days to agree to the demand of the men for twelve hours' work, or trouble would follow. Frightened by this vigorous resolution, the company has offered to grant the twelve hours if the other bus companies will do the same. The strike has been postponed by the men till they have made the same demand to the General Omnibus and other companies, which, if refused, will be followed by a general strike. We think it would have been better for the men to have carried out their resolution. There is so much discontent among the tram and bus employes that we are pretty sure that a strike on one line would be quickly followed by a strike upon all. If the men in South Dock, when the late dock strike began, had waited till they had got all their comrades in the other docks to promise to come out, they might have waited till the present time. But they did not wait, they acted, and the result was that within a week after they had given the signal of revolt all Dockland was seething in open rebellion. If the slaves of the bus and tram wait too long, the auspicious moment may pass; the tide may recede and leave them stranded hopeless and helpless.

### The Silvertown Strike.

Last week Sydney Buxton and several other well-meaning middle-class people endeavoured to get the great Mr. Gray to consent to arbitration, but the great man steadfastly refused. You see there will probably be some nice cold weather in a few weeks, and starving people will find it hard to stand against it. So this Napoleon of Capitalism will have no arbitration, as he calculates with fiendish barbarity that they won't be able to stand long against cold and hunger combined. How Mr. Norwood must envy Mr. Gray his splendid opportunities! If he could only have fought the dockers with the advantages of an unsympathetic public, trade-unionist blacklegs, and cold as well as hunger to back him up, what a victory he might have gained! The women and children are suffering bitterly, for this is not a sensational strike, and public sympathy has not been strongly aroused. Any contributions to help these brave men and women, who are fighting a desperate battle against the cold cruel calculations of the capitalist, might be sent to the Strike Committee, Railway Dining-Rooms, Silvertown.

### Keir Hardie and Eight Hours.

Keir Hardie has written an article in the *Labour Tribune* upon this question. The miners are greatly excited about it at the present time, as in a few days they will meet in conference to decide as to whether they will come out for it on the 1st of January. Keir Hardie appears to think that it will be impossible to enforce an eight-hour day in mines without an Act of Parliament. He says, "Experience has shown that in some of the largest and most important of the mining centres, there is a section of the men who have neither the stamina nor the desire to enforce an eight-hour day for any length of time. Under the influence of a sudden burst of enthusiasm these men will for a time uphold the principle, but when temptation from without and pressure from within overtakes them, they give way and drag others down with them." Therefore, he argues, we must have an Act of Parliament. Now it is quite clear the shaky individuals must be either a majority or a very strong minority among the workers, because a trade union can always enforce its rules upon a weak section. But then, on the other hand, if a large number of the miners prefer long hours and extra pay to short hours and small pay, we fail to see how you are not only to enforce it when it is carried into law, but even carry it in the face of the formidable opposition it would sure to meet with from the capitalist classes. The men must be educated as to advantages of leisure and the advantages also of sticking firmly together, a quality which the Scotch miner seems to lack. They must remember also that if they cannot do anything for themselves, there is very little chance of getting any one to do it for them. Let them bear these things in mind, and they will soon gain a great deal more than an eight-hour day from their masters.

### The "Homes" of the Poor.

At last a move is being made against that pillar of modern society, the house farmer. Through the efforts of Bennet Burleigh, the well-known war correspondent and author of the recent series of articles upon the slums in the *Daily Telegraph*, some shocking dens in Ann's Place, Boundary Street, Shoreditch, have been closed. These places in which the poor were housed,

were rather worse than the dungeons in which a feudal baron confined his captives. Stinking drains, rooms in which it was impossible to stand upright, rain coming through the roof, rats running all over the place—such are the joys that await the honest worker in an age of Christian civilisation. Well, thanks to Bennet Burleigh and Montagu Williams, these dens will soon vanish from the face of the earth, although it was stated "it was not a bad case," and even the tenants admitted that "this was not one of the many outrageous cases which undoubtedly do exist in London." What the other cases must be like imagination fails to picture. But still, there is another side to the question. These dens are "condemned"; well and good. But what is to become of the tenants? Has the law got some decent dwellings for them to inhabit, or are they to take refuge in other dens, the condition of which may be considered "bad" or even "outrageous"? It is rather funny that the law can provide no remedy for such ills, except that of prompt and speedy eviction for the unfortunate tenants. It is possible that they might even prefer the shelter of the rat-haunted dens in Ann's Place, to being turned into the street to search for another place where to lay their heads. Mr. Bennet Burleigh means well, but pulling down the worst slums in London will only increase the overcrowding in those that are not bad enough to be "condemned" by magistrates and sanitary inspectors. Moreover, it will rather tend, by diminishing the number of dwellings, to raise the rack-rents which every worker suffers from in the crowded districts of central London. What we want is a movement against these rents, and not legal action which will only result in increasing them.

### A Question for the Furriers.

Our Leeds comrades are trying to form a branch of the N.U.G. and G.L. among the furriers there, and want to know the London prices for "pulling" and "opening" rabbit skins. Will any one employed in that industry who reads this send us a list of London prices?

### The Strikes of 1888.

In a report on the strikes and lock-outs of 1888, issued by the Board of Trade, the following, among other statistics, are interesting. The total number of strikes during the year was 509, affecting 118,288 persons, but the number of actual strikers was 87,764. The number of successful strikes was 249, and the partially successful, 94. Under these two heads 83,200 persons were affected. The amount expended by trades unions on strikes was £32,729, being at the rate of 2s. 4½d. per head on membership. There were only eight lock-outs, affecting 985 persons.

### The Sweated Tailors.

Another strike seems imminent. It was stated at a large meeting last Saturday at the Assembly Hall, Mile-end, that the masters have broken faith with the men and are endeavouring to introduce the old slavish system of unlimited working hours. They are discharging their workpeople right and left for refusing to submit to their tyranny. It will take a sharp lesson to persuade these people to abandon their slave-driving; the sweating system seems to be part and parcel of their nature.

### Strike of Maltsters at Burton.

The labour revolt reached Burton on Friday the 15th, when the maltsters turned out for an advance of eightpence a-day. Large meetings were held, and they marched round to the various breweries and brought out their comrades by force or persuasion. At Coope and Co.'s, during these proceedings, the manager's son was rather roughly handled. The strike was quite successful, for in a very few hours most of the firms gave in, and the others have now followed their example. N.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, to end of June. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell, to end of October. North London, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Nov. 26, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend.

**Propaganda Fund.**—F.C.S.S., 1s.; Blundell, 1s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—F.C.S.S. (two weeks), 2s.; Webb (two weeks), 2s.; Kitz, 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; R. J., 1s.; Rose, 6d.; P. H., 2s.; J. B. G., 1s.; B. W., 6d.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

## REPORTS.

**KILBURN.**—On Sunday morning, good meeting held back of the "Plough"; speakers were Mainwaring and Samuels. A quire of *Freedom* sold, *Commonweal* not being on the spot.

**MITCHAM AND CROYDON.**—For several weeks we have been pegging away at the work of agitation in this neighbourhood, with the result of establishing branches of the Surrey Labourers' Union in Streatham, Merton, Mitcham, and Croydon. In the last place we have re-established the branch of the Socialist League. Two successful meetings have been held upon Duppas Hill, addressed



by comrades Pillier, Thorington, and Kitz. The new branch works well, and *Commonweal* is pushed and good collections made. We want help to carry the campaign into Sutton, Carshalton, and other towns and villages around.—F. K.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road; speakers were R. J. Lyne, and J. F. Lyne; all *Commonweal* sold. No meeting at St. Ann's Road, owing to the absence of some of our comrades who had other engagements. A lecture was given by R. E. Dell (Fabian) on "Why I am a Socialist" to a good audience.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meeting in Regent's Park Sunday morning, addressed by Cantwell, Nicoll, and Mrs. Lahr; fair sale of *Weal* and 8d. collected. At Hyde Park in the afternoon, meeting opened by Cantwell and Furlong, and then Mrs. Tochatti sang "Are you willing to work and to wait" amid considerable enthusiasm; Cores and Mrs. Lahr followed; good sale of *Commonweal* and other literature, and collected 1s. 10d.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—No meetings have been held outdoors on account of lack of speakers; comrade Turner has now left this neighbourhood, and so some other help is required if the branch is to continue its work successfully. At the business meeting on Wednesday, it was decided to hold branch meetings on a Thursday, after next week. Members please note.—J. T.

**STREATHAM.**—Good branch meeting, at which a vote of condolence to Mrs. Parsons for her loss of Lulu, and also for the relatives of our other murdered comrades, was passed. Good meetings at Fountain on Nov. 10 and last Sunday, Weir (of Acton) speaking for us; collected 2s. on Nov. 10. Last Sunday we collected 3s., which was sent to the Silvertown strikers; 70 *Weal* sold. The *Surrey Labourers' Union* is doing well. The carmen in Streatham are working 17 hours a day for £1 1s. a week. The time is not ripe for a strike yet, so they thought the Silvertown people had the first claim for assistance.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 11th, comrade Unwin's lecture, "Broken Cisterns," was read; discussion held over. At Castle Street on 16th, Duncan, Smith, and Leatham addressed good meeting.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—Lively meeting on Cathedral Square on Tuesday evening; speakers, Joe Burgoyne and Gilbert, who had evidently the sympathy of the audience. On Thursday evening Glasier lectured on "Socialism, what it means," to the Govan Liberal and Radical association. There was a good deal of opposition, mostly from the Henry George standpoint. The chairman, who is a large employer of labour, confessed after our comrade's reply, that Socialism had been presented to him in a new light and that he would seriously reconsider the subject. On Sunday a meeting was held at 5.30 on Jail Square by Joe Burgoyne. At Paisley Road Toll, Glasier and Downie spoke to a good audience; a well attended meeting of members was afterwards held in our rooms, when Glasier was reappointed secretary of the branch.

**LEICESTER.**—Monday 11th, comrade Taylor read a paper, "The Condition of the People." Excited discussion followed on the question Is property robbery? Sunday 17th, R. S. Pengeley, of Nottingham, lectured twice at Radical Club—morning, "The Question of Cain"; evening, "Drifting to Socialism." Lectures well liked. Sunday morning, Barclay occupied Russell Sq. again, on "Should we, and can we, Compensate Landlords?" In evening, he opposed Dr. Drysdale on the Population fallacy at Secular Hall. Monday evening, comrade Chambers gave a well-written paper on "Parliamentarianism v. Anarchism"; long discussion. Collection, 8s.; *Commonweal* sold, 3 quires.

**MANCHESTER.**—On Sunday afternoon a meeting of pipe-makers now on strike was held in Stevenson Square; 2 quires of *Commonweal* sold. Our season for indoor meetings began on Sunday night, when, at the club, a lecture on "Socialism of To-day" was given by W. Bailie; discussion followed, in which some members and others took part. 5s. collected.

**NORWICH.**—On Thursday last comrade A. Moore read a paper on "What's to be Done during a Revolutionary Period"; good number of comrades present. Sunday afternoon, a large number of people assembled in the Market Place for the commemoration of the Chicago martyrs; comrade Emery took the chair, followed by W. Moore. A slight disturbance was occasioned by an individual a little the worse for drink, but he was very quickly shifted by the crowd. Sunday evening a meeting held in the Gordon Hall; W. Moore opened—subject, "Four Schools of Socialist Thought"; warm discussion followed upon the principles of the League and Anarchism; comrades Houghton, Poynts, Swash, and others took part. After the meeting, G. Ashley sung very effectively "Annie Laurie," "Tenneying 'Chicago Martyrs,'" "All for the Cause," sung by Mrs. Sutton and G. Ashley, and other revolutionary songs were rendered.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Comrade Mowbray addressed large meetings on Saturday and Sunday at Peenstone Street, West Bar, Gower Street, the Monolith, assisted by Bulas, Bingham, Carpenter, and Sketchley. Mowbray also addressed a meeting at the Hall of Science. At the Monolith a police-inspector wanted his name and address. On Sunday evening we had a tea and social meeting, after which Mowbray lectured on "Revolution and Reform." On Monday a meeting was held at Gower Street of the workmen at Cammel's ironworks, and also at the Monolith, Fargate. No police interruption. At 8 p.m. William Morris lectured to a good audience at the Cambridge Hall. *Commonweal* sold out; 7s. worth of literature; good collections.

**YARMOUTH.**—At the Radical Club, on Wednesday 13th, the adjourned discussion on Mr. Dawson's paper on Socialism was resumed, Messrs. King, Lee, and Lang (R.C.) supporting it, and Headley (S.L.) opposed it; Mr. Dawson closed with a brief reply. On Sunday we held no meetings, owing to the bad weather. The principles of Socialism are fast taking root. Unflinching energy can alone make the movement a success, and here, as elsewhere, there is none too much of it. 6 *Commonweal* sold. C. Reynolds wishes it to be announced in the *Commonweal* that he has resigned from the Socialist League.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At St. George's Y.M.C.A., Tuesday, November 12th, R. F. Wilson read a paper on "Modern Social Anomalies," a very outline of the principles of Socialism; he was ably assisted by Hamilton. The opposition was of the poorest possible description, one speaker hoping that the Society would take steps to prevent itself becoming a platform for the dissemination of such foul doctrines.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—We have been very busy here with the School Board election campaign. Three meetings were held each night last week, and on Sunday two, at which 17s. was collected for election expenses. Besides the candidates (J. Peacock and T. Proctor) good work has been done by S. Whalley, Winterton, Rooke, Hickling, Tomkinson, Snell, Knight, and Jones. Election on November 21st.

### COMMEMORATION MEETINGS.

**BRIGHTON.**—On Sunday evening Nov. 10th, we held a meeting at the Free thought Hall, to commemorate the death of the "Chicago Martyrs and Bloody Sunday." Barker gave an excellent address on the lives and trial of the men, and I moved the resolutions printed in the *Commonweal*; they were carried without a dissentient voice. This I think is encouraging.—F. C.

**DUBLIN.**—The Dublin Socialist Club held a Commemoration Meeting in honour of the Chicago Anarchists on Monday, Nov. 11th, at 87, Marlborough Street; there was a large attendance—Frizelle in the chair. Comrade Fitzpatrick, who has recently returned from Chicago, was the orator of the evening; he dealt exhaustively with the Haymarket meeting, the so-called trials, and the execution. Hamilton, King, and Toomey also spoke.

**STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.**—Sunday Nov. 24, at 8, William Morris, "Socialism."

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.—On Sunday November 24, at 8.30 p.m., H. H. Sparling, "The Good Old Cause." Members of Clerkenwell Branch are requested to attend an important business meeting at above address.

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday November 24, at 7.30, Members' meeting. At 8, meeting on Triangle. At 8.30, D. J. Nicoll, "The French Revolution."

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. A Lecture, Reading or Discussion every Sunday at 8 p.m. Wednesday Nov. 27, at 8 p.m., John Burns will lecture on "The Lessons of the Great Strike." French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday November 24, at 8 p.m., Rev. F. L. Donaldson (of St. John's, Hammersmith) will lecture on "Christian Socialism."

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Braintree.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m. In the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Tuesday November 26th, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas will lecture on "A Socialist View of the Political Outlook."

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday November 24, at 7.30, Raymond Unwin will lecture on "The Wane of Civilisation." At the Secular Hall, Rusholme Road, on Saturday Nov. 30, at 7.30, William Morris will lecture on "The Class Struggle."

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday and Friday, Rehearsals. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class (Nov. 28, W. Moore, "What's to be Done before a Revolutionary Period"). Saturday, Social Meeting.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 23.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....The Branch

### SUNDAY 24.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....R. J. Lyne and Crouch  
11.30..... Chelsea Embankment .....Samuels  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Dean and J. F. Lyne  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street .....Cores  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Davis  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll and Mowbray  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....The Branch  
11.30..... Starch Green .....The Branch  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Cantwell and Mowbray  
3.30..... Victoria Park .....Cores  
7 ..... Welfje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....Kitz  
8 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Wier and Howard  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch  
8 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....The Branch

### TUESDAY 26.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

### THURSDAY 28.

8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Cores

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

**BORO' OF BATTERSEA CLUB, 465 Battersea Park Road.**—Sunday November 24, at 8 p.m., Charles Murray, "Life of Robert Owen."

**CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.**—Sunday November 24, at 8 p.m., B. Costelloe, "Socialism and Party Government."

**GLASGOW.**—Stepniak (author of 'Underground Russia') will lecture in the Waterloo Hall, on Sunday December 1, at 7 o'clock. At 2 o'clock, conference of members.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.**—Sunday November 24, at 8.45 p.m., George Cox, "Mary Wolstonecroft Godwin and the Rights of Women."

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W.—On Friday Dec. 6, at 8 o'clock, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th. G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portersdown Road, W.

## SOCIALIST LEAFLETS.

—:o:—

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These Leaflets, at prices given above, can be had from the *Commonweal* manager in any quantities by Branches, members, or sympathisers, for distribution, 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 203.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE is an exhibition on show, it seems, for "Garments for the Poor." It is a difficult thing to see how such an exhibition can be made a novelty, considering the many exhibitions in which the triumphs of cheap labour and shoddy are set forth, and which are open to all and several (who have any money in their pockets) under various glowing titles, which, however, do not conceal the fact that they are the markets of the miserable; shops where wares are sold which no one would buy if he had not been forced to labour for nothing by a robber. Really, I don't see how this new exhibition can compete with Petticoat Lane, as a remarkable object—as a sign of our civilisation.

But if I might give a hint to the promoters of this exhibition, here it is. I suppose that those to whom they give the new garments adapted to their condition of life, when they take the new will strip off the old. Well, suppose these were collected and an exhibition made of them, the garments of the poor, instead of for them. If the gift of garments were done on a large enough scale, the cast-off clothes might make an exhibition of some interest for us of the well-to-do class, and might prepare us for that Exhibition of the Poor themselves, which will take place one day, and will be an imposing ceremony for those of the rich who may chance to survive it.

In fact, if I had dropped down from the moon into a London reading-room and had got hold of a newspaper, I should have said to myself, "The Poor, who are they? They seem to be a very lucky set of people; here are folk always doing something for them, which they wouldn't do for anybody else! Why, amongst other things, here's a man given them £250,000, whatever that means!"

However, not having come into England by way of the moon, I am rather puzzled about this "magnificent gift to the London Poor," and am principally sure of one thing, that if I were a member of that much-cared-for body, I would willingly speculate on my share of the said £250,000, and take, say, a pound of sausages in exchange for my chance; and meantime, I should like to ask a question or two.

1. How is the donor going to get at the poor so that they may receive the "gift"?
2. He will build houses with it, will he? Well, when built, who is to inhabit them? and on what terms?
  - (a) Are the "poor" to live rent free in them?
  - (b) Or to pay rent below the market value of them?
  - (c) If so, who amongst the poor are to be thus favoured?
  - (d) And where are the rest going to live?
3. Or is this, after all, another building company to whom the Guinness is going to lend his money?

When all these questions are answered quite satisfactorily, and I am so far assured that a gift has been given, I have still another question to ask, namely, *Where did the money come from?*

The Brazilian revolution would appear to be, as Mr. Cunninghame Graham hints, a revolution of the ordinary political type which does not touch the workers at all, but it may turn out otherwise. If so we shall soon see. It will not be a matter of "freeing" the slaves in the bourgeois sense of the word; that may be done, as we in England know too well, without making one stroke at the slavery of poverty. If the Brazilian revolution is to be a real one, Capitalism, the root of all evil, must be attacked definitely; then we shall believe in it. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

We have lost by death an energetic worker in the Cause, William Sharman, who, although he was addressed by the title of "reverend," had long shaken off any priestly assumption of dogmatism or special holiness. William Sharman was one of those Unitarian preachers who have become entirely convinced of the truth of Socialism, and see no reason for keeping their light under a bushel; he was a centre

of Socialism in a very unsocialistic neighbourhood, and quietly and steadily did much good; a genial, unselfish man, his personal friends will miss him sorely. W. M.

Lord Melbourne's journals and papers, recently published, include some valuable contributions to the history of an interesting period (1790-1848) and many characteristic sketches of the men who made that history. One of his caustic touches is: "Dr. ——— is one of those men whom the Whigs call a Tory; whom the Tories call a fair man inclined to Whig opinions; and who calls himself a man of no politics. Such men are for the most part, if not always, really Tories."

Then, as now, Whigs were no better than Tories when the people were concerned. Here is one of the reasons urged by Melbourne himself against removing the Houses of Parliament from Westminster (italics ours):

"If a total removal takes place, and that to a situation where space is unlimited, it will be very difficult to avoid providing much larger accommodation for spectators as well as for members; and Viscount Melbourne need not recall to your Majesty's mind the fatal effects which large galleries filled with the multitude have had upon the deliberation of public assemblies, and consequently upon the laws and institutions of nations."

May not the "munificent gifts" of Messrs. Guinness and Waterlow, over which the papers have been gushing so, be merely "ransom" such as Mr. Chamberlain used to talk about when he was playing to the gallery and had not turned his face downwards to the stalls? Anyway, it is only giving back a feather from a stolen goose.

The Bishop of Manchester feels that he must move with the times. This is how he does it:

"Dr. Moorhouse, speaking at a meeting of the governors of the Manchester Hospital for Incurables, said one suggestion in the report was that they had lost a considerable number of subscribers during the year, and he must tell them that they were destined to lose more and more, not only by death, but in virtue of the great social movement which most of them regarded with the utmost satisfaction, that social movement whereby the wealth of this country was being very much more extensively distributed among the people. Only the other day a very eminent statesman, who had just received a number of returns making it perfectly plain, told him that whereas the number of smaller fortunes was largely increasing in Great Britain, the number of larger fortunes was steadily diminishing. He (the Bishop) was glad of that, because no community was in a healthy state which had nothing but a small knot of millionaires on one hand, and mostly all paupers on the other. Call this social movement what they might, there was no disguising from themselves the fact that it would make the collection of funds for institutions like that more and more difficult."

The *Omaha Daily Democrat* of the 8th prints a report on the Paris Congress—the progressive one—by the Hon. John E. Ahles, delegate of the Brotherhood of United Labour. In the course of it he complains that the *Commonweal* did not correctly describe the American contingent at the Congress. Well! the *Commonweal* deeply regrets the mistake, though from his own statement it seems to have been a natural as well as a very slight one. But he forgets to say that although the Editor and Secretaries of the *Commonweal* were both there, as well as many other representatives of European labour papers, he neglected to explain to any of them the position he took up, which seems to have been generally misunderstood by the Congress.

What led to his withdrawal from the Congress was that he had been selected to report for the *United States*, but that through what he claims to have been "ignorance or dishonesty" on the part of Liebknecht, Mr. Busche, then of the *Workmen's Advocate*, supplanted him, and proceeded to misrepresent American labour. He need not now be sore, however, for the revenge of time has overtaken Mr. Busche, who has since then been cast out and discredited by the Socialist Labour Party of the U. S., by which he was sent to Paris, and in consequence is no longer in the editorial chair of the *Workmen's Advocate*, to that paper's manifest improvement. Among other things, we notice that it now acknowledges in a proper manner the source of its clippings. S.



## THE MEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

## II

## MIRABEAU AND ROBESPIERRE.

We have seen revolutionary Paris in its first outburst of fury against the tyranny of the king and the nobles. We have seen the storm as it spread from Paris over the whole of France, its course marked by the blazing chateaux of the aristocrats. It now remains to take a glimpse at the man who, up to the fall of the Bastille, was the head of the revolt; but who now, like many revolutionary leaders of the "moderate" type, sees that the people are getting in advance of him, and is beginning to fall back into the rear.

Foremost among the men who sit upon the benches of the Assembly, which is now looked upon with superstitious awe by the French people as the sole means of bringing "Peace and the Constitution" to distracted France, is Gabriel Honoré Riquette de Mirabeau, born of a wild Southern race, noted for their contempt of law and authority. A race gallant in battle, but usually too rough and blunt for the scented atmosphere of Courts, where a rough word to a king's favourite would often outweigh the memory of services rendered in the field of battle. Mirabeau was not an unworthy representative of his family. He had the good or bad fortune to be the son of "a friend of man," the Marquis de Mirabeau, a deep student of political economy, who displayed his love of mankind by locking his family up, all but one, in prison, because they were impudent enough not to regulate their conduct by rules he had laid down for their guidance. In those good old days, when "parents were what parents ought to be," and "law-'n'-order" supported them to the fullest in exercising their authority, an irascible father could not only cut off a rebellious son with a shilling, but put him in the Bastille as well by means of a *lettre de cachet*. The Marquis de Mirabeau made the fullest use of his privileges as a noble, and only required three score *lettres de cachet* for his own use.

It was only to be expected that young Mirabeau would reap the full benefit of his father's paternal care. At both school and college he showed remarkable abilities, and with these abilities a strong individuality which would brook no control. In consequence, as he grew up, he was repeatedly consigned to jail by his philanthropic parent. While at Pontarlier he met Madame de Monier, the young wife of an old husband. The two fell in love, and escaping from the prison fled together to Holland. Here they lived by literary work, but were shamefully betrayed and handed over to the French Government, when Madame de Monier was sent to a convent and Mirabeau to the prison of Vincennes. Here he passed forty-two months in a dark dungeon, with hardly any clothing to his back. Released he wandered through Europe, writing on every subject of topical interest, and continually attacking the system under which he had suffered. The sound of the gathering storm of the revolution brought him to France. He was elected to the National Assembly as deputy for Aix, and from his election the time of his public history begins. He attended with other deputies the opening of the States-General, and marched in the procession with other deputies from the Church de Notre Dame to the Church of St. Louis. Here all eyes were fixed upon him, attracted by the fame of his intellect and also of his vices. "His immense mane of hair, his leonine head, stamped with a mighty ugliness, were astounding; no one could take their eyes from him. He was a man, and the others were but shadows."<sup>1</sup> Thus 'mid the throng, the giant, vicious it is true, but great and courageous, strides along, frowned on by the mediocre respectabilities that surround him. He marches on contemptuous and undaunted, "shaking his lion's mane as if prophetic of great deeds."

For a time Mirabeau spoke but little in the Assembly, but his opportunity came at last. In the early days of the struggle between the King and the Commons, being egged on by the Court, his majesty determined to put an end to this sort of thing, and backed up by a strong display of military force, he read out a list of concessions he had resolved to make to popular demands, and wound up by informing his faithful Commons "that if they would not carry them out he would do it without them." Already the Commons, dumb with apprehension, saw before them the gleaming bayonets of an impending *coup d'état*, when Mirabeau, springing to the tribune, said to the king's messenger, who bade the Assembly obey the king's orders and disperse, "We have heard the intentions suggested by the king; and you, sir, who can never be his organ to the National Assembly, you, who have neither place, right, nor voice to speak, you are not the man to remind us of it. Go and tell them who sent you, that we are here by the will of the people, and nothing but the force of bayonets shall drive us hence." These stirring words put new courage into the hearts of the Assembly; they stood to their guns amid roars of popular approval. The Court was defeated, and Mirabeau became from that day the most popular man in France.

But now mark what followed. Mirabeau was an aristocrat; and though persecuted in his younger days by his own class, it was impossible for him to forget his birth and his blood. He was alarmed by the spread of the revolution. The fall of the Bastille, the burning of the chateaux, the sweeping away of feudal rights and privileges frightened him; the revolution was going too far. Besides, his vices, his love of wine and women, luxurious feasting, splendid establishments, needed a full purse to support his extravagance; but riches are not found in the ranks of the revolutionary party, while the reaction had

gold and to spare. Soon after the fall of the Bastille, Mirabeau received gold from the Court, and made use of his immense popularity to delay and obstruct the progress of the revolution. After a time he did worse, he plotted with the Court for the overthrow of the revolution and butchery of the people. His death on April 2nd, 1791, brought on by his wild life, only saved him from the inevitable doom, which in those days overtook treason. For it is absurd to suppose that even Mirabeau, great as his abilities were, could have stayed the progress of the torrent of revolt; he would only have been swept away in the desperate endeavour. It was not until the revolution had exhausted itself by years of storm and stress, that a mightier than Mirabeau—Napoleon Bonaparte—could overthrow the stockjobbers and usurers who usurped the post once occupied by men, who, whatever were their faults, were sincere in their desire to make life happier and better for the masses of the people. In such an attempt Mirabeau would have died like Danton, upon the scaffold. There are times when events are stronger than men, no matter how strong those men may be.

But in the same Assembly, within whose walls as Farmer Gerard remarked "there were a good many scoundrels," was another man, whom middle-class historians have not hard words enough to shower upon—his name is Maximilian Robespierre. In every way a complete contrast to Mirabeau, the "anxious, slight, ineffectual looking man under thirty in spectacles," would have looked poor and mean beside the huge revolutionary giant that towered above him, yet he had a quality which Mirabeau lacked, and without which all Mirabeau's great qualities were as dust in the balance. Robespierre was honest; even his bitterest foes are forced to admit it; and it was that one quality that enabled him to triumph over foes who were his superiors in both courage and ability. Mirabeau even saw this, and in one of the earlier Sessions of the Assembly remarked to some friends, "This man will do somewhat, he believes every word he says." Not only was Robespierre sincere, but he was entirely disinterested. The son of an advocate, he was sent to the college of Louise Grandat Paris by the influence of Cardinal Rohan, noted for his share in the scandalous affair of the diamond necklace. There he had Camille Desmoulins as schoolmate; but Robespierre did not stay there long, for he begged his patron to let him resign in favour of a younger brother. He returned home to his own province of Arras, and there practised in his profession of advocate so successfully that his abilities attracted the attention of the bishop, who used his influence to appoint him judge of his diocese. Robespierre's decisions, unlike those of most judges in those days, were never swayed by bribery of self-interest. One day a culprit is brought before him, for whose offence the law prescribes the penalty of death, and Robespierre resigns his post with all its emoluments rather than pronounce that sentence upon this unfortunate wretch. These simple facts hardly bear out the epithets that are usually levied at Robespierre by middle-class historians; certainly you could hardly expect these deeds from a man that was either "self-seeking," "bloodthirsty," or "cruel." If Robespierre sent intriguing royalists to the guillotine it could only have been in obedience to what he imagined was a cruel necessity, and the respectable persons who exclaim against him and the people of Paris for the abrupt methods of disposing of their enemies, should remember that these traitors to their country and the people were in league with foreign despots to bring arson, massacre, and slaughter upon the French people, who had been brave enough to rebel against the tyranny of centuries. Mercy with people of this kind would have been a mistake; only it would have been better to have stripped them of the wealth which made them dangerous, and thus rendered them powerless to injure the people, reserving the guillotine only for very extreme cases. Still, it is easy to criticise from an arm-chair standpoint, and yet probably under the same circumstances the critic would have done the same. As we advance further into the history of these exciting years, we may often have cause to wonder at the self-restraint exercised by the people under circumstances of extreme provocation on the part of their enemies.

My purpose in writing this article was to draw a contrast between two men who are in their way revolutionary types. On one side the man of gigantic genius, of startling talent, yet depraved by a vicious life, selling himself and the cause of the people for gold—Mirabeau; this "splendid leper," a giant whom cold steel could not frighten, but yet gold could buy. On the other hand, Robespierre, the man whose abilities are scarcely above the average, but whose honesty, sincerity, and disinterestedness are so apparent that he wins the confidence of the people, who are wearied of tricksters of every kind, and stand even to-day a figure at which all their foemen shudder.

I am quite aware that Robespierre's principles are not ours, that his care for the people took the form of the benevolent despotism of modern State Socialism; but still no one can doubt his love for the poor, and what is more he met his fate at the hands of a pitiless reaction, whose leaders were the men who could boast of all of Mirabeau's vices but none of his virtues. Cold-blooded scoundrels who restored once again the rule of the money-bag, and the slavery of the masses to the tyranny of the rich. It is because Robespierre died for the people and by their foes that his name should be remembered among the other martyrs of the popular cause. D. J. NICOLL.

There are about 80,000 able-bodied convicts in our jails and penitentiaries. The crime and vice represented by this immense prison population is the outgrowth of a vicious social system which enforces poverty on the many to enable the few to revel in luxury. The best antidote for crime is occupation and comfort.—Washington (D. C.) *National Economist*.

<sup>1</sup> Michelet's "French Revolution."

## CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

THE ordinary conception among the so-called educated classes of the relations between labour and capitalism is a striking instance of the power of a phrase. Nothing has done more to confuse the public mind as to the rights and wrongs of the social question, and so lead to the perpetuation of the worst evils of wage-slavery, than the systematic misuse of the term "capital." The true and original meaning of the word is, of course, wealth, either in the form of money or materials, employed for the production of more wealth; and were it always used in this sense a great deal of misconception would have been avoided and the utter shallowness and absurdity of much of the teaching of the hired apologist for plutocracy would have been apparent at the first glance. But because the growth of language has not kept pace with new conditions arising from social evolution it has become customary to use the word "capital" in a double sense. In addition to its primary and correct meaning of wealth employed in production, it has come by general usage to signify also the interests and powers of those who own or control capital. In speaking of "the rights of capital," "the conflict between capital and labour," and similar every-day phrases, reference is made not to material capital, the product and at the same time the instrument of industry, but to the position of the capitalist as a social factor. Using the word sometimes in one sense and sometimes in the other, it is no wonder that those whose interest it is to befog the popular understanding on the subject should have found in this confusion, under the one term of two ideas of such widely different import, a splendid opportunity for the exercise of controversial disingenuousness. How easy, for instance, is it to argue that as capital—i.e., the product of labour used to create more wealth—is a necessary instrument and auxiliary of labour, that therefore the interests of labour and capital are identical, and all who would attempt to stir up strife between them are either fools or knaves.

"Capital," says the hireling journalist, or the sleek and well-paid popular lecturer, "what is it but the tools with which industry works—machinery and raw material, axes and hammers, spades and wheelbarrows, corn and cotton? Capital is but stored labour, increasing and multiplying infinitely the productiveness of the labour of the future. Why, without capital we could do nothing. We should all be naked, half-starved savages. So you see that there can be no possible antagonism between capital and labour. They are mutually necessary and ought to be the best friends." And there are any number of otherwise intelligent, fairly-educated people who have been convinced by this kind of intellectual jugglery that labour reformers are a set of mischievous destructives and that the complaints of the toilers of the oppression of capitalism are unfounded. They have not the wit to see that the "capital" whose advantages are universally acknowledged is an entirely different thing from the "capital" whose rule is complained of as arbitrary and tyrannous, although comprised under the same term—that the inert material, the use of which renders labour profitable—has been confounded with the individuals, whose possession or control of it puts them in a position to tax industry.

No labour reformer has any quarrel with "capital." We all recognise its utility—nay, its absolute necessity—to effective production. But "capitalism" is another affair altogether. It is the assumption of the few who possess capital to control labour by virtue of such possession. When once the distinction is clearly understood, the whole superstructure of false logic and politico-economical platitudes, reared upon the puerile play upon words, in which writers who pass for cultured and profound have not been ashamed to indulge, falls to the ground. And to this end all labour-reform writers and speakers ought to be careful to make the distinction, and never say "capital" when they mean "capitalism." It may seem a small matter in the eyes of some, but we cannot ignore the extent to which the convictions of mankind are shaped by words and phrases. Men will fight to the death for a catchword or a party shibboleth, which by the change of conditions has lost any real meaning it may at one time have possessed.

In admitting the usefulness of "capital" we do not admit the necessity for the capitalist or the system of capitalism which implies the absolute control of the forces of labour by the money power. On the contrary, as all wealth is the creation of labour, it should be the servant, not the master—the instrument, and not the directing power. The interests of capitalism and labour are diametrically and eternally opposed to each other in the very nature of things. They never can be harmonised, and they never ought to be. Labour has not and cannot have any quarrel with "capital" any more than with land or air or water. But with those who seek to monopolise all or any of these essentials to life and industry we have an unceasing struggle to wage to regain possession of our natural rights, and establish a just system of distribution under which capitalism will cease to exist, while capital will be owned by those whose labour alone gives it value.—*Journal of United Labour.*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

HENRY GEORGE AND P. E. DOVE.

I desire to state that to my knowledge Henry George had never seen or heard of Patrick Edward Dove as late as the autumn of 1882—that is to say, three years after the publication of 'Progress and Poverty,' and eleven years after Henry George's 'Our Land and Land Policy,' which I have now before me, and from which 'Progress and Poverty' obviously evolved. But independently of this, any unbiassed literary man who takes the trouble to read Dove's two works, 'The Theory of Human Progression' (London, 1850) and 'The Elements of Political Science' (Edinburgh, 1854), will see that the idea of plagiarism is supremely untenable. Further, in the New York *Standard* of October 16th, Henry George meets the original suggestion with a straightforward openness which probably no English editor would have exhibited, seeing that he publishes in his own journal the full text of the accusatory article in the *Twentieth Century*, at the same time distinctly stating, what I knew seven years ago—i.e., that he had not heard of P. E. Dove's works when he published 'Progress and Poverty.'

With this information before you I feel sure that you will take the necessary steps to stamp out the misstatement alluded to.

58 Oxford Street, Birmingham, Nov. 16.

THOS. F. WALKER.

GLASGOW.—Stepniak (author of 'Underground Russia,' etc.) will lecture on "Socialism amongst the Russian Peasantry" in the Waterloo Grand Hall, on Sunday evening first, at 7 o'clock. Stepniak will meet members in Rooms, 122 Ingram Street, at 2 p.m.

## HOLY THURSDAY.

Is this a holy thing to see  
In a rich and fertile land,  
Babes reduced to misery,  
Fed with cold and usurious haud?

Is that trembling cry a song?  
Can it be a song of joy?  
And so many children poor?  
It is a land of poverty!

And their sun does never shine,  
And their fields are bleak and bare,  
And their ways are filled with thorns:  
It is eternal winter there.

For where'er the sun does shine,  
And where'er the rain does fall,  
Babe can never hunger there,  
Nor poverty the mind appal.

WILLIAM BLAKE.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 7, 1889.

1	Sun.	1849. Ebenezer Elliott, the "Corn Law Rhymer," died. 1865. Thomas Clarke Luby sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude as a Fenian. 1867. Funeral processions throughout Ireland in honour of the Manchester martyrs. 1879. Explosion on the St. Petersburg Moscow Railway; same train as day before. 1883. Patrick O'Donnell sentenced to death at the Old Bailey for executing the informer Carey.
2	Mon.	1816. "Spa-fields Riot," arising out of a meeting held at Spa-fields to receive the answer to the petition presented to the Regent from a meeting at the same place on Nov. 15; desultory fighting between troops and people throughout afternoon and evening. 1851. <i>Coup d'état</i> in Paris. 1852. Frances Wright died. 1859. John Brown hung. 1872. Strike of 2,400 gasmen in London. 1879. Alexander II. appeals to all classes of the Russian nation for support against the revolutionists. 1887. Alfred Linnell, first victim of Bloody Sunday, died. 1888. Baudin manifestation at Paris, including a procession from the Hotel de Ville to Montmartre.
3	Tues.	1882. Arabi Pasha banished to Ceylon.
4	Wed.	1795. Thomas Carlyle born. 1797. Thomas Muir entertained at a fraternal banquet by the citizens of Bordeaux. 1838. Fight between patriots and loyalists at Windsor, Canada. 1871. Trial of Maxime Lisbonne for his part in the Commune.
5	Thur.	1806. Trial of John McDonough and Wm. Kearney, "Thrashers," at Sligo, for house-breaking and belonging to an "unlawful confederacy"; acquitted. 1816. Serious food-riot in Dundee, caused by large shipments of grain and a sudden rise in the price of meal; over 100 shops plundered, and a corn-dealer's set fire to.
6	Fri.	1793. Trial of Thomas Briellat, pumpmaker, of Shoreditch, for seditious words, as to the need for an English republic, etc. 1806. Trial of Thomas Brennan, "Thrasher," at Sligo; death. 1865. John O'Leary sentenced to penal servitude for twenty years, and O'Donovan Rossa for life, as Fenians. 1882. Louis Blanc died.
7	Sat.	1683. Algernon Sydney beheaded. 1795. Meeting of London Corresponding Society at Jews' Harp House. 1879. Jón Sigurdsson died.

The nation which can show the most enormous massing of wealth can also show the most abject poverty. The one is the usual accompaniment of the other. Great wealth cannot be massed except it be taken from the thousands who created it to be centred in the hands of the few who hold it. Every unusual luxury enjoyed by one represents its equivalent in destitution and suffering by many.—Washington (D. C.) *National Economist*.

INTEREST.—These pleasant illustrations to show the poetic justice of interest, like that of the poor fellow digging potatoes with his fingers till the benevolent capitalist kindly loans him a spade to be returned with a goodly share of potatoes, only serve to show that men could never have been cheated or driven into the adoption of any such practice, if its advocates had not given it the outward semblance of justice. Anybody who has read "Ivanhoe," if not history, knows that the Jews of the dark times of Catholic supremacy were hated by professed Christians less for having crucified Jesus than for the usury which their somewhat unique position as the only really successful financiers of the time enabled them to extort. It was not until Christians learned from their Jewish taskmasters that to let men live to produce for them and to absorb their products in the shape of usury was really easier than killing them outright, that they concluded to tame the monster usury—convert and Christianise him for their own special accommodation. He was duly baptized "Interest," fettered a little by something known as "legal enactment," and put to work in Christian harness. The petty examples brought forward by the advocates of this infamy give no more idea of its real dimensions than one gets of an elephant by merely seeing the eye. The truth is, the heaviest interests under which the masses struggle to-day, are those for which the "for value received" is a rascally pretext on the part of the interest takers; the indebtedness is purely fiat in the large majority of cases, created by the scratch of a pen. Let anyone who doubts this, examine the real character of our town, city, state, and national debts to be convinced. The smaller interests which are taken or paid among private individuals, although wrong in principle, are a drop in the bucket as compared with these monster absorbers of the people's wealth, which do their work so stealthily and so evenly as to escape the notice of their victims. There is no end to the things that can truthfully be said on this line.—Eleanor F. Baldwin, in *Twentieth Century*.

CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday December 1, at 8 p.m., Jas. Blackwell, "Trade-Unionism, Social Democracy, and Anarchism."



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN READ IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. M. (Manchester)—Shall have attention in a day or two; delay unavoidable through removal.  
W. B. T. (Edinburgh)—Kindly address your report in accordance with notice underneath.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 27.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND
Brotherhood	Investigator	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Justice	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	BELGIUM
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Ghent—Vooruit
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Philadelphia—United Labour	Bulletin Continental
Railway Review	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
INDIA	St Louis—Anarchist	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	GERMANY
UNITED STATES	Paris—La Revolte	Berlin—Volks Tribune
New York—Der Sozialist	Bourse du Travail	DENMARK
Freiheit	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	AUSTRIA	WEST INDIES
Volkszeitung	Wien—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Cuba—El Productor
Jewish Volkszeitung	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme	
Workmen's Advocate		

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OF THE  
"COMMONWEAL"

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LONDON, W.C.

Exchanges and Correspondents Please Note.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propaganda work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

JOHN MORLEY.

THE political career of John Morley is an "awful example" of the demoralising influence of politics. It is a warning to us all. Could his old intellectual wet nurse, Philosophic Radicalism, behold him now, what would she think? Rest her good soul, it is well that she is dead! Maybe her spirit still haunts for a season the shelves whereon Mill's "Representative Government" and his own "On Compromise" lie dust covered. If so, how it must anguish her to read the reports of his speeches in the daily newspapers which are laid on the library table! The once promising apostle of high and mighty political ethics and intellectual integrity, become a hack politician! The student who walked the solemn portals of uncompromising principles, wallowing in the filth and mire of electioneering and party chicanery!

Probably some Socialists will say, that Mr. Morley's decline and fall into Parliamentary pusillanimity was just what one would have anticipated from the vague preceptorial attitude of his earlier writings; and some may even affirm that he has not declined or fallen at all; that his philosophical platform was always a shabby one, and that he never was more than a backboneless poser in political criticism. Such opinions are, I think, not quite fair. It appears to me that there was much in his earlier writings to justify the hope that Mr. Morley would have acted a useful and not ignoble part in the conflict of modern social speculations, and that instead of descending into the wretched arena of party disputation and office hunting, he would at least have borne steadily, if not very brilliantly, the little light of social idealism which Mr. Mill committed from his dying grasp to his disciples.

As it is, instead of entering practical politics (which he never should have entered) as a fearless and uncompromising champion of sheer political and social principles, prepared to struggle with the minority through good and ill report, Mr. Morley has at once amalgamated himself with the ignorant, brutish, and selfish majority, and has endeavoured to beat the record as a place-seeker and manœuvrer of party marionettes. No politician of recent times has more explicitly disavowed principle in favour of expediency and party and personal success. Men must be judged "according to their lights," and while Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Lord Randolph Churchill may be excused as never having known any better, Mr. Morley must be condemned as having abjured his faith for a mess of pottage, and having "wilfully sought his own salvation."

Could the career of John Morley of to-day be written by the John Morley of ten or fifteen years ago, what a poor spectacle he would make of him! What fine dissertations on pure morals he would give us, when relating how the author of "On Compromise" and the apologist of Robespierre and the French Revolution declared at Newcastle a few days ago to the labour delegates, "If you ask me if I am in favour of abolishing the Monarchy, I answer emphatically, 'No!'" With what solemn antithesis he would set Mr. Morley's political critiques in the *Fortnightly Review* of ten years ago against the political harangues of Mr. Morley of the last two years! In the *Fortnightly Review* days, Mr. Morley criticised the doings of Liberals and Tories with some measure of impartiality. He frequently blamed the Liberals for speaking and acting wrongly, and not infrequently commended the attitude and utterances of the Tories. Mr. Morley was not a politician then, and probably had no thought of becoming one, or of tasting the "sweets" of office. Now Mr. Morley is a politician, and has tasted, and wants to taste more, of official privilege and power. So you never find him saying one good word of the Tories, or one bad word of the Liberals. Has the Liberal party become so much wiser and better since then, and the Tory party so much more foolish and wicked? Or has not rather Mr. Morley become a changed man, changed from an impartial and thoughtful observer to a bribed and prejudiced partisan?

Yes! according to Mr. Morley, everything the Liberals and Home Rulers do or want to do is right; everything the Tories and wicked Liberal Unionists do or want to do is wrong. Some politicians who are in favour of a more extreme measure of Home Rule than the Liberals are ever likely to give Ireland, and who never pretended to be very philosophical or exacting in their critical estimates, do not just approve of everything said and done by the Irish party; but philosophical Mr. Morley has no reservation in his approval of their tactics. He is prepared to back up and justify with a thousand historical and ethical references, every syllable uttered and every act done in the name of the Home Rule agitation. Even the most insensitive of the Irish members must blush sometimes, when they behold the halo of wisdom and absolute justice which Mr. Morley radiates round their most inconsequent sayings and doings—from Mr. O'Brien's fight for his breeches to Mr. Redmond's epistolary remonstrances to the editor of the *Times*.

In his recent utterances on social and labour questions, Mr. Morley shows that he is not one whit more governed by principle in his "opinions" than Lord Randolph Churchill or the worst political time-servers of the day. Nor can we say that he is any degree more advanced or democratic. Some of our friends are apt to look upon his declaration in favour of what is termed the "London programme" as an evidence of his progressiveness. Of course he is progressive—so also is Churchill. Politicians must be progressive. But let us not credit Churchill, Morley or any other politicians with what we, not they, have done. Undoubtedly, Socialists and Land Nationalisers have brought a number of measures within the region of practical politics, which politicians previously rejected as impractical. And now that we have made them practical, why praise men like John Morley because they cannot fail to see what is evident to the veriest political



nincompoop? Let us judge John Morley's opinions, not by what he cannot avoid approving if he intends to exist as a politician, but by the measures or principles he advocates because he thinks them right, whether immediately expedient or not. Judged in this way, Mr. Morley will, I think, be found not on the side of progress really, but on the side of reaction. In his speech at the Eighty Club he declared himself against Socialism if it meant the abolition of private property. That is a definite declaration of principle. The abolition of private property is not within the region of practical politics, and in Mr. Morley's estimation is not likely to be for a long time. He was safe, therefore, in making that declaration as a politician. But free education, free meals to school children, the taxation of ground values, etc., these are measures which are distinctly within the range of practical politics, and although they are definitely Socialistic measures (for they sap the very foundations of the principle of individualism and private property) yet Mr. Morley supports them. Mr. Morley might as well tell us that he is a strict teetotaler, but that he is prepared to take a little wine—or even whiskey if much pressed—just for his stomach's sake, as it were!

It would serve little purpose to enter into a detailed criticism of Mr. Morley's objections to the eight hours movement and other of the more extreme labour proposals. One gets quite sick of replying to the statements of men, who by their position and professions dare not, even if they had any honest convictions, speak them out. Of course, if it were necessary it would be the duty of Socialists at all times to dispute point by point even the most barefaced misstatements of politicians. Luckily for us, however, it is not so. Everywhere around us we see the true principles of Socialism spreading amongst the people with extraordinary swiftness; and by the time we could succeed in dispersing half the crudities and calumnies which men like Mr. Morley thrust in our pathway, the social revolution would be upon us.

Mr. Morley says that he is sometimes regarded as a sluggard Whig and sometimes as a Nihilist—sometimes as a Marlborough House man and sometimes as a St. Just. This he appeared to regard as rather complimentary to the breadth and variety of his sympathies. Perhaps it is. Blowing hot and cold and mixing bitter with sweet has long been a favourite and successful accomplishment of politicians. There has always been a close resemblance between the professions of the conjurer and the political adventurer. It is scarcely necessary, however, to remark that no honest and earnest advocate of truth is ever likely to be so misapprehended. St. Just could never be mistaken for a Marlborough House man, or a Marlborough House man for a St. Just; and if Mr. Morley were burning with a desire to serve suffering humanity and prepared to fight all principalities and powers in behalf of truth and justice, he would not be regarded as a Whig or anything but what he really was—and never would have had the opportunity of delivering his shallow and specious address at the Eighty Club.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

### THE WAGE SYSTEM AND CHATTEL SLAVERY.

AN attempt was made on the life of Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, since deposed, and it is said the would-be regicide was actuated by a desire to be revenged for the emancipation of the slaves. If this be true, says the *Journal of United Labour*, it will be interesting to discover to what class of society the man belongs, and how the emancipation of the slaves affected him. He is said to have been crazy: if so he may belong to the ex-slave-holding class; a sane member of this class would hardly feel resentful for the emancipation, they have benefited too greatly, in the way of cheaper labour and lessened anxiety, from it. It was the wealthy land-holders and slave-owners who led the movement for the emancipation of the slaves in Brazil, a fact that may seem strange to those who remember how desperately Southern slave-owners fought against abolition. Yet with the experience of the Southern planters before them it was the most natural thing in the world that the Brazilian land-owners should favour emancipation. It was because they believed that slave labour was cheap that the planters of the South favoured slavery, but their experience since the war has shown them that the wage system gives them cheaper labour than slavery did. It costs less to hire black men now than it did to support them and pay interest on their purchase money before the war; and, instead of the injury they dreaded, abolition has absolutely benefited them financially. The fear of want and anxiety for his children is a sharper goad to force the negro wage slave to work than ever was the driver's lash; and if he is no longer the "property" of his employer, his master is relieved of all anxiety regarding his "property's" health and welfare. In slavery, the condition of the slaves varied; some worked on cotton lands, some in sugar plantations, and some in rice swamps, some slave-owners were more just and humane than were others. Not every one was a Legree. So under the wage system there is difference of condition: the lot of the bricklayer and carpenter is better than that of the Pennsylvania miner and cokeworker; the employés in one factory have advantages over those in another. Some employers are more just and humane than others. The essence of slavery is that men are compelled to work for the benefit of others, and that the result of their labour does not inure to themselves. They may be forced into slavery by the guns of the Arab slave-hunters, or by monopoly of natural opportunities; they may become the property of a master by virtue of a sale in the slave-market, or the employé of one through the operation of competitive commercialism; but whether kidnapped into chattel slaves or monopolised into the wage system, it is a mockery to call them free when the fruit of their labour is not theirs to enjoy. The modern wage-worker does not wear a collar like the Saxon serf; he need not fear the driver's lash like the chattel slave; but the law of supply and demand binds him as firmly to his task as the one, and the sharp sting of competition goads him to his work as effectively as the other; while the iron law of wages fixes the amount he is to receive for his support as near the minimum where he can exist and continue to produce as ever did the pinching economy of the most careful feeder of slaves. At best the wage system is but an improved system of slavery—this is the most that can be said of it—and all the improvements have not been in the interest of workers.

### A SOCIALIST HYMN.

By the bodies and minds and souls that rot in a common sty  
In the city's offal-holes, where the dregs of its horrors lie—  
By the prayers that bubble out, and never ascend to God,  
We swear the tyrants of earth to rout, with tongue and with pen and sword!

By the child that sees the light, where the pestilent air stagnates,  
By the woman, worn and white, who under the street-lamp waits,  
By the horror of vice that thrives in the dens of the wretched poor,  
We swear to strike when the time arrives, for all that is good and pure!

By the rights that were always ours—the rights that we ne'er enjoyed,  
By the gloomy cloud that lowers on the brow of the unemployed,  
By the struggling mothers and wives—by the girls in the streets of sin—  
We swear to strike when the time arrives, for our kind, and our kith and kin!

By our burning hate for men who rob us of ours by might,  
And drive to the slum and den, the poor from the sun and light,  
By the hell-born greed that drives our sons o'er the world to roam,  
We swear to strike when the time arrives, and strike for our friends and home!

By the little of manhood left in a world of want and sin,  
By the rift in the dark cloud's brow where the light still struggles in,  
By the love that scarce survives in a stream that is sluggish and thin,  
We swear to work till the time arrives for ourselves and our kind and kin!

The little of love may dry in its stream that scarcely flows,  
The little of manhood die and the rift in the dark clouds close,  
And hope may vanish from earth and all that is pure and bright,  
But we swear to strike e'er that time has birth with the whole of our gathered might!

Sydney Bulletin.

HENRY LAWSON.

### INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

#### DENMARK.

The controversy between the Danish Socialistic papers, *Social Demokraten* and *Arbejderen*, has now degenerated into a scandal and a shame, which must be felt as an humiliation by all Socialists. On November 8th, the leaders of the Danish Social-democratic party and editors of the *Social Demokraten* (that is the "party government") dismissed Miss Signe Andersen from her membership of the said "party government," because she had censured it in *Arbejderen* for partly concealing the true kernel of Socialism, and compromising with Liberals and Radicals in order to get a big political party (of a very mixed quality though), and in order to make safe their own comfortable position as leaders or "government." On November 10th, this same socialistic government sent out a circular to all the Socialists of Denmark, requesting them to vote for or against the expulsion from the party of the seven editors of *Arbejderen*, namely, comrades Gerson Trier, P. Petersen, Nicolai L. Petersen, F. Möller, Nielsen-Kolding, P. Christensen, and Chr. Bildsøe. Their "crime" consisted simply of "violating party discipline"! They have dared to speak out in earnest their opinion upon the party government, and to criticise the quality of the Socialistic party itself; and that is reason enough for the Danish party government to make themselves into Bismarcks, dictating expulsion!

Such is the liberty of the press and of free thought and speech in the Danish Social-Democratic party, which identifies itself with Socialism in Denmark! But this, bad as it is, is hardly the worst of the affair. *Arbejderen* has always exercised its, as it seems to me, very necessary criticism in a fair and moderate way; but *Social-Demokraten* uses against its adversaries the dirtiest and vilest denunciations, mostly of a quite private character. It simply declares our seven comrades of *Arbejderen* to be "spies," "masked Conservatives," etc., etc. Since the publication of the expulsion resolution in *Social-Demokraten*, this paper has every day been full of foul personal attacks upon the seven "miscreants." It is very seldom that I have observed more corrupt practices on the side of the bourgeois press against Socialists than the tactics of this "Social-Democratic" paper against its Socialistic adversaries. And the shame is the greater, as fellow-Socialists ought to stand nigher than our enemies the bourgeois.

The result of the vote upon the expulsion of the seven comrades of *Arbejderen* was going to be published on the 20th of November. It will probably be affirmative to the proposal of the "government" by a large majority. If so, we have from this month to date a thorough split in the so-called Socialistic party of Denmark; and it will be the lasting honour of comrade Trier to have provoked this split, because, under such circumstances as this a split means nothing less than the unveiling of a miserable humbug. We who mean by our Socialism something broader, and keener, and purer than the detestable political juggle of the "party government" in Denmark will hail this split as a new birth of Socialism in that country.

*Sens moral:* Dear friend, consider once more the "value" of a Socialistic party, of Socialistic political action. CAN there come anything good out of it?

STN.

COMMUNISM AND QUARRELLING.—Writing in 1592 of the true state of Iceland in reply to the "lying slanders" of Krantz and Munster, German cosmographers, "Arngrimus Jonas of Hólen Híaltadale" is very much exercised by the statement as to the Icelanders that "all things are common among them except their wives." Commenting upon this he says (*Hakluyt*, 1599 ed., p. 581): "But whether the aforesaid things be true or no, we call the laws of our country to witness, which the Icelanders from the beginning have used all one with the Norways; . . . of inheritances, . . . theft, extortions, lending, bargains, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enjoined unto them with whom all things are common? We call to witness so many broils and contentions in our courts and places of judgment . . . concerning goods moveable and immoveable. We call to witness our kings, . . . who by so many bills of supplication . . . hath been often interrupted, for the setting through of controversies concerning possessions." And he thus quite triumphantly refutes the reproach, as he takes it, cast upon his countrymen of taking away distinctions of properties, like the Anabaptists. For indeed how should laws and quarrellings pertain "unto those with whom all things are common"?

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### John Morley and Eight Hours.

The jubilation of the workmen Radicals when the Liberal and Radical Union accepted their proposal for an eight hours day in all Government establishments has been considerably checked by the stern *non possumus* of Mr. John Morley. The *Star*, which has advocated an eight hours law for some time, and at no time so strongly at the present, when it seems to fear that the spread of the labour revolt may lead to some breach of the peace, professes itself quite delighted with the stern honesty of Mr. Morley. It is a great pity that the *Star* has such a weakness for humbug, but then I suppose a mild infusion of that inestimable quality is one of the means by which the *Star* has attained its present great popularity. At the same time, as it falls down and worships the Roman virtue of Mr. Morley, it is good enough to hint to a working-class public that that rigid honesty might be softened on a future occasion, and, like the solid rock, wear away beneath the rushing torrent of modern democracy. Now, despite the *Star's* cant about Mr. Morley's "honesty"—a thing the editor knows very well that a successful politician has no business with, for he would find it a terrible obstacle to future greatness—I maintain that "honesty" does not enter into the business at all. To put the matter in the brutal language of the market, Mr. Morley's refusal simply means that for the Liberal party to pledge itself to such an "advanced" measure would not pay. Already the *Daily News*, the organ of the moderate Liberals—who are not only "moderate," but rich as well—had expressed alarm at the rate the Liberal and Radical Union were going. Therefore for the chiefs of the party to pledge themselves to anything of the kind would mean the driving of these gentlemen into the ranks of Tories, and what is of more consequence, the loss of their money and influence—very valuable in a general election. The situation is as follows: The Liberals daren't go in for even mild measures of social reform, although, of course, it may suit very well to get their Radical organs to talk a mild kind of Socialism, which means nothing in particular. The Tories will not, whatever Tory Democrats of the Randolph Churchill school may think or say. We have only to read the utterances of their leaders to see that they are as blind and bigoted as ever. Their only remedies for popular discontent are handcuffs, bludgeons, bullets, and bayonets. Therefore the people must trust in themselves. Let them take Mr. Morley's advice, and go in for combination. Only combination of a kind that Mr. Morley would scarcely relish. If those who advocate the eight hour labour day were resolved, they could bring with their great influence and popularity every workman in London out on strike for it in a year or so; and it strikes me that Mr. Morley and his friends might even prefer passing laws to that kind of combination. One thing is quite certain—the workmen can have eight hours when they like, as they can have anything, if they have courage to take it; but if they wait for one of the great political parties to give it to them they may wait till all eternity.

### The Bakers' Strike.

The men have practically won all along the line, though a few sweaters still hold out in the neighbourhood of Whitechapel. The union officials are now endeavouring to check the undue extension of overtime. In some cases 20 hours of overtime have been made in a week, and the union officials feel that this is not what the agitation was meant to bring about, as it is not diminishing the amount of unemployed labour. The British workman certainly doesn't deserve the taunt of being lazy which is so frequently thrown at him by middle-class critics. He seems to be too fond of work. Still it is to be feared that however desirable the abolition of overtime may be, it will be impossible to do away with it while ordinary wages are barely sufficient for the most elementary needs of life.

Later.—The Jewish bakers have now granted the men's demands, pressure having been brought to bear upon them by the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Adler. Several have been heavily fined at Clerkenwell Police-court for intimidation. The "intimidation" mainly consisted in distributing bills advising people not to buy their bread at a sweating shop.

### The Silvertown Strike.

Last Tuesday, the police diversified the monotony of the strike by a savage assault upon the strikers; these gallant heroes suddenly drawing the bludgeons and falling upon a helpless and unoffending crowd, breaking the heads of old men and young women with all that heroism which distinguishes our noble civic force. Several men were afterwards arrested, convicted, and imprisoned for "assaulting" the police.

### The Railwaymen.

The new Railway Worker's Union is going on swimmingly, to the intense disgust of the officials in the older society. Though only formed a few weeks the new society now numbers over 24,000 members. The officials of the old society have now given up relying upon articles from the *Times*, and are depending now upon their own unaided efforts. In an article in the *Railway Review*, there are some bitter complaints concerning "a great deal of loose talk about the new and old trade unionism," which the *Railway Review* sorrowfully admits "is generally to the detriment of the latter." It then goes on to say "that if it was necessary it would be easy to defend the greater portion of those who are at the head of our old societies," but the *Railway Review* appears to be of an opinion that it is not necessary, for it does not do it, perhaps because the task is not so easy as it at first appears. It then complains that "unless care is exercised that the new trade unions, the new labour organisations, will not be trade unions at all, but mere fighting bodies dependent upon the public for the sinews of war." The description of them as "fighting bodies" is perfectly accurate, and it is quite true they are not "trade unions" in the sense that A.S.R.S. is a trade union, that is they are not "benefit societies." That they are "fighting bodies" is perhaps owing to the fact that they are young, and not decrepit and helpless with old age, overfeeding, and that general debility produced by a superabundance of riches. It is not fair, however, to state that new trade unions are "dependent on the public for sinews of war." It is quite true that the dockers were dependent upon the public for assistance during the great dock strike, when the mass of them had no trade union, but now the dockers have their own trade union and will not need it in the future, and therefore it is not fair to make such a statement merely because the new unions do not demand large contributions from the members in order to turn "fighting bodies" into dead and alive benefit societies. The

old reactionary trade unionism may wail as much as it pleases, its hour has come! "The old order changeth," and the Rip Van Winkle of old-fashioned trade unionism has awoke from his twenty year's sleep, and has found the world very much changed indeed, to his intense disgust and astonishment. Poor fellow, he will soon go to sleep again, but it will be a sleep that will have no awakening.

### Waterproof Garment Makers.

A meeting was held on Saturday, Nov. 23rd, of workers in this trade for the purpose of forming a trade union; H. Davis occupied the chair. Speeches were delivered in English and German, urging those present to combine to destroy the two capital grievances, viz., the "improver" system and subcontract work. The following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That in the opinion of this meeting of men and women employed in the waterproof garment trade, the time has arrived to take the necessary steps to protect ourselves from the ever-growing sweating which is being rapidly introduced into this trade; we, therefore, pledge ourselves to form a union for our mutual benefit and protection." M. J. Silverstone was elected secretary *pro tem.*, and a committee of seven appointed and instructed to call the next meeting in some large hall in the district. W. Wess, of the Berner Street Club, who had rendered useful assistance in organising the meeting, was present, and took a large number of names as members of the new organisation. All communications to be addressed to the organising secretary, M. J. Silverstone, "Waterproofs," 2, Fort Street, Spitalfields, E.

### A Benevolent Gas Company.

The South Metropolitan Gas Company has become suddenly anxious about the welfare of its men. Quite recently it issued a scheme of profit-sharing by which a certain portion of profits would accumulate yearly to each man's credit in the hands of the company, and which would be forfeited in case of a strike. This is simply an attempt on the part of the company to lull the men over to keep the peace. And we are glad to see that the men look upon it in this light, and at a large meeting of South Metropolitan gas-workers held on Deptford Broadway on Sunday a resolution was carried declaring that this "benevolent" scheme was only a plan to break up the union, and calling upon the men not to sign the agreement. It must, moreover, be quite evident that if the company can afford to be so generous with its profits it can also afford to pay better wages, and the gas-workers must take care that they must get a better share of the profits without signing an agreement that will in any way limit their freedom of action.

### Sheffield Labourers.

Our comrades at Sheffield are busy forming a labourers' union. The masters are greatly alarmed, and comrade Sketchley stated at a recent meeting that the federated employers of Sheffield had passed a resolution that any man taking an active part in that union should be dismissed, and that no other member of the federated employers should employ him. I wonder if this kind of boycotting is illegal? The labourers, however, are not frightened, for according to Sheffield newspapers the room was crowded with men anxious to join the union. Employers may pass what resolutions they like, they cannot stop the great movement which is now sweeping over the country.

### Dublin Bakers.

The Dublin bakers, encouraged by the success of the Londoners, are threatening to come out on strike for an advance of 6s. a-week for foremen and ordinary hands. They might also demand a reduction of hours, for 84 hours a-week is decidedly too long to work.

### The Dockers' Balance-Sheet.

The audit of accounts promised by John Burns and the "Wade Arms" Strike Committee has been completed. The audit shows that from the beginning to the end of the struggle the total amount of money received from all sources was, in round numbers, £48,000, of which £30,800, or nearly two-thirds, was received from Australia. The various English trades unions subscribed £4,000. There is a surplus of about £5,000, in the disposal of which the committee will be guided by the general opinion of the subscribers. The only assistance given to strikers other than the dock and river men were several subscriptions to the Silvertown men, who struck at the same time as the dockers, and who might almost be considered as riverside workers, and a donation of £100 to the tailors' strike fund.

It is evident that if it had not been for the help of the workmen of Australia—who doubtless in many instances had known what poverty was in London—the strike would have fallen through. Their generous behaviour and the chivalry of the gallant stevedores, who fought so well in a quarrel in which they personally had nothing to gain, is a bright contrast beside the help given by the leaders of the older school of trade unionism, who evidently saw in this great labour revolt the beginning of the end as far as they were concerned. N.

DEATH'S HEAD AND CROSSBONES.—My journeyings have brought me into close proximity with a broad field of distress. Here in the richest and fattest land on earth, the great fertile State of Illinois, are ten thousand people appealing to the world for food to keep them from starvation! Yes, the almighty truth is rising up before the rich land-grabbers and money-grabbers that "something is rotten in Denmark." Death's head and crossbones are abroad in the land, teaching the bitter lesson of the past over again. Here in the midst of a "land that flows with milk and honey," a land that groans under its load of luxuries, here in the midst of a vast population of wealthy, civilised, Christianised, and educated land lords and money lords, are ten thousand hard-working, honest, sober men, women, and children actually starving to death. Within fifty miles of these unfortunate sons and daughters of our universal Creator, there are fifty thousand acres of idle land, which that same Creator intended for the equal use and benefit of these or any other ten thousand food-wanting creatures he should see fit to send here. But have those hungry sons and daughters of a common God the right to use these idle acres of our common God's good land, and in the sweat of their brows produce their food? Not a bit of it! God made those broad acres for speculative merchandise, to be gobbled up by the rich and held, as by divine right, to make themselves richer. No matter if ten or fifteen thousand do perish. That's all right. Caesar says it is.—C. W. AYERS, in *Twentieth Century*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

**OFFICES:** 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, to end of June. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell, to end of October. North London, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Contribution fees as soon as possible.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—F.C.S.S., 2s. 6d.; Webb, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Rose, 1s.; R. J., 1s.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 8d.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

## REPORTS.

**EAST LONDON.**—On Sunday, D. J. Nicoll lectured to a good audience on "The French Revolution"; some very interesting points were raised in the discussion which followed the lecture.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Maughan, R. J. Lyne, J. F. Lyne, and Crouch; 2s. 1½d. collected and 50 *Commonweals* sold. No meeting at St. Ann's Road. Rev. F. L. Donaldson lectured at the Clarendon Coffee Tavern to a splendid audience on "Christian Socialism"; a great many questions were asked and good discussion; several *Weals* and pamphlets sold and 3s. 9d. collected.

**NORTH LONDON.**—At Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, good meeting addressed by Cantwell and Mowbray; good sale of *Weals* and collected 1s. 3d.

**STREATHAM.**—Interesting discussion at branch meeting on "Land and Machinery." Good meeting at Fountain on Sunday, in spite of bad weather, addressed by Weir, Howard, and Smith. Good discussion on "Socialism and Trade Unions" at the Manor Arms after the meeting.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 18th we had a "hat night," the topics discussed being all Socialist; speakers were Slater, Duncan, A. Smith, Stewart, and Leatham. In the Unitarian Church on the 20th, Rev. W. L. Walker (Glasgow) delivered a very honest lecture on "Practicable Steps towards the Social Ideal," which, though the lecturer didn't mean it, was quite Socialist. Leatham put a number of "leading" questions, the audience seeming to find these rather more satisfactory than some of the answers to them. At Castle Street on 23rd, Aiken and Leatham addressed the last regular open-air meeting of the season. Health necessitates that Duncan and Leatham should give up open-air work during the winter and spring months.

**GLASGOW.**—No meeting held on Cathedral Square on Tuesday evening. On Thursday evening, J. P. Gilmour, a local Secularist, gave a lecture to the Govan Liberal and Radical Association on "Socialism, a Vision of Sin." Comrades Gilbert, McCulloch, and Joe Burgoyne who were present, ably defended Socialism, and quite neutralised the effect of the lecturer's extravagant diatribes. No meetings were held on Sunday owing to the very stormy weather. A number of our comrades were present in the evening in Maxwell parish church, where comrade Rev. John Glasse (of Edinburgh) delivered a thoroughly outspoken and effective Socialist discourse. The church was crammed although the evening was wet, and so deeply were the hearers affected by the eloquence and earnestness of the preacher that they several times applauded.

**LEICESTER.**—Friday, the 22nd, Barclay addressed about 250 workmen at the Barrow-on-Soar Liberal Club, on "The Meaning of Socialism." The address was repeated at the Irish National Club, Silver Street, on Sunday night. Sunday morning we occupied the Square again; and Mrs. Schack (of London) gave two earnest addresses at the Radical Club. In the morning she addressed a good meeting on "Radicalism and Socialism"; in the evening the club was full, and a great many women present to hear Mrs. Schack on "Why Should not Women Join the Workman's Movement?" The women were very attentive, and evidently much interested. Monday 25th, at our society, Miss C. Warner read a paper on "The Position of Women"; discussion followed; collected 14s. 8d., and 2½ quires of *Commonweal* sold.

**MANCHESTER.**—In Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon we held a meeting—the audience very large and enthusiastic; Raymond Unwin (from Chesterfield), Barton, and Bailie were the speakers; 40 *Commonweals* sold. Our hall was well filled at night to hear a lecture on "The Wane of Civilisation" by Raymond Unwin; some discussion followed; 5s. 9d. collected for local propaganda.

**NORWICH.**—On Tuesday last the Branch passed a vote of condolence with Mrs. Parsons on the loss of her daughter, and also with the relatives of our other murdered comrades. On Sunday afternoon open-air meeting held in the Market Place, comrades Swash and Moore addressing the audience. In the evening, at the Gordon Hall, a meeting was held; a general discussion took place, one of the questions raised being, Is force necessary? Comrades A. Moore, Poynts, and others took part.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Tuesday, after our business meeting, comrade Brightwell opened a discussion on the "Principles of Socialism," supported by Edwards, Headley, and Harvey. On Sunday we were unable to hold out-door meetings, owing to bad weather. In the afternoon, at comrade Headley's, a well-attended meeting was held to consider the resignation of our late secretary, C. Reynolds. 11 *Commonweals* sold.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, November 23, J. O'Donovan lectured on "Land Nationalisation." An interesting discussion followed—the Single-Tax theory receiving rather rough handling—King, Shields, Wilson, Fitzpatrick, and others speaking.

**EDINBURGH (SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION).**—At a meeting held in the Moulders' Hall, comrade Howie delivered a rattling lecture on "Socialism and Evolution" to a large and appreciative audience. Several new members added to the roll.—W. D. T.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—At the School Board election on Thursday Peacock (Socialist) received 14,176 votes and Proctor (Socialist) 10,276. Neither was elected, but while we lose a seat, we have increased the Socialist vote by 2,000 since 1886. On Sunday, good open-air meetings were held morning and evening; Peacock, Proctor, and Rooke spoke; 9s. collected for election fund.

**NOTICE.**—Subscribers, Branches, and Members whose orders are not promptly executed, or who have not received receipts for sums paid, are asked to excuse delays, which are unavoidable while transference of business is taking place.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.—On Sunday December 1, at 8 p.m., Mrs. Schack, "Parliamentarism."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday December 1, at 7.30, Members' meeting. At 8, meeting on Triangle. At 8.30, C. W. Mowbray, "Politics and Socialism."

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. A Lecture, Reading or Discussion every Sunday at 8 p.m. Wednesday Dec. 4, at 8 p.m., Wm. Clarke will lecture on "From Radical to Socialist." French Class, Friday, 8 to 9.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday December 1, at 8 p.m., J. Tochatti will lecture on "Evolution and Revolution."

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. On Wednesday Dec. 4, at 8 p.m., C. W. Mowbray will lecture on "Anarchism." Members please attend and help.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock. (See below.)

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. At the Secular Hall, Rusholm Road, on Saturday Nov. 30, at 7.30, William Morris will lecture on "The Class Struggle."

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 30.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....The Branch

### SUNDAY 1.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....J. F. Lyne, Crouch, and Emerson

11.30 ..... Chelsea Embankment .....Samuela

11.30 ..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring

11.30 ..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....Dean and J. F. Lyne

11.30 ..... Commercial Road—Union Street .....Cores

11.30 ..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....The Branch

11.30 ..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll

11.30 ..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....The Branch

11.30 ..... Starch Green .....The Branch

3.30 ..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Cantwell and Nicoll

3.30 ..... Victoria Park .....The Branch

7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch

7.30 ..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....The Branch

8 ..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Wier and Howard

7.30 ..... Wallham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

8 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....The Branch

### TUESDAY 3.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

### THURSDAY 5.

8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Cores

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Saturday November 30th, R. F. Wilson, "The Goal of Modern Civilisation."

**EAST FINSBURY RADICAL CLUB**, 134 City Road, E.C.—Sunday December 1, at 11.30 a.m., L. E. Fraser, "The Political Duties of a Working Men's Club."

**ENTERPRISE CLUB AND INSTITUTE**, Manchee House, High Road, South Tottenham, N.—Sunday December 1, at 11.30 a.m., George Bernard Shaw, "Radicalism and Social Democracy."

**ARBEITER-BUND GLEICHHEIT.**—This Club has now removed from the "Bald-faced Stag," Clifton Street, to its new premises, 217 Old Street, St. Lukes, E.C. It has no connection with the club of the same name at 38 Charles Square, Hoxton.—H. SCHWARZENBERG, Sec.

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W.—On Friday Dec. 6, at 8 o'clock, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th. G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.

**EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.**—In Moulders' Hall, High St., on Sunday Dec. 1, at 6.30, R. B. Kerr, "Fundamental Principles of Socialism." Stepniak lectures in Waverley Hall, Waterloo Place, on Monday 2nd—"Relations of Religious Reformers in Russia to its Social Problems."



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—10

—15

## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore need not work, and of another that has no property and therefore must work in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must abuse by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be used by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be free because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be brothers, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be equal, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto:

**Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,**

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be given to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be taken by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 204.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

CLOTHES again! This time it is an advertisement in a pushing draper's catalogue of "Charity clothes, as supplied to her Majesty." At first sight this appears to emanate from a "boiling-over" Radical Republican, annoyed by the fact that he and his like are paying rather heavily for the pension of royalty which has ceased to earn its money but not ceased to draw it: for surely all "her Majesty's" outfit is "charity." The other interpretation is that the advertiser supposes that the Queen follows the fashion of which an example was mentioned last week of kindly considering the position of the "poor" by taking care not to give them clothes which would compromise them and cause them to be mistaken for persons above them. Is not this over-anxiety? The poor wear a livery of their own not easy to mistake.

Well, well, the poor go on with the strain of luck mentioned in our issue of last week! Here are people again who want to teach them how to cook. If once they learn that, they will so far be ahead of their fellow-countrymen or women. Perhaps the next thing after teaching them how to cook will be to allow them to get hold of something which can be cooked—and eaten.

Lord Salisbury's Nottingham manifesto will be a disappointment to those opportunist semi (or demi-semi) Socialists who look upon the Tories as possible allies in the enterprise for the total abolition of Toryism. His admissions came to no more than this, that the Irish Question had been played out in its function of football to the two "great" parties who are playing the game of political jobbery, and that some other football must be found. For the rest, his speech on "Social Questions" was the usual string of platitudes, contradictions, and falsities which make up the big lie political.

So remarkably stupid it was, that one is tempted at first sight to think that the Marquis was restraining his wisdom and knowledge for the sake of talking down to the comprehension of his Tory audience; but a moment's reflection shows one that whatever intelligence the man once possessed has long ago been drowned in the muddy sea of political dishonesty: he was no whit better than his audience.

For after all, what was the real meaning of his stale sham-economics? It is very simple, and should read thus: "My friends, we are living in ticklish times, in which Socialism (about which we know nothing) is advancing on us rapidly. Some of our party are in favour of recognising the fact and tossing some considerable tub to the whale; I don't see my way to that, for we have no tub to toss that we don't want ourselves; so I am in favour of ignoring the advance of Socialism altogether. So you had better go about and say that the working-man will be no better off for having less work and more pay, and that since the land of England is only half cultivated he had better emigrate at once to countries which produce less wealth at the expense of more labour. And look here! you had better say, also, that the question as to whether the workman is to have more than a bare subsistence (i.e., starvation) wage is a matter of "philanthropy."

Thus much Lord Salisbury, who, it must be said, makes a very halting advance towards the progressive side. But the other party, will they come any further? That seems more than doubtful. The Whig Rag, for instance, in commenting on the marquis's speech, while attacking his political views, is highly satisfied with his social and (save the mark!) economical utterances. The workers had better not trouble themselves in the least as to what such worn-out nullities as Salisbury and Gladstone may say, but look to it not to wait to have things given them, but take them for themselves. The gifts will mean nothing; they will be like the fairy gold in the old tale which turns into dry leaves in the morning light.

W. M.

The *Daily News*, not to be outdone by the advertising draper, of whom comrade Morris speaks, had on Saturday an article dealing with

working-class cookery, and scolding workman's wives for their wastefulness. Now, it is not only true that English working-women are wasteful cooks, but that *all* English women are so—those of the lower middle-class more especially so. Also it is true that a large part of the food not literally thrown away, is virtually so by not being utilised to its full extent, either in the quantity or quality of the sustenance and pleasure got out of it. In either instance this is the result of ignorance, which in the case of the working-woman is complicated by lack of means and leisure.

But, supposing that she could cook like a French woman, or even pinch and scrape like a Chinese, other things remaining as they are, is it conceivable that she could thereby materially improve the position of herself and her family? Not at all. To bare subsistence tends wages always while wage-slavery lasts. Every advantage conferred on the working-classes by education is wrung from them again by the pressure of the labour-market. Teach everybody (not women only!) how to cook, by all means; teach everybody everything that will add to their comfort and happiness. But to teach "cheap cookery" to the "working-classes" is, like the giving them charity-blankets that no one else would use, a sham and a fraud so miserable, so degrading, that only the case-hardened conscience of the ordinary "benevolent" humbug could possibly endure it.

If the *Chronicle-Telegraph* of Pittsburgh may be believed, Herr Krupp is going to move his factory of murder-machines from Essen to some place in Western Pennsylvania. His agent, who has been over to view the ground, gave several reasons for the proposed change. "The first is the fact that Europe may at any moment become the scene of a great war. Of course, in such case, Krupp would *have* to stand by his fatherland, and from *patriotic considerations* he would manufacture guns for Germany alone. Now, as all the world knows, Krupp makes more guns than any other firm in the world. If, therefore, our plant were established in a neutral country, we could furnish our guns to *any Power*." The italics are ours. Modern commercial patriotism is a great thing!

My protest will reach very few Knights of Labour, and would have little effect if it did; but I make it all the same. It is against the alteration proposed to be made in the title of the official organ of the Knights of Labour. If any change is needed, which seems doubtful, *The Journal of United Labour* need only drop the first three words, and keep on as *United Labour*, which has been its familiar name these years past.

S.

### THE MEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

#### II.

##### DANTON AND MARAT.

WE have glanced at the rebels of the Assembly, now let us see the rebels of the street. Both in their way are better men than either of the heroes of Parliament House. Danton, it is true, is another Mirabeau, curiously like him in feature, power, and eloquence, yet without those vices which perhaps after all belonged to Mirabeau's class rather than the man. Still he has been accused of one vice, which also belonged to Mirabeau, and that is corruption. An accusation generally believed in in the time of the revolution, and which really brought Danton's head beneath the guillotine, but the truth of which modern research has rendered doubtful. A revolutionist should not only be honest, but his honesty, like that of Caesar's wife, should be above suspicion. Danton was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, a small country town a hundred miles from Paris. Very little indeed is known of his earlier life; his parents were comfortable middle-class people. He passed through the usual round of school and college, where he studied for the law. In 1780 he started for Paris, and entered the office of a notary as a pupil. Nothing very remarkable occurred in his career up till 1787. He became an advocate, and on March 29, 1787, two

years before the revolution, he buys—as was customary at the time when all profitable posts at the disposal of the government were bought and sold—the post of advocate to the Paris Parliament and the Council of State, two of the chief law courts of the time. In June of the same year he married Mademoiselle Charpentin, the daughter of a superintendent of taxes, a rather funny family for a revolutionist to marry into; but probably at that time Danton was unconscious of the coming storm, then gathering thick and fast, as most people in France. The storm burst, as we know, and a very few weeks after the fall of the Bastille we find Danton president of the Cordeliers district, one of the most revolutionary parts of Paris. In the time of the revolution the people were accustomed to assemble in a hall in this district to discuss their own affairs and current politics generally, and Danton became the chief of one of these assemblages. The Cordeliers afterwards became a club of the most advanced revolutionists, and were always foremost in their battles against the tyranny of the middle-class rulers who succeeded the feudal despots of the past.

Whether Danton took the money of the Court or not matters little. One thing is quite certain, if he did take the money he did not do the work. The truth or untruth of the accusation is one which certain historians will fight over to the end of time. But it is impossible not to like Danton; his good nature, his kindliness, the grandeur of his heroism, when with foreign hosts pouring upon Paris with hardly an obstacle in their path, he yet faced them with heroic words that rang through France. Words that were deeds, that struck down domestic treason and hurled torrents of heroism upon the advancing foe. "Citizens, it is not an alarm gun that you hear, it is the *pas de charge* against your enemies. To conquer them what do we need? To dare, and again to dare, and without end to dare!" And again, when France was in peril and the Convention was distracted by miserable personalities, it was Danton's lion voice that uttered the words, "Shall we not in such a crisis of fate lay aside personal quarrels? Reputation! Oh, what is the reputation of this man or that? Let my name be blighted but let France be free!" It was this, the power of sinking himself and his personal likes and dislikes for the common good, together with his wonderful power of raising storms of enthusiasm, that overwhelmed the advancing hosts of tyranny, that gives Danton the claim to a place as a great leader in a Revolution that still shakes the world.

Jean Paul Marat is more unfortunate than either Robespierre or Danton at the hands of middle-class historians. They are kind enough to allow both these revolutionists some virtues, but Marat, according to them, had none. A murky demon, born of the slime and the mud of Paris cellars, a being so horrible that he only walked by night and dared not show himself by day, a ghoul that shrieked continually for human blood, his favourite meat and drink. This is the sort of impression of Marat the ordinary reader obtains from most people who endeavour to write French revolutionary history; but as these persons generally get their information from Royalist historians, who insist that the whole revolution was a plot got up by the gold of the Duke of Orleans to place him on the throne, these impressions as to the characters of those who were foremost in the revolution are not very valuable. But when it comes to historians like Carlyle, who talks of his "dingy squalor" and calls him an "obscure spectrum," etc., the matter is more serious. But then Carlyle was a mere hero-worshipper; given a large amount of intellectual ability, and a man might be an enormous scoundrel and receive every laudation from Carlyle; but let a man not have more than average power of mind, and yet play a prominent part in the world's history by sheer force of his honesty, unselfishness, and courage, and Thomas Carlyle was down upon him at once. Marat, it is true, had some hand in sending a few thousand traitorous aristocrats to eternal night. Infamous! Carlyle's two favourite heroes, Cromwell and Frederick the Great, slaughtered myriads of the common people. Glorious! But these were great men, and that makes a great difference. It is true Marat approved of the slaughter of these aristocrats, because he, perhaps erroneously, thought he was preserving the liberty of the people from its worst foes. Cromwell and Frederick the Great slaughtered immense multitudes for their own honour and glory. Marat is a criminal; the others are glorious heroes. Such is the logic of the greatest historian that the century has yet produced.

Let us, unlike the great denouncer of "shams," clear our minds of cant, and be as fair to Marat as Carlyle was to Cromwell or the great Fritz. One thing is quite certain, if Cromwell's slaughter of the disarmed Irish at Drogheda was necessary, right, and just, as Carlyle argues it was, then also the slaughter of the "ferocious conspirators" in the prisons of Paris at a time of intense national peril was even more justifiable. If the September Massacres were crimes, then the Drogheda Massacre of a people struggling to be free was ten times more infamous. Unlike Carlyle, we do not consider that genius justifies a man in committing every crime in the calendar without a word of disapprobation. Terrorism is a favourite weapon with the ruling classes, and for one tyrant slain by the people the men of order have slain thousands of the poor to perpetuate their tyranny. This is a mistake. Let the motto of revolutionists in future be "The villainy they teach us we will execute," and it shall go hard if we do not better the instruction.

But now let us tell the plain story of the life of Marat down to the time of which I am now writing, and we shall then see that the "monster" that is held up to public execration was gentle and humane in all his habits, with a heart keen to feel the insults, the sufferings and injustice heaped daily upon the multitude by their enemies and

false friends, while he possessed at the same time a hatred as strong as his love of those for whom he died for all forms of tyranny, injustice, and oppression, that made life bitter to the suffering poor.

Jean Paul Marat was born at Bowdry, then in the Prussian principality, now the Swiss Canton of Neuchâtel. His father was a medical man, a Sardinian; his mother a Swiss. From her he derived his keen hatred of injustice. She was a good, kind-hearted woman, and though but poor herself, she visited those who were sick and in trouble and helped them with her scanty means. Her boy went with her; and doubtless often mused as he went upon the scenes of suffering he witnessed, and wondered why this misery should exist in a world so full of wealth and beauty. He had plenty of time for thought, for throughout his childhood he was of a studious and quiet disposition, holding aloof from the noisy sports and the games of his schoolmates. His quiet disposition even in those days of brutal school discipline saved him from the punishment that often fell upon others. Once, however, being chastised unjustly, he brooded over the injustice, and cast himself in desperation from the window of his home, and received in his fall a cut on the forehead, the scar of which he bore to his dying day.

He left home at an early age, as his parents' means were scanty, and wandered through half Europe. Ten years of his life were spent in England. During this period he lived mainly by practising his profession—for he was, like his father, a doctor—teaching languages, and writing upon scientific and other subjects. Even then he was a very advanced revolutionist, as may be judged from a work published by him in London in 1774, entitled 'The Chains of Slavery.' While in London he gained considerable repute in his profession for his skill in treating diseases of the eye. Returning to Paris, he became physician to the bodyguard of the Comte d'Artois, the brother of the king, whose employment he left in 1787, as the revolutionary storm was gathering. Soon after this he plunged as pamphleteer into the political troubles of the time. His first brochure, 'Offrande à la Patrie'—'An Offering to the Fatherland'—attacking the ministers of the time, attracted considerable public attention. Great events often lift men from semi-obscurity into the full glare of publicity. This was the case with Marat on the occasion of the fall of the Bastille. A troop of cavalry endeavoured to creep into Paris, but were stopped by people headed by Marat. The captain protested that they had come to join the people. "Alight, and give up your arms, then," answered Marat; and the captain complies, for the crowd surges round in overwhelming waves. But the people were to hear more of Marat, whose promptitude and decision in acting were thus proved for the first time. On the 8th September, 1789, his famous paper came into being, and soon *L'Ami du Peuple* (The Friend of the People) was known throughout Europe as the dreaded foe of tyrants and the friend of the oppressed. Probably it was the first journal in which every one suffering wrong and oppression, no matter how humble, poor and despised, could make their voices heard. Let those who dub Marat "a bloodthirsty monster" remember that. Perhaps we should never have had a *Star* or a T. P. O'Connor if the man who is now anathematised by every friend of tyranny had not lived and written. But scant payment awaited the journalist in those days who dared to speak of those who were in trouble and distress, because the rich were cruel and merciless. Marat had no enormous circulation. It was often hard for him in his poverty to pay for the printing of his paper. Besides, the well-fed patriots Lafayette and Bailly, who lorded it at the Hotel de Ville, did not like the plain speaking of the People's Friend. Within the first month of its appearance the editor was twice summoned before the Municipal Council to explain the "violence" of his articles. On one of these occasions the secretary of the Council was good enough to say that he believed Marat wielded the pen of a good patriot; the people's friend roughly responded that he could not return the compliment, for these reasons. "For, while I for nine months have been living on bread and water to pay the expenses of printing and serve my country with my pen, you have the skill, like Mr. Mayor and several of your colleagues, to show yourselves good patriots and keep at the same time your places and your pensions. I know who you will be able to deceive, but it is certain it will not be those wise men who know the world. . . . All those men you call friends of the people were their worst enemies before the 14th of July. I cannot believe that a moment is enough to change them." Such rough truths were not appreciated by these sham patriots, whose patriotism consisted alone of love of place and power, and he was persecuted, hunted like a wild beast, and forced to seek shelter from his foes in the cellars and dens of Paris. But he never faltered; despite every persecution, his paper grew bolder in its denunciation, and every persecution only redoubled the love the people bore him, and the obscure journalist became a tenfold power.

To show how great was his popularity, it is only necessary to cite the testimony of a royalist writer, who states that on one occasion, when Lafayette wanted to arrest Marat, he required for the expedition some six thousand National Guards, with cavalry and artillery, and even then his intended victim escaped him.

The best testimony to Marat's integrity is the fact that when he fell beneath the dagger of the assassin he had only a few pence in his possession; and yet this man had had power that might have made him rich. But Marat, savage, ferocious, squalid, as reactionary writers may call him, was at least too honest to sell himself for gold. Both he and Robespierre, though they might have become wealthy if they had chosen, died in poverty. This is a testimony to their sincerity that not even their worst foes can deny them.

D. J. NICOLL.



## IN THE UNITED STATES.

ABOUT District Attorney Fellows, the public prosecutor of the City of New York, the pettifogger who has constantly persecuted and prosecuted comrade John Most, even the capitalist *Herald* is now compelled to write:

"There seems to be no doubt that almost every person in the District Attorney's office follows the course of his chief, and gives up to vote-gathering and political blatherskiting the time which belongs to the people. Meanwhile, prisoners languish in their cells, and the orderly progress of justice is obstructed. . . . Colonel Fellows is shameless. He has been censured to a degree that would make any self-respecting man reform or give up his office. But he cares nothing for public opinion nor for his own reputation. He will neither do his duty nor resign. His . . . office is to-day a standing incentive to crime, provided the criminal has political friends. It is a reproach to the city."

From January 1st to November 1st, 1889, 277,538 persons have immigrated into the United States against 350,613 of the same period in the year previous.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, was asked to run as State Senator in the interest of the democratic party of New York, but on advice of the Central Labour Federation of that city he declined that nomination.

The farmers of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys met some days ago and formed an organisation. In his opening speech the chairman of the convention outlined the objects of the meeting:

"We are not here for the purpose of denouncing trusts and 'combines,' but to meet the issue of new systems and conditions in trade. Realising our individual feebleness, and the great importance of unity of action as a class, we have been called together to consider the proposition to delegate to a power of our own creation the exclusive right to market the products of our farms, and to take such measures as will afford present relief and future protection to the agricultural interests of the Mississippi valley. It is proposed to substitute a new system by which the price of farm products shall be fixed at the cost of production 'on lands that produce only thirty-fold,' whatever that may be, and the power to do this is to be found in the centralised agency of the federated farmers of the Mississippi valley, a company legally chartered with a capital stock of 20,000,000 dols."

The City of Boston has resolved officially to recognise the American Federation of Labour, which will hold a convention in that city on the 10th of December by tendering a public banquet to the delegates.

In Pittsburgh recently, six master horse-shoers applied for a charter for a union, but Judge Ewing of that city refused the grant, giving the following reasons:

"The object of the proposed corporation, as set forth in the application, is for the purpose, first, of encouraging and protecting the trade of horse-shoers in the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny; second, for preserving and disseminating valuable business information; and third, adjusting as far as practicable, controversies and misunderstandings arising among the members as to methods and prices of work. The first two purposes are laudable and certainly not illegal, though how a charter of incorporation will aid the association in carrying out its purposes is difficult to see. The third purpose avowed is that of interfering with the natural laws of trade and usurping the functions of government. It is contrary to a sound public policy, and, if not so intended, may readily be used to shield the members, behind the form of a corporation, from the consequences of illegal acts and combinations. For this we refuse to approve the proposed charter."

This argument logically applied all round would destroy the basis of all the labour combinations. So according to this sage of the bench, voluntary combination is wrong, whereas enforced co-operation of some kind as represented by the State he holds to be correct. Queer people in this world, to be sure!

The Sailor's and Firemen's Union of New York met a few days ago to perfect their organisation, which is an offshoot of the English one, and has adopted its statement of principles and objects practically in a lump. It was stated that the parent organisation would give 10,000 dols. for the establishment of a home in this city if necessary. The dues of the new union will be 1 dol. per month. The sailors are very enthusiastic over the new organisation. Organisations will soon be formed in Brooklyn, Jersey City, and Hoboken, and in time the whole coast will be organised, and then an immense international organisation will be formed.

There is trouble brewing for the Standard Oil Trust. The Oil Producers' Association resolved that they would lay a pipe-line themselves to the seaboard, and become a direct competitor of the Standard. They made arrangements for the engagement 6,000,000 dollars for this purpose, and for an additional 6,000,000 dollars to build new refineries on the Atlantic seaboard. This money has all been guaranteed by prominent capitalists of New York, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. The Standard Oil Trust has three pipe-lines to the seaboard, reaching New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Where the terminus of the opposition line will be has not yet been determined. On the whole, the Producers' Association holds the key of the situation. If they can complete their proposed pipe-lines and refineries, the Standard Trust will have to take a back seat. The Producers have raised the money, but the Standard Trust have yet to be heard from on the subject. It is said that the directors of the gigantic Pennsylvania Railroad system are engineering this new move.

The Supreme Court of New York confirmed the decision of Judge Barrett rendered by him about a year ago, that the Sugar Trust is an illegal combination. In consequence of this decision, Sugar Trust shares *rose* the next day on the Exchange about 4 per cent. Three cheers for the power of the law against monopoly!

The managers of the Cottonseed Oil Trust have speculated with the funds of the trust and lost about half a million. Some silly persons now say that this experience points to a speedy downfall of trusts in general. Bad management of some co-operative organisation does not prove that the principle of combination is incorrect. The principle of trusts—viz., combination—apart from the idea of combining for the purpose of exploitation and fleecing, is correct, but the legal privileges which they have are damnably wrong.

The convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has met. Chief Arthur has been re-elected as president of the organisation by 313 votes against 101 votes given to George Vroman. The Convention disapproved of the idea of amalgamate with other labour organisations.

The Convention of the Knights of Labour organisation has met to-day at Atlanta, Ga.

In most of the leading cities in the northern States meetings have been held to commemorate the workers' Good Friday, the 11th of November. Herein Boston we tried to get up a big demonstration, to be addressed by

Most, Shevitsch, and Pentecost, but we could not get one of the *big halls*, as the proprietors refused to us the use of them, saying "they drew the line at murder." In consequence we had to content ourselves with a smaller hall, the Paine Memorial Hall. However, twice as many people as last year attended the meeting this year. The hall was nicely decorated, and good speeches were delivered by A. H. Simpson, Victor Yarros, and others. In New York, Shevitsch and John Most made eloquent addresses. In that city the big hall in Cooper Union was engaged, holding about 5,000 people; but as the policemen on duty said, 2,000 people had to be turned away. "Our silence will be more eloquent than our speech." Waldheim Cemetery was visited by a large mass of people. Speeches were made by G. C. Clemens of Topeka and others. Mrs. Parsons had the following experience, as described by one of the sneaks of the press:

"Mrs. Parsons, in defiance of the police prohibition of red flags, hung one from the window of her residence on Milwaukee Avenue early in the day. A policeman was sent to her house to notify her to take down the Anarchical emblem. 'This is a free country,' said Mrs. Parsons; 'why can't I wave the flag of my doctrine?' 'Because my orders are to pull it down,' said the policeman; and without further parley he tore down the flag and took it to the station. Mrs. Parsons fumed for awhile, and then left for Waldheim."

It will be a cold day when we settle accounts with the authorities, the press, and the pulpit cannibals.

America is the land of the free and the home of the brave. To get a fine illustration of this boast it is only necessary to read the following telegram to the N. Y. *Herald*:

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 11, 1889.—The Anarchists outwitted the police to-night, and their celebration of the anniversary of the Chicago Haymarket tragedy came off with great *éclat*. The police were in total ignorance of their place of meeting, and therefore the shouters and their audience were not molested. Not since the memorable riots of 1877 had the police made such extensive preparations to preserve the peace. . . . 'The Anarchists must not meet,' said the director. . . . It was decided to place six hundred policemen at the disposal of the superintendent. Of this number five hundred were to be held in readiness to be called at two minutes' notice. The rest were assigned to preserve order. The greatest precaution was taken to prevent any attempt to force an entrance into Odd Fellows' Hall. . . . The news that the police were to prevent the meeting had spread, and at eight o'clock fully five thousand people had gathered about Odd Fellows' Hall, expecting to see a fight. A great procession of Anarchists and others arrived a little before eight o'clock, and being informed by the police that the meeting was prohibited, they quietly dispersed, but only to gather quickly at No. 868 Marshall Street, where a crowded meeting in glorification of the Chicago 'martyrs' was held."

For two years the authorities believed indeed they had crushed radical thought, and in consequence the press treated us rather fairly. They now find how mistaken they were, and that radical thought has developed, in spite of misrepresentation and calumny, wonderfully, and has gained tremendous support all over the country. People everywhere begin to understand the crime committed on Chicago's Golgotha. And in consequence the raving and abuse of the press has begun again. Well, I guess we can also weather this change of tactics.

Boston, Mass., Nov 12, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## AMERICAN CATHOLICS ON THE LABOUR QUESTION.

A CONVENTION of the laymen of the Catholic Church in the United States has just come off in Baltimore, Ind. This Convention was an illustration of the article in a recent *Weal* on "Democracy and the Church." The Church may be able to dish sentimental State Socialism, but real Socialism need fear nothing, being based as it is on reason, science, and materialism. A paper on "Capital and Labour" was read to the delegates by William Richards, of Washington. Here is a condensed report of what he said:

"He announced its purpose as being, to contrast the social condition of the time when the mission of charity was acknowledged and accepted by all, and the present, when free competition has been substituted for charity. The speaker unhesitatingly asserted that notwithstanding sophistical collocation of facts and figures that the comparatively few rich are getting richer, the multitudinous poor are getting more numerous and poorer, and that pauperism is more general, more wretched, and more rapidly increasing than in any prior age of the world. Thank God, however, there is to-day hope for a betterment of our condition. It is in the tendency to recombine the isolated particles into a consolidated union, co-operating harmoniously once more on the primordial principle of the brotherhood of man, as for example in the powerful organisation of the Knights of Labour. But such voluntary associations are only partially remedies. Only the Catholic Church, the speaker declared, can solve the problems that are perplexing the souls of men. He asked: 'Have you forgotten the vast crowds of enthusiastic men and women who not long ago imagined that the hoped for messenger had appeared in Henry George or Dr. McGlynn? But there are leaders. Thank God the judicious, earnest, and sympathetic efforts of Cardinal Gibbons at Rome in behalf of the Knights of Labour and the cause of freedom in our glorious country, and the magnificent triumph of Cardinal Manning in his recent grand work of reconciling the rich and haughty employers and the poor labourers in London, have lifted up the hearts and the hopes of the waiting and despairing millions.'"

The lecture was much applauded by the delegates. The following resolution was adopted almost unanimously:

"Another danger which menaces our Republic is the constant conflict between capital and labour. We, therefore, at all times must view with feelings of regret and alarm any antagonism existing between them, because thereby society itself is imperilled. With the Church we condemn Nihilism, Socialism, and Communism, and we equally condemn the heartless greed of capital. The remedy must be sought in the mediation of the Church through her action on the individual conscience, and thereby on society, teaching each its respective duty, as well as rights, and in such civil enactments as have been rendered necessary by these altered conditions. We disapprove of the employment of very young minors, whether male or female, in factories, as tending to dwarf and retard the true development of the wage-earners of the future. We respectfully protest against any change in the policy of the government in the matter of the education of the Indians by which they will be deprived of Christian teaching. The amelioration and promotion of the physical and moral culture of the negro race is a subject of the utmost concern, and we pledge ourselves to assist our clergy in all ways tending to effect any improvement in their condition."

The resolution was prepared by Cardinal Gibbons.

H. F. C.

A people may be politically free, but if they must obtain permission and pay a price ere they can apply their labour to the natural sources of wealth they are not industrially free, and what avails political freedom to industrial slaves? —*Journal of United Labour*.



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. K. B. (Sherborne).—Thanks; will be used.

G. P. (Lancaster).—Your letter is much too long for publication in our overcrowded columns.

J. P. (Norwich).—We have written for the information, as you ask us to keep the matter quiet.

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 4.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY
Brotherhood	Paris—La Revolte	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Church Reformer	Le Proletariat	Wien—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Christian Socialist	La Revue Europeenne	Brunn—Volksfreund
Justice	Bourse du Travail	.. .. .
Labour Elector	HOLLAND	DENMARK
Labour Tribune	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
London—Freie Presse	Middelburg—Licht en Waarheid	.. .. .
Norwich—Daylight	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Railway Review	Antwerp—De Werker	Malmö—Arbetet
Worker's Friend	Ghent—Vooruit	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
L'Associazione	Liege—L'Avenir	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
INDIA		Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
Bankipore—Behar Herald		
Madras—People's Friend		
UNITED STATES		
New York—Der Sozialist		
Truthseeker		
Jewish Volkszeitung		
Twentieth Century		
United Irishman		
Workmen's Advocate		

#### MONOPOLY.

I WANT you to consider the position of the working-classes generally at the present day: not to dwell on the progress that they may (or may not) have made within the last five hundred or the last fifty years, but to consider what their position is relatively to the other classes of which our society is composed: and in doing so I wish to guard against any exaggeration as to the advantages of the position of the upper and middle-classes on one side and the disadvantages of the working-classes on the other side; for in truth there is no need for exaggeration; the contrast between the two positions is sufficiently startling when all admissions have been made that can be made. After all, one ought not to go further than the simple statement of these few words: *The workers are in an inferior position to that of the non-workers.*

When we come to consider that everyone nowadays admits that labour is the source of wealth—or, to put it in another way, that it is a law of nature for man generally that he must labour in order to live—we must all of us come to the conclusion that this fact, that the workers' standard of livelihood is lower than that of the non-workers,

is a startling fact. But startling as it is, it may perhaps help out the imaginations of some of us—at all events of the well-to-do, if I dwell a little on the details of this disgrace, and say plainly what it means.

To begin, then, with the foundation; the workers eat inferior food and are clad in inferior clothes to those of the non-workers. This is true of the whole class: but a great portion of it are so ill-fed that they not only live on coarser or nastier victuals than the non-producers, but have not enough even of these to keep up their vitality duly; so that they suffer from the diseases and the early death which come of semi-starvation: or why say semi-starvation? let us say plainly most of the workers are starved to death. As to their clothes, they are so ill clad that the dirt and foulness of their clothes forms an integral part of their substance, and is useful in making them a defence against the weather; according to the ancient proverb, "Dirt and grease are the poor man's apparel."

Again, the housing of the workers is proportionately far worse, as far as the better-off of them go, than their food or clothing. The best of their houses or apartments are not fit for human beings to live in, so crowded as they are: they would not be, even if one could step out of their doors into gardens or pleasant country or handsome squares; but when one thinks of the wretched sordidness and closeness of the streets and alleys that they actually do form, one is almost forced to try to blunt one's sense of fitness and propriety, so miserable they are. As to the lodgings of the worse-off of our town workers, I must confess that I only know of them by rumour, and that I dare not face them personally; though I think my imagination will carry me a good way in picturing them to me. One thing, again, has always struck me much in passing through poor quarters of the town, and that is the noise and unrest of them, so confusing to all one's ideas and thoughts, and such a contrast to the dignified calm of the quarters of those who can afford such blessings.

Well! food, clothes, and housing—those are the three important items in the material condition of men, and I say flatly that the contrast between those of the non-producers and those of the producers is horrible, and that the word is no exaggeration. But is there a contrast in nothing else—education, now? Some of us are in the habit of boasting about our elementary education: perhaps it is good as far as it goes (and perhaps it isn't), but why doesn't it go further? In ordinary parlance, *elementary* is contrasted with *liberal* education. You know in the class to which I belong, the professional or parasitical class, if a man cannot make some pretence to read a Latin book, and doesn't know a little French or German, he is very apt to keep it dark as something to be ashamed of, unless he has some real turn towards mathematics or the physical sciences to cover his historical or classical ignorance; whereas if a working-man were to know a little Latin and a little French, he would be looked on as a very superior person, a kind of genius—which, considering the difficulties which surround him, he would be: inferiority again, you see, clear and plain.

But after all, it is not such scraps of ill-digested knowledge as this that give us the real test of the contrast; this lies rather in the taste for reading and the habit of it, and the capacity for the enjoyment of refined thought and the expression of it, which the more expensive class really has (in spite of the disgraceful sloppiness of its education), and which unhappily the working or unexpensive class lacks. The immediate reason for that lack I know well enough, and that forms another item of contrast: it is the combined leisure and elbow-room which the expensive class considers its birthright, and without which, education, as I have often had to say, is a mere mockery; and which leisure and elbow-room the working class lacks, and even "social reformers" expect him to be contented with that lack. Of course you understand that in speaking of this item I am thinking of the well-to-do artizan, and not the squalid, hustled-about, misery-blinded and hopeless wretch of the fringe of labour—i.e., the greater part of labour.

Just consider the contrast in the mere matter of holidays, for instance. If a professional man (like myself, for instance) does a little more than his due daily grind—dear me, the fuss his friends make of him! how they are always urging him not to overdo it, and to consider his precious health, and the necessity of rest and so forth! and you know the very same persons, if they found some artizan in their employment looking towards a holiday, how sourly they would treat his longings for rest, how they would call him (perhaps not to his face) sot and sluggard and the like; and if he has it, he has got to take it against both his purse and his conscience; whereas in the professional class the yearly holiday is part of the payment for services. Once more, look at the different standard for the worker and the non-worker!

What can I say about popular amusements that would not so offend you that you would refuse to listen to me? Well, I must say something at any cost—viz., that few things sadden me so much as the amusements which are thought good enough for the workers; such a miserable killing—yea, murder—of the little scraps of their scanty leisure time as they are. Though, indeed, if you say that there is not so much contrast here between the workers' public amusements and those provided for the middle classes, I must admit it, with this explanation, that owing to the nature of the case, the necessarily social or co-operative method of the getting up and acceptance of such amusements, the lower standard has pulled down the whole of our public amusements; has made, for instance, our theatrical entertainments the very lowest expression of the art of acting which the world has yet seen.

Or again, a cognate subject, the condition of the English language at present. How often I have it said to me, You must not write in a literary style if you wish the working classes to understand you.

Now at first sight that seems as if the worker were in rather the better position in this matter; because the English of our drawing-rooms and leading articles is a wretched mongrel jargon that can scarcely be called English, or indeed language; and one would have expected, *a priori*, that what the workers needed from a man speaking to them was plain English: but alas! 'tis just the contrary; I am told on all hands that my language is too simple to be understood by working-men, that if I wish them to understand me I must use an inferior quality of the newspaper jargon, the language (so called) of critics and "superior persons"; and I am almost driven to believe this when I notice the kind of English used by candidates at election time, and by political men generally—though of course this is complicated by the fact that these gentlemen by no means want to make the meaning of their words too clear.

Well, I want to keep as sternly as possible to the point that I started from—viz., that there is a contrast between the position of the working classes and that of the easily-living classes, and that the former were in an inferior position in all ways. And here at least we find the so-called friends of the working classes telling us that the producers are in such a miserable condition that if they are to understand our agitation we must talk *down* to their slavish condition, not straightforwardly to them as friends and neighbours—as *men*, in short. Such advice I neither can nor will take; but that this should be thought necessary shows that, in spite of all hypocrisy, the master-class know well enough that those whom they "employ" are their slaves.

To be short, then, the working-classes are, relatively to the upper and middle classes, in a degraded condition, and if their condition could be much raised from what it is now, even if their wages were doubled and their work-time halved, they would still be in a degraded condition, as long as they were in a position of inferiority to another class—as long as they were dependent on them—unless it turned out to be a law of nature that the making of useful things necessarily brought with it such inferiority!

Now, once again, I ask you very seriously to consider what that means, and you will, after consideration, see clearly that it must have to do with the way in which industry is organised amongst us, and the brute force which supports that organisation. It is clearly no matter of race; the highest noble in the land is of the same blood for all he can tell as the clerk in his estate office, or his gardener's boy. The grandson or even the son of the self-made man may be just as refined, and also quite as unenergetic and stupid as the man with twenty generations of titled fools at his back. Neither will it do to say, as some do, that it is a matter of individual talent or energy. He who says this, practically asserts that the whole of the working-classes are composed of men who individually do not rise above a lowish average, and that all of the middle-class men rise above it; and I don't think any one will be found who will support such a proposition, who is himself not manifestly below even that lowish average. No! you will, when you think of this contrast between the position of the producing and the non-producing classes, be forced to admit first that it is an evil, and secondly that it is caused by artificial regulations; by customs that can be turned into more reasonable paths; by laws of man that can be abolished, leaving us free to work and live as the laws of nature would have us. And when you have come to those two conclusions, you will then have either to accept Socialism as the basis for a new order of things, or to find some better basis than that; but you will not be able to accept the present basis of society unless you are prepared to say that you will not seek a remedy for an evil which you know can be remedied.

Let me put the position once more as clearly as I can, and then let us see what the remedy is.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

J. BRONTERRE O'BRIEN OR HENRY GEORGE.

Sir,—Many years ago a Mr. John Days left London for America (Kansas or California), and took out with him a quantity of the late Mr. Bronterre O'Brien's writings. Now I have been told upon very good authority that George having fell in company with Days, and having read O'Brien's papers, etc., etc., got his initial ideas from this source. Seeing Mr. T. F. Walker's letter in last week's issue of the *Commonweal*, it might be interesting to some of your readers to know if it were possible to ascertain how far the statement is true, as it might appear there existed a desire in some quarters to blot the memory of a man and a scholar, who suffered much and died poor "for conscience sake." Any light thrown on the above would oblige.—

GEORGE E. HARRIS.

3, Northumberland Street, Marylebone, W., Dec. 2, 1889.

The *Detroit Evening News* said in a recent editorial: "The logic of Democracy is Anarchism, and the logic of Republicanism is State Socialism or Communism."

The *Patrick Henry* is the title of a new weekly paper published at Springfield, Mo. It is the organ of the Order of Anti-Monopolists, "and of all who strive for justice."

The first number of the *Eight Hour Herald* was issued November 3, at 824 Howard Street, San Francisco. It is to appear monthly, and will be edited by Myles L. Fasland.

The veteran labour advocate, John Swinton, is still very ill, and has been ordered by the doctor to the Mediterranean for a year. He has probably reached Nice by this time, as he was to leave New York on the 2nd. Wherever he goes, the good wishes of all Socialists will be with him.

## OUT OF THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE.

How say ye, friends, are they in fun  
Who boast that slavery's day is done?  
Think of the lives ye lead, and say  
If slavery yet abides, or may.

Or think ye then the fates decree  
The few to lives of luxury,  
The mass to poverty and pain?  
Slaves ye are, and shall remain.

Or in another world than this  
Hope ye for homes of hazy bliss,  
Where earthly loss is heavenly gain?  
Slaves ye are, and shall remain.

Or bide ye till your masters yield  
Of their free grace the powers they wield?  
Shall they bow down to loose your chain?  
Slaves ye are, and shall remain.

Or strive ye each for self alone?  
Not thus can Mammon be o'erthrown.  
Who fights but singly, fights in vain.  
Slaves ye are, and shall remain.

Then cast off sloth and slavish fear,  
Make heaven a thing of now and here,  
Nor wait upon your lords' good-will,  
Or, sooth, ye may be waiting still.

But marshal you in order fair,  
Wait for the word, then forward bear  
The flag that, fluttering in the van,  
Claims equal rights for every man.

Lo, at the shout of Liberty,  
Yon braggart hirelings break and flee!  
Your day doth dawn, their star doth wane;  
Free shall ye be, and shall remain.

C. W. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 14, 1889.

8	Sun.	1643. John Pym died. 1806. Trial of Thomas Kilmartin and John Killerlane, "Thrashers," at Sligo, acquitted; and of Patrick Fagan, death. 1837. Faneuil Hall meeting on Lovejoy's assassination; Wendell Phillips' first speech. 1881. Trial of General Mrovisky for having overlooked the dynamite mine laid under the street (M. Sadovays) where the Czar had to pass. The session of the Senate was held on this occasion in a cheese-shop.
9	Mon.	1789. John Stockdale tried for libel on the House of Commons. 1793. Trial of John Lambert, printer, and James Perry and James Gray, proprietors, of the <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , for "seditious libel" in publishing an address of a meeting of the Society for Political Information held at Derby, addressed "to the Friends of Free Inquiry and the General Good." 1793. Trial of Wm. Hudson, M.D., for "seditious words" uttered in the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, on Oct. 1, when he called "George Guelph" a "German hog-butcher, a dealer in human flesh by the carcass." 1824. Battle of Ayacucho.
10	Tues.	1805. W. L. Garrison born. 1828. Beranger imprisoned for his political songs. 1839. Special Assize opened at Monmouth for the trial of Chartists concerned in the late rising. 1840. Thos. F. Burke born. 1855. August Spies born.
11	Wed.	1792. Trial of the French king; lasts till 16th.
12	Thur.	1653. Cromwell made Protector. 1806. Coll. Laurence, and Chas. Flynn, Thomas Horan, Daniel Regan, and Daniel Callaghan, "Thrashers," sentenced to death at Castlebar.
13	Fri.	1204. Maimonides died. 1799. Heine born. 1867. Clerkenwell explosion. 1884. London Bridge explosion.
14	Sat.	1799. George Washington died. 1831. Affray at Carrickshock between police and people, caused by the attempt of the latter to get at a process server who was serving latitats for tithes; killed, two countrymen, eleven constables, and the chief of police; many wounded. 1873. Agassiz died. 1883. Herr Hlubeck, police superintendent of Florsdorf, a suburb of Vienna, killed after leaving a Socialist meeting.

We are not disputing the theory that emigration from "countries where population is congested" is a cure. Indeed, given a wise selection of the emigrants, we readily admit that the remedy is not only a remedy but a good one. Let the idle rich, the wasteful aristocrats and plutocrats, and the devourers of industry generally be induced to emigrate, and the useful classes—the industrious wealth producers—will be at once relieved. Will great statesmen never learn that it is not the number of competent seamen that endanger the safety of the Ship of State? If there are leaks in the hold the wreck will not be averted by compelling the workers among the crew to walk the plank, but by stopping the leaks and compelling the idlers to man the pumps.—*Journal of United Labour*.

A correspondent closes his letter thus: "I admire your work and appreciate the work of all others in the same direction, although I am too cowardly at the present time to openly avow myself before the community. But I am gradually growing bolder." How do you manage to look yourself in the face? What do you suppose will become of you if you know the right and do it not? "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" These questions are not asked to rebuke you, because I know that it *does* require iron courage to do right. But did you ever think how much better it is to thoroughly respect yourself than to have gold or place or power that you would not have if you did not exchange your self-respect for it?—*Twentieth Century*.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Silvertown Strike.

Better late than never! After the fight has been going on for ten weary weeks, and men, women, and children have suffered the severest privations, the London Trades Council has at last come to their aid. The Council has now issued a circular to the trade-unionists of the metropolis, in which it states that the dispute "has been fully investigated and found to be fully worthy of your prompt and generous pecuniary and moral support. It is of the utmost importance, not only to the workers engaged in this struggle, but also to the whole industrial population of the metropolis, that the contest should be honourably terminated on a basis of mutual justice to all interests involved." Well, we are glad to hear this from the Trades Council, and we can only wish that they had come to this decision a few weeks ago, and not have waited till the unfortunate people are nearly starved and frozen into surrender. The Council has offered to negotiate with Mr. Gray, but the gentleman has haughtily refused. That body is going to give him another chance, and if he refuses, to call out the men at all rubber factories throughout London and provinces. There is now too some hope of bringing the engineers and other trade-unionists out who have been working in the factory since the beginning of the strike. The Silvertown workers have now a good chance of victory.

The strikers are also getting assistance from the middle-class clergy. Last Sunday the Rev. Stopford Brooke preached and made a collection on their behalf. I select from the sermon a description of the shameful slave-driving and sweating which was common at the firm before the strike:

"Mr. Brooke told his hearers that if lads working naked in the hot rooms, at a temperature of 120 degrees, took advantage of the rule allowing them half an hour's wait before they went into the cold rooms, they were discharged at the end of the week without cause assigned. Girls, too, were liable to be kept idle all day when work was not ready for them. They were not paid for the idle day, but if they went home, or even asked to go home, they were turned off. Their time was seized on, but not paid for. A poor widow woman with a large family earned 14s. a-week. One week she put on a desperate spurt and earned 14s. 6d. The manager then docked her 3d. an hour, because he believed she had been under-working. 'They want my life's blood,' said the poor creature piteously. Old hands were threatened with dismissal, and when they begged leave to stay, were told, 'Yes, they could stay, at 3d. less an hour.' The men were used as if they had no bodies, no flesh, no souls—nay, body and soul were burnt up like candles in a flaring wick."

It is to be hoped that this striking picture of the hideous tyranny exercised over their wretched slaves will touch the hearts of the middle-class shareholders, and that they will join their efforts to those of the London Trades Council to bring Mr. Gray to reason.

### The Sweated Tailors.

There is still much discontent among the men concerning the way in which the masters are breaking the agreement by which the strike was concluded; a renewal of the conflict seems by no means improbable. The men have another weapon at hand which may exterminate the sweater altogether. A London Tailors' Co-operative Society has been started, which is to commence business at once near Oxford Street. It has been arranged to provide a workshop for five hundred hands, to furnish all necessary machinery and plant, to pay the current wages, and to give the workmen a share in the profits. This is an interesting experiment in productive co-operation which we may hope will put an end to wages disputes by enabling the men to become their own masters, and thus rid themselves of the miserable grinding slavery which has been up till now the curse of their lives.

### The Railwaymen at the Docks.

A deputation of railwaymen, consisting of signalmen, shunters, and men of other grades, have been to see the manager, Mr. H. W. Williams, and the superintendent, Mr. Tucker, at the Dock House, for the purpose of demanding the reduction of the hours from twelve to ten a-day. The answer was what might have been expected from these worthy gentlemen. It was practically this, "You can work ten hours if you like, but you will have to do with less wages." This kind of proposition was not acceptable to the men, and the deputation declined to agree to the terms offered.

### The "Homes" of the Poor.

Mr. Burleigh's crusade has already had unfortunate consequences. A week or two ago I pointed out that closing insanitary dwellings would only benefit the unhappy tenants by turning them into the street. It has done more, it has lodged one of them in prison. It appears that William Jones, one of Mr. Burleigh's witnesses in the recent police-court cases, did not relish being turned with other tenants into the cold freezing streets last Saturday. He resisted the officers of the law, barricaded the door of his house, and on being evicted endeavoured to resume possession. For this offence he has been sent to prison for twenty-one days. It is to be hoped that William Jones, who might have done good service in a real anti-rack-rent movement, appreciates the improvement of his condition by the help of the policeman's bludgeon and the prison cell. He will be properly housed now at the public expense; but probably he will not consider the change a great improvement. Probably this ignorant and ungrateful person would prefer to have been left in his hovel and not to have been thus provided with "decent" lodgings. It is just as well to warn Mr. Burleigh and his friends that reforms of this kind are rarely popular.

### The Miners and Eight Hours.

The miners postponed action upon the eight hours question at their recent conference. It is a pity they show signs of indecision in face of the firm determination of the masters not to grant what they demand. Their present indecision arises from two causes—one section, though a small one, of the miners have been bitten by the legislative mania, and appear to think that Parliament will give them what they have not the courage to take for themselves; while another, the South Wales men, are engaged in negotiating with their masters for an eight hour day under a sliding-scale. But they stated at conference that if these negotiations fall through they will join in a general strike; as for the matter of that, the people who believe in legislation will probably do the same. The decision is therefore put off till the South Wales people are in a position to act. It must be quite evident to every sensible person that as the immense majority of the miners are in

favour of obtaining the eight hours day by their own action, that therefore they stand a good chance of winning. Coal is one of the things which the present commercial system cannot do without; it is the fuel which keeps the huge machine going. Let the miners cease work for a fortnight and nearly every factory in the country would be stopped, and modern commercialism would totter on the brink of ruin. The miners are not only the backbone of the working class in strength, courage, and intelligence, but they have in their grip the very sources of the life of our corrupted, worn-out society. We are therefore surprised that when these men propose to strike a blow that will bring their masters to their feet, some of them, with a caution worthy of the legal profession of law and order, should recommend that the men prefer the dirty work of rascally politicians to trusting in their own sturdy strength and honest manhood. To me it seems folly to advise men to take a road to an object which will take them years to traverse, instead of going at once straight to the mark. Surely it is far better that the miners should get what they want by taking it at once, than wait years until it shall please knavish politicians to give it to them. It is to be hoped that people who are so fond of legislation will not introduce the same element of indecision when the question comes up again for discussion.

### Dublin Bakers.

The Dublin Bakers have settled their dispute with the masters by arbitration. The arbitrators have awarded them an increase of 4s. They demanded 6s.

### Dockers' Strike at Bristol.

The Bristol dockers last week revolted again. The men demanded that foreign crews should not unload the timber ships, and that the outdoor foremen and sub-foremen of the timber merchants should join the dockers' union. The usual spectacle is presented of merchants, clerks, and foremen doing some honest work for once in their lives by unloading perishable cargoes. The Mayor offered his services as a mediator, and the strike has now been settled by a compromise.

### Threatened Strike of Scotch Railwaymen.

On Saturday, Nov. 30th, mass meetings of railway servants were held throughout Scotland for the purpose of hearing the replies given by the railway companies to the demands of the men for a ten hour day. Some of the companies sent no replies at all, others merely acknowledged the receipt of the circular, while the Highland Company haughtily inquired by what authority the memorialists spoke on behalf of the men in their employment. The men at all the meetings unanimously decided that another circular should be sent to the whole of the companies, informing them that if an answer was not received before the 14th inst., the whole of the employees on the Scottish railways should take an idle day at an early date to consider the situation.

### Impending Strike of Manchester and Salford Gas-workers.

Some events in the struggle of the gas-workers with the Corporations was given in these columns a few weeks ago. In their demands for shorter hours, less work, and more pay they were completely successful, but not until a strike was about to take place. Notwithstanding the evident advantages of the union, some few of the workers held entirely aloof, and all the efforts of their fellow workers have failed to induce them to join. The union men now state that these "scabs" are favoured by the officials, and that many of the union men have not received the increased pay agreed upon. The Gas Committee deny that they have broken the agreement in any way which was made with the leaders of the men, and refuse to discharge the blacklegs. Their action has been endorsed by the City Council. Both parties have addressed the public by wall posters setting forth the different positions. In Manchester and Salford at all the gas-works the men have given in their notices, which expire on 5th and 6th. Unless the Corporations of both places concede the present demands of the men a strike, therefore, will follow. Both sides appear determined. A monster meeting of the gas-workers took place in Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon, at which Wm. Thorne, of London, and others, spoke. A resolution pledging the public to support the men was carried unanimously, about 5,000 being present. N.

It is very easy to pick holes in other people's work, but it is far more profitable to do better yourself. Is there a fool in the world that cannot criticise? Those who can themselves do good service are but as one to a thousand compared with those who can see faults in the labour of others.

... The improvement of labour makes the far greater part of the value. I think it will be but a very modest computation to say, that of the products of the earth useful to the life of man, nine-tenths are the efforts of labour. Nay, if we will rightly consider things as they come to our use, and cast up the several expenses about them, what in them is purely owing to nature, and what to labour, we shall find that in most of them ninety-nine hundredths are wholly to be put on the account of labour.—Locke: 'On Civil Government,' 1689.

When one looks out over our history, through the long catalogue of bloody and iniquitous centuries, when one looks among the present nations, with standing armies of professional killers, their protective tariffs, their monopolistic laws and *laissez-faires*, their crime-breeding and lunacy-nursing devilities, one almost feels like the pessimist who wishes he could go to the moon in order to be able to spit on the whole human race at one time. Take a couple of instances: The example of crime and mental diseases producing agencies of portentous power, and both wholly remedial. Do you know that hundreds of thousands of English men and women are dying from starvation, disease, and slavery at from ten to twenty-five cents a-day for twelve to sixteen hours of ceaseless toil? Unless they do this the choice for women is between death and harlotry; for men, between death and crime; for both, it is death or disobedience to moral and mental laws. Do you know that while this is so there are many ignorant little monkeys annually making more money as horse jockeys than we pay the President of these United States? We may curse Nihilism, scorn Socialism, sneer at Co-operation, ignore Georgeism, pooh-pooh profit-sharing, eat our good dinner and be indifferent to the whole economic pother of the "idealists;" but only one who combines the qualities of an ass with those of a hyena can forget or deny that a civilisation is unjust and doomed wherein thousand of *roués* and rake-hells can live lives of debauchery, idleness, and luxury, whilst the millions who feed them drag out their sad days in want, wretchedness, and ceaseless toil.—George M. Gould in *Open Court*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

*Commonweals* for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, to end of June. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell, to end of October. North London, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Dec. 10, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; Blundell, 2s. 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 1s.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

## REPORTS.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were R. J. Lyne, Crouch, and Dean; 50 *Commonweal* sold. In the evening, comrade Bullock lectured to a good audience on "Evolution and Revolution;" many questions and good debate; collected 2s. 0½d., and *Commonweal* sold out.

**NORTH LONDON.**—At Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, good meeting addressed by Lyne, sen. and Cantwell; 30 *Commonweal* sold, and 3s. 2½d. collected.

**STREATHAM.**—Comrade Kitz gave an excellent address to an attentive audience here. We have decided to close open-air propaganda for the winter.

**ST. GEORGES' EAST.**—At the last branch meeting it was decided to begin the winter season of indoor lectures on Wednesdays. It was also agreed that the branch meetings shall be held on Tuesday nights henceforth, so as to give an opportunity on Thursdays for members to attend the discussion and do some propaganda at the Toynbee Hall. Members are requested to turn up at nine sharp next Tuesday.

**ABERDEEN.**—At branch meeting on 25th, "A King's Lesson" and E. Kay Robinson's article on "The Man of the Future" were read and discussed. On 26th, comrade Forrest, of Kilmarnock, lectured in the Unitarian Church on "Socialism and Christianity," this being the last of a series of four lectures on social questions, which one of the audience proposed should be printed in collected form. Open-air work discontinued for the winter. Preparations going on for social meeting and dance.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at mid-day Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Sq. At 2 o'clock a good number of members and friends gathered in our Rooms to meet comrade Stepniak, author of "Underground Russia," etc. Stepniak gave us some most interesting observations upon the revolutionary movement in Russia, and answered many questions. In the evening Stepniak lectured on "Socialism amongst the Russian Peasantry" in the Waterloo Hall—comrade Mavor in the chair. Some 700 people were present (there was a charge of 3d., 6d., and 1s. for admission) and listened attentively to the lecture. Stepniak gave a most interesting account of the communal life of the Russian peasantry—showing how their social habits fitted them for the immediate realisation of complete Socialism. At the conclusion, a resolution wishing good speed to the Russian revolutionary movement, and expressing sympathy with the prisoners and exiles, was moved by Shaw-Maxwell, seconded by Jas. Thomson, and carried unanimously. A resolution in favour of Socialism, moved by Glasier and seconded by Fisher McLaren, was also carried without dissent. Eight quires of *Commonweal* and a good quantity of literature sold.

**EDINBURGH.**—Comrade R. B. Kerr lectured to a full house on Sunday. His subject, "The Fundamental Principles of Socialism," was thoroughly well handled. A host of questions were well answered, and a good discussion followed. On Monday the 2nd, Stepniak was well received by a large and appreciative audience in the Waverley Hall.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday Dec. 1, Chambers, Taylor, and Barclay spoke in Russell Square, and Counsellor Sanders (of Walsall) gave three addresses. Morning, Radical Club, Vine Street, on "Municipal Politics; a Programme for Town Councils." Afternoon, 3 p.m., in Humberstone Gate, "The Organisation of Labour." Evening, Radical Club again, "Labour Federation; a Programme for Trade Unions." All three stirring addresses, and well attended, especially the evening one. Collections 17s. 3d.; 2½ quires *Commonweal* sold. Monday 2nd, comrade Timson read a paper on "Proposed Remedies for the Present State of Society." Tuesday Nov. 26, Graham Wallas lectured on "A Socialist View of the Political Outlook," in the Co-operative Hall—the concluding lecture of four on "Socialism and Practical Politics."—T. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—Wm. Morris lectured for the branch on "The Class Struggle" at the Secular Hall on Saturday night. The lecture was well received; brisk discussion followed; lecturer replied amid enthusiastic applause. About 10s. worth of literature sold. Our comrade also lectured on Sunday at Islington Hall, Ancoats, on "The Revolt of Ghent," at which the branch sold a quantity of literature. The members met Morris in the evening. At a meeting of gas-workers in Stevenson Square, 57 *Commonweal*, being all we had, were speedily disposed of.

**NORWICH.**—Saturday night, social meeting; large attendance. Sunday, at 3, in the Market Place some 3,000 people turned out to hear comrade Mowbray, who also addressed a meeting again at 7, when, notwithstanding the fog, some 600 persons turned up. At 8, Mowbray lectured on the "Fallacies of Political Action." Collection for day, 10s. Literature sold well; *Commonweal* all sold out.—M.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Sunday morning comrade C. W. Mowbray, of London, delivered an earnest address to an attentive audience on the Priory Plain. In the evening, on Colman's Granary Quay, we held our usual meeting, comrade Rufford being the speaker. All *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 1½d. collected.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Nov. 30th, R. F. Wilson lectured to a large audience on "The Goal of Modern Civilisation," in the course of which he plainly demonstrated that all the tendencies were towards Socialism. An interesting discussion took place, King, Kavanagh, Toomey, Hamilton, and others taking part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—We have closed our outdoor campaign, and are now making arrangements for a series of lectures in our hall, Woodland Place, Parliament Street.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.—On Sunday December 8, at 8 p.m., F. Kitz, "Lessons from the Lives of Famous Working-men."

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Dec. 8, at 8 p.m., S. Bullock, "Popular Fallacies." French Class, Friday, 8 to 9.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday December 8, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. On Wednesday Dec. 11, at 8 p.m., F. Kitz will lecture on "The Right to Punish Criminals."

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing-practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 7.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... The Branch.

SUNDAY 8.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Crouch, Mainwaring, and Dean

11.30..... Chelsea Embankment ..... Samuels

11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Lyne sen., Mitchell

11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road... Maughan, J.F. Lyne, Emerson

11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street ..... Cores

11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green ..... The Branch

11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll

11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square ..... The Branch

3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Cantwell and Mowbray

3.30..... Victoria Park ..... The Branch

7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch

7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch

TUESDAY 10.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch

THURSDAY 12.

8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Cores

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,** "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday Dec. 8, at 8.45 p.m., John McCormack, "Poverty, its Cause and Cure."

**STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB,** High Street.—Saturday Dec. 14, at 8, Debate: "England under a Republic."

**CLERKENWELL DEMOCRATIC CLUB,** St. John's Road.—Sunday Dec. 15, at 8, H. Halliday Sparling, "The Good Old Cause."

**ENTERPRISE CLUB AND INSTITUTE,** Manchee House, High Road, South Tottenham, N.—Sunday December 8, at 11.30 a.m., J. R. Macdonald, "Practicable Socialism."

**CHELSEA S.D.F.,** Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday December 8, at 8 p.m., Edward Bernstein, "The Ideas and Tactics of the German Social Democracy."

**FABIAN SOCIETY,** Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W.—On Friday Dec. 6, at 8 o'clock, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th. G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Saturday Dec. 7, at 8, A. Kavanagh, "Chattel Slavery v. Wages Slavery."

**EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.**—In Moulders' Hall, High St., on Sunday Dec. 8, at 6.30, Mr. Ritchie, President of the Working Men's Club, "International Co-operation."

# WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

## LONDON.

PUBLISHING OFFICE: 24, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN  
FIELDS, W.C.

### N.

Gee, 56 High-street, Islington  
J. W. Miller, 76 Holloway-road  
Watson, 76 Hoxton-street  
Knox, 5 Mayes-terrace, Wood Green  
Vale, Stamford Hill

### N. W.

Clark, 63 Malden-road  
Wright, 167 Kentish Town-road  
Petherick, 29 Osnauburg-street  
Gibbs, Lisson-grove  
Wilson, 24 Highgate-road  
Meek, 132 Drummond-street

### E.

Schweitzer, 43 Commercial-road  
Kades, 219 Whitechapel-road  
Kerbey, 118  
Hoinville, Triangle, Hackney  
Ackland, 4 Bishops-road  
Thoday, 443 Hackney-road  
Daniels, near Shoreditch Church  
Hammond, Goldsmith-row  
King, 68  
Bouchard, 157A  
Bevis, 4 Old Ford-road  
Platt, Bonner-Street, Bethnal-green

### E. C.

Cason, 64 Leonard-street  
Fowler, 166 Old Street  
Wilkins, Leather-lane  
Twigg, Clerkenwell Green  
Fox, 48 Penton-street  
Forder, 28 Stonecutter-street  
Simpson, 7 Red Lion Court  
Reeves, 185 Fleet-street  
Freethought Publishing Co., 63 Fleet-st.  
Farrington, Fetter-lane  
Brandon, Wine Office-court  
Appleyard, Poppins-court  
Hurlstone, 5 Bath-street

### S. E.

H. G. Prior, 131 London-road  
J. Coster, 115A Blackfriars-road  
Curwood, 4 Newington-causeway  
Wirbacz, 18 New Kent-road  
Hill, 130 Great Dover-street  
Dunn, 24 Old Kent-road  
Watson, 321 Old Kent-road  
Williams, 554  
Harrison, 621  
Williams, 375 St. James-road  
Clayton, 12 Clarence-place, Deptford  
Chambers, 3 Greenwich-road  
Mears, 328 Walworth-road  
Buist, 43  
Hasken, 5 Trafalgar-street, Walworth-road  
Ellison, 34 High-street, Peckham  
Pish, 25 Queens-road, Peckham  
Adams, 156 New Cross road  
Chambers, 18 Church-street, Greenwich

### S. W.

Stowe, 103 Pimlico-road  
Tims, 338 Battersea Park-road  
E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie-street  
Head, 290 York-road, Wandsworth-end  
Plumpton, 41 York-road, Battersea-end  
Baker, Church-street, Croydon  
Bush, Wellfield-road, Streatham

### W.

O'Neill, 69 Farnhead-road, Harrow-road  
Wilson, 620 Harrow-road, Queens-park  
Hebard, 49 Endell-street  
Gardner, 32 Lexington-street  
Loffnagun, 17 Carnaby-street  
Stocker, 30 Berwick-street  
Bard, 20 Cleveland-street  
Kates, 51  
Manly, 113  
Goodblood, Foley-street, Cleveland-street  
Ascott, 59 Upper Marylebone-street  
W. Cutting, 20 Gt. Marylebone-street  
Haffenden, 3 Carburton-street  
Hanstein, 51 Charlotte-street  
Farley, 6 Charlotte-street  
Hoffman, 13 Francis-street  
Smith, 2A Chapel-street, Edgware-road.  
Cooper, 7 Fouberts-place

### W. C.

Anderson, 15 Grays Inn-road  
Jones, 9 Little Queen-street  
Varley, 24 High-street, St. Giles  
Nye, Theobalds-road  
Vernon, 40 Lambs Conduit-street  
Hanrahan, Little James-street  
Shirley, 169 Kings Cross-road  
Stubbs, 33  
Truelove, 256 High Holborn

And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Station  
of the Socialist League.

## PROVINCES.

### Bristol.

Little, 18 Narrow Wine-street

### Brighton.

Thacker, Oxford-street

### Bury (Lancashire).

J. Barlow, Heap Bridge  
T. Brooks, 42 Rochdale-road  
J. Holden, 39 Princess-street  
A. Veevers, 57 Bolton-road, Elton

### Colchester.

F. Collison, 43 St. Botolph-street

### Cork.

Guy and Co., 70 Patrick-street

### Dundee.

Paton, 16 West Port

### Dublin.

Wheeler, North Earl-street  
J. J. Lalor, North Earl-street

### Edinburgh.

B. Given, 20 Bristo-street  
Mrs. Wishart, 169 Dundee-street  
J. Weir, Freethought Depot, 39 Rose-street

### Glasgow.

Ferguson, Ingram-street  
Hood, Railway Arch, Argyle-street  
Porteous and Co., Exchange-place  
Sharpe, Exchange-square  
Thomson, St. Enoch's-square  
Tollins, Main-street, Bridgeton-crescent  
Young, Dundas-street  
Rutherford, Govan-street, Gorbals-cross

### Grimsby.

W. A. Lee, 2 Central Market

### Halifax.

A. Hargreaves, 6 Francis-street, Gibbet-lane  
W. H. Hancot, 76 Freemans-street  
Flanagan, Woolshops

### Leeds.

Watson, Market-street  
J. G. Fisher, 1 Coburg-terrace

### Liverpool.

Stocker, 29 Vauxhall-road—Agent for Liverpool  
Socialist Society, 1 Stanley-street  
Fraser, 54 Tithebarn-street  
Malia, Cook-street

### Leicester.

Crofts, 21 Willowbridge-street  
Oldershaw, Granby-street  
W. Smith, 202 Belgrave-gate  
C. H. Merrick, 248  
Emery,  
Newsagent, Chatham-street, corner of Granby-street  
Crane, 23 Belgrave-gate  
Holyoake, Secular Hall, Humberstone-gate  
Wallace, Caxton House, Granby-street  
J. Clarke, 19 Applegate-street

### Manchester.

Ashcroft, Rutland-street, C.-on-M.  
Ashworth, Loudon-road  
Clarke, 652 Rochdale-road  
Grant, 324 Rochdale-road  
A. Heywood, 56 Oldham-road  
D. Kelly, 82 Rochdale-road  
S. Renshaw, 32 Oldham-road  
Turnbull, 238 Rochdale-road  
Usher, Downing-street  
Walker, Gorton Brook, Gorton

### Norwich.

F. J. Crotch, St. George's, Middle-street  
C. Sales, St. Augustine's  
Thompson, Magdalen-street

### Nottingham.

Clark, Milton-street

### Oldham.

News-stall, Covered Market

### Plymouth.

Ley, Russell-street

### Walsall.

A. Deakin, 238 Stafford-street

### Warrington.

A. Downes 1 Church-street

### Yarmouth.

H. E. Howes, 67 George-street  
C. Brightwell, Pier-place, Goleston  
J. Headley, 48 Row, George-street

## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not *use*, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto:

**Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,**

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS  
CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING  
TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

Printed in the Socialist League Printery, and published in the name and on behalf of the Socialist League by FRANK KENT at 24 Great Queen St., Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.



# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 205.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

At first sight the programme put forward by the Gladstonians at Manchester seems like an advance towards the Socialist-Radical position, and as if they were determined to avoid being dished by the Tories. However, the Radicals had better not halloo till they are out of the wood; for they must remember that there is a very wide distance between what a caucus meeting of the Outs will put forward as a promise, and what a party in office will attempt to carry.

Let the Radicals who think that they have a chance of being something more than the tail of the Liberal party, note the significant difference between the reception of such startling revolutionary novelties (?) as the giving of some real powers to the County Councils, the taxing of ground-rents, etc., and a bit of the regular old caucus programme, the Disestablishment of the Scotch and Welsh Churches. The assembled delegates had received the announcement of the former with decent signs of approbation, but they roared with delight at the announcement of the latter.

Now, certainly, we must all admit that it is a good thing that all churches should be disestablished; but to express such unbounded enthusiasm for a subject so stale, such a foregone conclusion, is ominous of the Gladstonian future, and shows that the Liberal party might almost as well be called the Nonconformist party, and that we may look forward after the tremendous birth-pangs of the political mountain to see a small Whig mouse (or rat rather) creep forth on to the surface of things, and the Radicals with their mongrel and impossible demi-semi-Socialist programme as hopelessly excluded from any Parliamentary political power as ever.

Whatever power the Radicals may have now, they have in virtue of their making some approach toward Socialism amongst a population which is beginning to have an inkling of Socialism; but that very power with the people makes them weak in Parliament, which is a mere drag on popular aspirations. And in any case they (the Radicals) only have any reason for existence as a party because the mass of the people is only *beginning* to turn towards Socialism. When the people understand the matter better, those Radicals of to-day, who are anything better than political tricksters, will have become Socialists, and the rest of them will be declared reactionists.

There never will nor can be again a Radical party in Parliament; that belongs to the days when Radicalism saw nothing ahead of itself in progress. It has now become quite conscious of some form of Socialism being its necessary development. It is accepting its transitional position, and is waiting for the transformation to take place. Such a body must necessarily be too nebulous to form a political party, for it is of the essence of a political party to consider its position as a final one; that is to say, that a political party is the outcome of opinions which have been superseded in the minds of all thoughtful persons by new developments of thought. It is no longer the growing fruit-tree, but the dead log; useful—for burning.

The Radicals, therefore, are to be congratulated for their powerlessness as a political party; it is a sign of life and growth in them. As for Mr. Gladstone's Manchester audiences, it is clear that they were, as aforesaid, Nonconformist Whigs; and they were engaged in devising the best form of giving the people stones for bread.

The strikes which are now taking place have a tendency which is noteworthy, and surely, amidst all shortcomings, encouraging. They are not merely strikes for a rise of wages, but show a desire for independence on the part of the men; strikes against blacklegs, or against the imposition of conditions under the guise of a gift. This, we may well hope, shows that the workers are gradually becoming conscious that their existence as workers means that they are engaged in a class

war. That whatever gains they make, whatever improvements in their condition they conquer, must be at the expense of the master-class.

They will be aided in this new acquirement of knowledge by the attitude of the middle class, which a month or two ago was so "sympathetic." For in the struggle against blackleg treachery and the dictation of conditions by the masters they need look for no "sympathy" from the master-class. Expressions of sorrow at their having made such a mistake as to take the step absolutely necessary to true combination they will get in plenty, if that is any good to them; but, for the rest, it will be the kind masters who are so generously offering to share profits with their men who will receive the "sympathy of the public."

A word about this profit-sharing. What is it but a feeding of the dog with his own tail? It means on the one hand a writing down in the account-books of wages as profits shared by the men; while on the other hand it gets more work out of the men than the obvious wage-paying for the same money paid, and is, of course, praised by its advocates for that very reason. For the rest, the men are quite right in seeing in it a dodge to break up their organisation; an instrument for detaching some of the men from furthering the interests of their class by deluding them into thinking that their interests are one with those of their masters, who, if only they had eyes to see, are visibly living on their labour. Whether the gas-stokers' strike fails or not, the mere fact that the men have gained this much of insight into the capitalist trickery is very encouraging.

A curmudgeon (name of no importance) is determined to put the pretty river Mole, or certain reaches of it, into his own pocket, and the public is naturally angry at the proceeding, to the extent of forming a society for the protection of the said river; but as their only means of "protection" seems to be going to law with its owner, it is certain that the Mole will remain pocketed till "when the revolution comes."

For my part, I sympathise heartily with the sorrow of those who have been locked out of the Mole; for I should like to live on a river three quarters of the year; and the Mole is an exceedingly pretty little meadow-stream. But on the other hand it is no bad thing that the middle class—even the lower at that—should have a reminder of their position in relation to the landowners. I must say to them, "You *would* have it so, my friends! *Now* perhaps you begin to understand the meaning of the 'sacred rights of property,' the right of using and *abusing* wealth, which is so dear to the souls of the Liberty and Property Defence League. Turn Socialists my friends, and one day you shall have the Mole again."

W. M.

The *New York Herald* (the real one), writing the other day about a shooting case, says that we live in "a world in which hard cash wins the victory over poverty every time. Wealth can whistle all fear of being caught down the wind, for the law's delays are a purchasable commodity." But if it had been a Socialist or Anarchist who had said that in his paper, the *Herald* would have been calling for his head before now.

"When slaveholders and land monopolists in Brazil seek a nominal republic, the better to accomplish the ends of injustice, the old query is recalled—What's in a name?" This is the question which the *Boston Globe* asks; and those who have been abusing Cunninghame Graham for his letter had better ponder awhile before they try to answer it.

An aristocratic mixture of matrimonial relations has brought out the fact that in England, while a man is strictly prohibited from marrying his deceased wife's sister, there is nothing to prevent his marrying his divorced wife's sister, even while the divorced wife is alive. The ways of law are wonderful, and its paths past finding out!

S.

## MONOPOLY.

(Continued from p. 389.)

Society to-day is divided into classes, those who render services to the public and those who do not. Those who render services to the community are in an inferior position to those who do not, though there are various degrees of inferiority amongst them, from a position worse than that of a savage in a good climate to one not much below that of the lower degree of the unserviceable class: but the general rule is, that the more undeniably useful a man's services are, the worse his position is; as, for example, the agricultural labourers who raise our most absolute necessities are the most poverty-stricken of all our slaves.

The individuals of this inferior or serviceable class, however, are not deprived of a hope. That hope is, that if they are successful they may become unserviceable; in which case they will be rewarded by a position of ease, comfort, and respect, and may leave this position as an inheritance to their children. The preachers of the unserviceable class (which rules all society) are very eloquent in urging the realisation of this hope, as a pious duty, on the members of the serviceable class. They say, amidst various degrees of rigmarole: "My friends, thrift and industry are the greatest of the virtues; exercise them to the uttermost, and you will be rewarded by a position which will enable you to throw thrift and industry to the winds."

However, it is clear that this doctrine would not be preached by the unserviceable if it could be widely practised, because the result would then be that the serviceable class would tend to grow less and less and the world be undone; there would be nobody to make things. In short, I must say of this hope, "What is that among so many?" Still it is a phantom which has its uses—to the unserviceable.

Now this arrangement of society appears to me to be a mistake (since I don't want to use strong language)—so much a mistake, that even if it could be shown to be irremediable, I should still say that every honest man must needs be a rebel against it; that those only could be contented with it who were, on the one hand, dishonest tyrants interested in its continuance; or, on the other hand, the cowardly and helpless slaves of tyrants—and both contemptible. Such a world, if it cannot be mended, needs no hell to supplement it.

But, you see, all people really admit that it can be remedied, only some don't want it to be, because they live easily and thoughtlessly in it and by means of it; and others are so hard-worked and miserable that they have no time to think and no heart to hope, and yet I tell you that if there were nothing between these two sets of people it would be remedied, even then should we have a new world. But judge you with what wreck and ruin, what fire and blood, its birth would be accompanied!

Argument, and appeals to think about these matters, and consciously help to bring a better world to birth, must be addressed to those who lie between these two dreadful products of our system, the blind tyrant and his blind slave. I appeal, therefore, to those of the unserviceable class who are ashamed of their position, who are learning to understand the crime of living without producing, and would be serviceable if they could; and on the other hand to those of the serviceable class who by luck maybe, or rather maybe by determination, by sacrifice of what small leisure or pleasure our system has left them, are able to think about their position and are intelligently discontented with it.

To all these I say, you well know that there must be a remedy to the present state of things. For nature bids all men to work in order to live, and that command can only be evaded by a man or a class forcing others to work for its stead; and, as a matter of fact, it is the few that compel and the many that are compelled, as indeed the most must work or the work of the world couldn't go on. Here, then, is your remedy within sight surely; for why should the many allow the few to compel them to do what nature does compel them to do? It is only by means of superstition and ignorance that they can do so; for observe that the existence of a superior class living on an inferior implies that there is a constant struggle going on between them; whatever the inferior class can do to better itself at the expense of the superior it both can and must do, just as a plant must needs grow towards the light; but its aim must be proportionate to its freedom from prejudice and its knowledge. If it is ignorant and prejudiced it will aim at some mere amelioration of its slavery; when it ceases to be ignorant it will strive to throw off its slavery once for all.

Now, I may assume that the divine appointment of misery and degradation as accompaniments of labour is an exploded superstition among the workers, and, furthermore, that the recognition of the duty of the working-man to raise his class, apart from his own individual advancement, is spreading wider and wider amongst the workers. I assume that most workmen are conscious of the inferior position of their class, although they are not and cannot be fully conscious of the extent of the loss which they and the whole world suffer as a consequence, since they cannot see and feel the better life they have not lived; but before they set out to seek a remedy they must add to this knowledge of their position and discontent with it, a knowledge of the means whereby they are kept in that position in their own despite; and that knowledge it is for us Socialists to give them, and when they have learned it then the change will come.

One can surely imagine the workman saying to himself, "Here am I, a useful person in the community, a carpenter, a smith, a compositor, a weaver, a miner, a ploughman, or what not, and yet, as long as I work thus and am useful, I belong to the lower class, and am not re-

spected like yonder squire or lord's son who does nothing, yonder gentleman who receives his quarterly dividends, yonder lawyer or soldier who does worse than nothing, or yonder manufacturer, as he calls himself, who pays his managers and foremen to do the work he pretends to do; and in all ways I live worse than he does, and yet I do and he lives on my ~~doings~~. And furthermore, I know that not only do I know my share of my work, but I know that if I were to combine with my fellow-workmen, we between us could carry on our business and earn a good livelihood by it without the help (1) of the squire's partridge-shooting, the gentleman's dividend-drawing, the lawyer's chicanery, the soldier's stupidity, or the manufacturer's quarrel with his brother manufacturer. Why, then, am I in an inferior position to the man who does nothing useful, and whom, therefore, it is clear that I keep? He says he is useful to me, but I know I am useful to him or he would not 'employ' me, and I don't perceive his utility. How would it be if I were to leave him severely alone to try the experiment of living on his usefulness while I lived on mine, and worked with those that are useful for those that are useful? Why can't I do this?"

My friend, because since you live by your labour, you are not free. And if you ask me, Who is my master? who owns me? I answer *Monopoly*. Get rid of Monopoly, and you will have overthrown your present tyrant, and will be able to live as you please within the limits which nature prescribed to you while she was your master, but which limits you as man have enlarged so enormously by almost making her your servant.

And now what are we to understand by the word Monopoly? I have seen it defined as the selling of wares at an enhanced price without the seller having added any additional value to them, which may be put again in this way, the habit of receiving reward for services never performed or intended to be performed; for imaginary services, in short.

This definition would come to this, that Monopolist is *cheat writ large*; but there is an element lacking in this definition which we must presently supply. We can defend ourselves against this cheat by using our wits to find out that his services are imaginary, and then refusing to deal with him; his instrument is fraud only. I should extend the definition of the Monopolist by saying that he was one who was *privileged to compel* us to pay for imaginary services. He is, therefore, a more injurious person than a mere cheat, against whom we can take precautions, because his instrument for depriving us of what we have earned is no longer mere fraud, but fraud with *violence* to fall back on. As long as his privilege lasts we have no defence against him; if we want to do business in his line of things we must pay him the toll which his privilege allows him to claim of us, or else abstain from the article we want to buy. If, for example, there were a Monopoly of champagne, silk velvet, kid gloves, or doll's eyes, when you wanted any of those articles you would have to pay the toll of the Monopolist, which would certainly be as much as he could get, besides their cost of production and distribution; and I imagine that if any such Monopoly were to come to light in these days, there would be a tremendous to-do about it both in and out of Parliament. Nevertheless, there is little to-do about the fact that all society to-day is in the grasp of *Monopoly*. Monopoly is our master, and we do not know it.

For the privilege of our Monopolists does not enable them merely to lay a toll on a few matters of luxury or curiosity which people can do without. I have stated, and you must admit, that everyone must labour who would live, unless he is able to get somebody to do his share of labour for him—to be somebody's pensioner in fact. But most people cannot be the pensioners of others; therefore, they have to labour to supply their wants, but in order to labour usefully two matters are required: 1st, The bodily and mental powers of a human being developed by training, habit, and tradition; and 2nd, Raw material on which to exercise those powers, and tools wherewith to aid them. The second matters are absolutely necessary to the first; unless the two come together no commodity can be produced. Those, therefore, that must labour in order to live, and who have to ask leave of others for the use of the instruments of labour, are not free men but their dependents, i.e., their slaves, for the commodity which they have to buy of the monopolists is no less than life itself.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

In the newly-drafted constitution for the State of Wyoming it is provided that "eight hours shall constitute a lawful day's work in all mines and on all State and municipal works."

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, Knights of Labour, Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, and Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen, all in the employ of the Union Pacific system, have signed articles of federation. The agreement was submitted for approval to the general session of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

## SONG OF THE BRAVE.

On, what is the Life of the brave?  
 A gift which his Maker hath given,  
 Least nothing but tyrant and slave  
 Remain of mankind under heaven.  
 And what is the life of the brave  
 When staked in the cause of his right?  
 'Tis but as a drop to the wave—  
 A trifle he values as light.

And what is the Death of the brave?  
 A loss which the good shall deplore:  
 Who freedom hath striven to save,  
 Mankind shall revere evermore!  
 'Tis the close of a glorious day,  
 'Tis the setting of yonder bright sun;  
 A summons that welcomes away,  
 To a heaven already begun!

And what is the Fame of the brave?  
 'Tis the halo which follows his day;  
 The noble example he gave,  
 Still shining in splendid array!  
 The blood of the coward runs cold;  
 The wise and the good do admire;  
 But in the warm heart of the bold,  
 Oh, it kindles a nobler fire!

Then who would not live with the brave?  
 The wretch without virtue or worth.  
 And who would not die with the brave?  
 The coward that clings to the earth.  
 And who shall partake with the brave  
 The fame which his valour hath won?  
 'Tis he that will fight with the brave,  
 Till the battle of freedom is done!

SAMUEL BAMFORD.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

HERE are two items clipped from the capitalistic press of November 13th. This one is from the *Boston Globe*:

"The word 'Anarchist' is used very loosely in the press reports. Schevitch, the so-called Anarchist, who made the incendiary speech in Cooper Union the other night, is anything but an Anarchist in the strict definition of that term. He is a State Socialist. Instead of favouring the abolition of all law, as the Anarchists do, he believes in piling law mountains high, and giving to it the control of every kind of business. Of the two extremes, that of Schevitch is probably the worse."

And the following is from the *Transcript*, the organ of "culture":

"The meeting announced to be held in Philadelphia last Sunday night 'in memory of the working people murdered at Chicago on Nov. 11, 1887,' was forcibly prevented by the police. One thousand persons, a considerable proportion of whom were ladies, had been provided with tickets for the meeting, and seven hundred policemen were massed around the building to prevent these people from entering. At the next meeting announced in Philadelphia in sympathy with the Anarchists, two thousand people will want to attend. The thing always works in that way."

We are getting nearer and nearer Caesaristic methods of government. About 40,000 people are out of employment in Chicago. They are regarded by the fathers of that rotten city as a dangerous class. And well they may! In order to calm this unruly element somewhat, a new system of water supply and drainage is to be undertaken, which will employ 10,000 labourers, a host of politicians, and will cost the city 60 million dollars.

The meeting in honour of our martyrs in New York was a most gigantic success. The *Morning Journal* estimated the people who surged about the doors of Cooper Institute as over ten thousand, and says "the streets for blocks around the entrance were black with men and women, struggling to attend the great demonstration in 'memorial of the martyrs of the working people, murdered at Chicago.'" There is talk in the newspapers about the prosecution of John Most and Sergius E. Shevitch for the speeches they delivered, but I don't believe anything will come of it.

The most important event during the last week in the labour movement was the convention of the Knights of Labour at Atlanta, Ga. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, addressed a letter to the assembled Knights on the proposed eight hour movement, in which he proposed the cordial co-operation of both bodies. He reviewed at length the work of the American Federation in endeavouring to promote the movement, and said:

"At present it is impossible to say definitely what action will be necessary to be taken by the working people to secure the eight-hour work-day. Some have stated that it will be conceded upon the demand of organised labour; that the employers will recognise the necessity of so doing, if not from a spirit of humanity, at least from a wise discretion. Such, permit me to say, I hope may be the case. Others again believe that our employers will not manifest such good judgment, and that organised labour will be compelled to resort to a cessation of work to enforce the demand. It is the policy of the American Federation of Labour to inaugurate good labour organisations, to avoid the harsh measure of strikes whenever possible; but if we cannot obtain justice, if in the light of the immense improvements in machinery as applied to the modern methods of production; if with all the civilising influence of this latter part of the nineteenth century, we cannot secure a substantial reduction of the hours of labour, so that all may find an opportunity of remunerative employment, without a strike, then probably that must be resorted to. We appeal to you for your co-operation in this movement, because we believe that the interest of the toiling masses are identical. We recognise the necessity for unity of action and purposes in the whole body of organised labour, and spurn with contempt the policy of isolation. Nor do we attach any more importance to the fact that the American Federation of Labour inaugurated this present movement and asked your co-operation, than if you had initiated it and asked our organisation to aid you."

Before the convention, Mr. Powderly stated in an interview:

"The eight-hour system will be discussed very fully. The American Federation of Labour has decided that the eight-hour system shall go into effect all

over the country on the 31st of May, 1890, but, as I stated in my recommendations to the General Assembly, I do not think we can adopt any such measure according to the preamble of our constitution, but I think we should adopt the eight-hour system gradually. If it should go into effect all over the country at the same time it would disarrange business too much."

Before I go much further, I may say that considerable secrecy surrounds the deliberations of the General Assembly of the Knights this year. For the purpose probably of concealing the weak condition of the Order and the bad state of the finances, very scant information is given. Wright, the editor of the *Journal of United Labour*, a good, honest, able man, but weak in his make, doles out all the information—but of course he must obey general instructions.

The convention opened on the 13th inst. This year is the 20th anniversary of the birth of the order. General Master Workman Powderly said this in his report, and after saying that the order has passed through a trying period, but that it had passed through it better than he expected, he continued:

"I now wish to speak very plainly. Your officers have done all they could do, and unless they receive more encouragement from the order the struggle will be in vain. It must be understood that we make the fight, not for ourselves, but for all, and the battle must have the support of all or fail. I have had to stand on the public platform and deny charges, explain actions, and face accusers in defence of this order, when, if called on to do it in my own behalf I would have refused to stir hand or foot; and yet it is supposed that I do these things for self. Our members unfortunately do not realise that they are the ones for whom this struggle is made, and not for your General Master Workman. To say that he is tired and weary of such doings is to tell but part of the truth, and if the struggle is to continue for the future as it has during the past three years, some other man must take the place now occupied by your General Master Workman, for he is convinced that it is a waste of time and energy on his part to keep on fighting the same old battles with men who should be promptly silenced by the order itself, while the majority of our members regard the general officers as something apart from themselves, and look upon attacks on these officers as personal and in which they are not concerned. Upon this convention devolves the solemn duty of making the effort to again arouse the zeal of our members throughout the land. You have the opportunity to make or mar the order forever, and I sincerely hope that we will not leave here with our duty undone. . . . At the session of 1887, I notified that I would not again accept the position of General Master Workman. I could not therefore consistently advocate a reduction of the salary of that officer. . . . I now recommend that the salary of the Master Workman be reduced one-half—not that I consider 2,500 dollars, or even 5,000, enough for the duties and responsibilities of the office, but the order cannot well afford to pay any more. . . . Last year I called for contributions to enable me to send out lecturers, and it is a question with me whether that act has not done more harm than good to the order. . . . In future the *Journal of United Labour* should be our educator, and it should be in every member's hands if possible. I again recommend that the name of the journal be changed, to conform to existing circumstances. When the name was selected the order was working in extreme secrecy. Hence the adoption of the present title. I recommend that the name be changed to the "Journal of the Knights of Labour," or something more suitable than that now in use. . . .

"Our declaration of principles calls for a gradual reduction of the hours of labour, and I urge upon the convention to give serious attention to that question before adjournment. I do not regard a reduction of the hours to be a cure-all and the end of the struggle, but merely as a means to an end. . . . I am not hostile to the eight-hour question. It is because I am deeply concerned in it that I will not sanction any foolhardy or unwise methods of hastening it. Had we acted on the proposition presented by Mr. Edwin Norton in Cleveland in 1886, this year would see the end of the long-hour work day. His recommendation was that 9½ hours constitute the work day for 1887, 9 hours for 1888, 8½ for 1889, and 8 hours for 1890. That was and is a practical plan. It was feasible, and so gradual as not to estrange business, or in any way work hardship to either side in the controversy. Men who will deliberately enter into such a plan to carry forward the short-hour movement may be depended upon to retain the benefits of a reduction in hours, but those who wait until the last minute and then attempt to inaugurate the new system with a hurrah will abandon organisation and live in the memory of the glory of the achievement, while the employers are taking from them what they so suddenly gained. I submit for your consideration the plan above alluded to, and ask you to make an effort to put it into practical operation."

The per capita tax amounted to 52,945 dols. 69 c. On July 1 the balances were: General Fund, 4,036 d. 31 c.; Educational Fund, 4,138 d. 47 c.; Insurance Fund, 882 d. 83 c. No wonder that Powderly volunteered to give up half of his salary!

On the 15th L. F. Livingston, president of the State Farmers' Alliance of Georgia, addressed the Knights, speaking for 100,000 men, describing the pitiable condition of the farmers of the State and the South, and stating what was being attempted to aid the farmers in their fight against monopoly. He was convinced that in many things the Alliance and the Knights are working side by side, and he saw no reason why they may not join, at least as far along the road as they went together. He hoped the Knights would in some way be represented at the coming national convention of various farmers' organisations, to be held at St. Louis, December 3. His address was heartily applauded, the general assembly at the close rising to its feet and giving three hearty cheers for the Farmers' Alliance.

The substance of the report of the K. of L. Legislative Committee upon its action at Washington during the last session of Congress, was that nothing was accomplished, as all the Bills in which working people were interested that originated in the Senate were buried in the House, and vice versa, so that honours were easy between them in their ingenuity in smothering such legislation.

The capitalistic papers say to-day that an amalgamation of the Knights and the Farmers would be next to invincible.

Boston, Mass., Nov 18, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

Of all the great minds that have made the labour problem a study, there is not one to-day that will not admit that woman has become a factor in all the affairs of the world, and that she is in as great a degree as man a wealth-producer, and should, therefore, be entitled to her full share of the gains and honours of advancing civilisation. We say greater because, according to the definition given by one that "wealth is all money over and above the necessities of life," she, by working for smaller wages, certainly increases the wealth of her employer faster than a man, who is paid a more equitable share for his labour. The reasoning and thinking minds of the age have also come to see clearly the truth that with equal privileges woman will be man's equal in any and all vocations of life. Therefore it is very apparent to those who have labour's cause at heart that we cannot longer afford to allow our women to toil without recompense or be driven to lives of shame. We ask only that woman may be given an equal chance with man in every way, and not be obliged, as now, to rob him of his honestly earned loaf that she may have a crust.—*Living Issue*.





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HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW : FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT ; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT ; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON !

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League ; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 11.

ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	ITALY
Brotherhood	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Justice	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
Labour Elector	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Barcelona—Revolucion Social
London—Freie Presse	Philadelphia—United Labour	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	FRANCE	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Personal Rights Journal	Paris—La Revolte	GERMANY
Railway Review	Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	Bourse du Travail	AUSTRIA
Illustrated Weekly	Lyon—L'Action Sociale	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	Middelburg—Lichten Wahrheid	Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	BEELGIUM	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Twentieth Century	Antwerp—De Werker	SWEDEN
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmö—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung		

## THE WORKMAN'S COMPASS.

SHALL the "docker's tanner" be the end of the "greatest labour movement of the century," or shall the strike whereby the "tanner" was won be only the beginning of a far greater movement—the first step along the road that shall lead the working people from poverty and misery to plenty and happiness?

The road is sure. There need be no mistaking it. For the strike should teach lessons that will prove like signposts all along the way, giving certain directions to those who will learn to read them.

The main lessons to be learnt are five. I. The absolute dependence of all life upon labour. II. The inter-dependence of labour. III. The necessity of union. IV. The value of organisation. V. The uselessness of government.

Let us take these lessons in their order.

I. The dependence of life upon labour. This is the key to the whole position. The strike closed only one of the sources of supply of London ; yet it paralysed trade, hindered production, and interfered with distribution. If the other great source of supply—the railways—had been closed by a similar strike, what would have happened? In one week London would have been starving ; because the rich man's money would not buy him food if the working people refused to bring it in for him to buy. So that it is plain that *all* people, rich and poor alike, depend for their very living on those who work. And instead of the companies—the capitalists—starving the strikers into submission, the strikers might have starved their masters into submission, and made what terms they liked with them.

Therefore it is plain that capital is useless without labour. But labour is not useless without capital, for it can produce capital. When

the docks and the railways were made, and the machinery you work with and the houses you live in, labour was producing capital. And the labourers were not kept by the capitalists' money, but by the food brought into London by other labourers.

All who live depend upon labour ; if not on their own, then on some one else's.

II. The inter-dependence of labour. The skilled workman is therefore not more *useful* to society than the unskilled labourer. He gets higher wages, because his class of work is more scarce than the labourer's ; not because it is more useful. If *all* men had learnt a trade, competition would have lowered the wages of skilled labour.

But the skilled workman is not only no more useful than the unskilled. He cannot get on without the latter. During the strike there were many artisans obliged to stand idle for want of the materials kept back in the docks by the dockers. This would have been much worse had the railways also been closed. Then it would have been seen at once that all classes of labour depend on one another, and especially on those who supply the daily food.

Therefore all labour is inter-dependent, and the interests of all working men and women are common.

III. The *value* of union is plainer since the strike ; but if the working men and women of London had all been united, the duration of the strike might have been reckoned by days instead of by weeks.

We have seen how a general strike would enable the working classes to make what terms they like with their masters. But the proclamation of a general strike was withdrawn, and wisely withdrawn under the circumstances. Why? What were the circumstances which made it wise *not* to take a step that should have ensured immediate victory for the men? They were three : (a) There was not enough unity to ensure its success. (b) The men could not depend entirely on the help of the other working-men of London. (c) They were therefore afraid of losing the help of those who were *not* working-men, but who live on the labour of the workers.

Now, if there had been more complete unity amongst the working people, (b) the dockers would have had the help of all other labourers, (c) they could have done without the help of the rich, and (a) they would have ended the strike and got all they wanted.

Therefore, for the future, unity of labour is a necessity (and it should include eventually all clerks, Post-office employes, domestic servants, shop-assistants, and the police).

IV. The value of organisation is especially notable in connection with the distribution of relief to the dockers. It was stated that the Strike Committee practically knew every genuine docker personally, and so could regulate the distribution of relief-tickets. (Whether or not this was taken advantage of does not matter.) It could be managed in this way. The dockers, when employed, work in gangs. Each gang is under the direction of a well-known man, who is more or less acquainted with the men who work with him. By putting these "gangers" in connection with the leaders of the strike and with the general distributors the relief could be afforded with a regularity otherwise impossible. Every man might be sure of his fair share, and no man could obtain more. Happily the men seem to have behaved so splendidly (it is a glorious thing to think of!) that there was little need of such precautions. Heroes do not cheat one another. Yet it is well to have some check against sneaks and traitors.

These four facts are the north, south, east, and west of the untried future. The fifth is the Compass, whereby the working class may steer a direct course across it.

V. Neither Parliament nor the County Council did, or could do, anything to help the strikers. All that was done, was done by the men themselves, under trusty leaders. But further, the Government was equally powerless to help the dock companies *against* the strikers. For Parliament could not compel one single man to work ; neither could the police prevent picketing. Therefore the workers need not expect either help or hindrance from any but themselves. They must take their own cause in their own hands.

Government is useless. The people must help themselves.

And now, steering by this Compass, which points away from government, straight towards self-help, what is the course for the working classes to pursue?

They depend upon each other for their life. Let them unite in order to make that life happier. At present their life is rendered hard and miserable by competition amongst themselves. The large profits of their employers are made at the expense of the welfare and happiness of the workers, who keep all men. If the toilers wish to be better off they must persuade their masters to be content with smaller profits. If they cannot persuade them, then they must force them. They will be able to force them when they can threaten to starve them out by a general strike.

Therefore all the workers in London should combine. Perhaps in separate unions, but if so, these unions should amalgamate and form a general combination of working people—a *labour syndicate*.

As soon as this is sufficiently accomplished they will be able (1) to fix a minimum wage ; (2) to fix a maximum working day—say eight hours ; (3) to protect every man and woman in London from ill-treatment by a master ; (4) to make short work of the slums, and insist upon every worker having a decent home at a reasonable rent ; because if the landlords are obstinate they will be able to persuade them by the force of a general strike!

But much more than this may be achieved by such a combination of all the workers. For out of their higher wages a large fund of money would be contributed to the central union. Strikes would

hardly be necessary, for the masters would not dare resist. Therefore this money might be used for other purposes. The sick and the old would have to be well provided for. Then with the remainder of the money co-operative stores might be started, to supply the workers with food and clothes at cost price. Bakeries, shoemakers' shops, tailors' shops, etc., might also be conducted on the same principle.

And now observe what this leads to. These stores and shops would have to be built. Many men would be employed in them. Vans and machinery would be required, which would give work to still other men. The Relief Committees have shown how these men may be paid. Their work will be equally valuable; their wages too must be equal.

Thus the workers of London would begin to be *their own employers*. They would not only be dependent on one another; they would be working for one another. And they would then keep for themselves all that extra labour which now makes their masters rich. Then they might still further reduce the hours of labour: and so there need no longer be any starving unemployed.

Other towns will follow suit, and other countries too. There will be no fear of foreigners being brought in to help the capitalists starve Englishmen. The Australians are even now with you. The Americans will follow suit. (You saw them come out and join you, rather than work against you for 3s. 6d. an hour. They treated you as brothers; do not treat yourselves worse, but be worthy to call such men brothers!) The Germans and Jews in London will labour side by side with you in perfect friendship, taking their part in keeping themselves and you.

When other towns and countries have followed suit, you may buy your goods of them at cost price, extending your union to your brothers all over the world. You may acquire your own farms all over the country: they will belong to you in common, and those working on them will not be slaves of landlord and farmer, but will be your comrades, working happily with you for the good of all.

You and your children will be on the road to a happiness hitherto only dreamt of, but now shown to be possible, if you will only take the first step, and *combine*.

Your enemies will tell you that this is impractical. *Try it*. It will be a good deal *too* practical for them. For nothing can stand against you when your watchword is—*COMBINE*. G. S.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### J. BRONTERRE O'BRIEN OR HENRY GEORGE.

Last week I answered the charge that Henry George plagiarised from P. E. Dove. This week I am pained to see that another correspondent suggests that J. Bronterre O'Brien was the originator of 'Progress and Poverty.' Such an innuendo is not deserving of notice except for the purpose of appealing to Socialists generally to raise themselves above the temptation to carp and cavil at the success of any man who, while striving to reach the same goal as they, does not travel along the same road. Any man who realises the solemnity and grandeur of the *cause* for which it is our privilege to work should beware of allowing his personality to drag him down below the level of his own ideal.

As to the specific charge that Henry George borrowed his ideas from this man or that, anyone who reads his 'Land Policy' of 1871 will have no need to search further for the source of his inspiration. The book dealt with the results of the United States policy of alienating the national inheritance; and by the collation and study of facts, and the patient tracing out of the various forms of "land-grants" and their influence on the national life, the iniquity and deadly effect of private property in land became so glaring that the mere fact of such an investigation having been undertaken by a man of Henry George's qualifications irresistibly led to the writing of the more elaborate work, 'Progress and Poverty,' which, whatever we may think of some minor points of opinion and method, has had a widespread influence in awakening thought among the present generation, for which all sincere Socialists owe him a debt of enduring gratitude.

As to the question of abstract originality, is it not the fact that the greatest genius of any age merely gathers the threads spun in the past by others, and, in the increased light of his own day, weaves them into a harmonious whole? Allow me, therefore, to entreat the numerous possible Donnelly's among your readers to hold their hands, and to utilise their energies in some nobler and more helpful endeavour than in thoughtlessly attacking a co-worker in social reform; the more especially as any such attack only tends to lower the standard of the cause which they desire to advance.

Birmingham, Dec. 8, 1889.

THOS. F. WALKER.

### Collapse of the Silvertown Strike.

We are sorry to say that the Silvertown strike has collapsed. After a gallant fight of 12 weeks these brave workers have been forced to yield by hunger. Their defeat must be laid upon the shoulders of the executive of the richest trade union in England—the Engineers. They refused to call their men out, who were acting as blacklegs, and thus lent their aid to one of the worst sweating firms in London. It is to be hoped the members of their trade union who are not blacklegs will remember this.

### South Wales Miners.

It will be remembered that action on the eight hours question was postponed at the recent miners' conference till the negotiations of the South Wales men with their masters for an eight hour day under the sliding-scale were settled. It now appears that these negotiations have practically fallen through; there is a complete deadlock between the delegates of the men and the masters upon the eight hour and other questions. The whole business has now been referred to the men, of whom 50,000 are affected. Altogether, the situation in South Wales is very serious, and masters and men are probably on the verge of a bitter struggle. N.

## SOCIALIST SING-SONG.

I.  
A SINGLE bud in bursting shows,  
A million ready to unclothe.

II.  
The earliest song-bird falleth chilled,  
Yet soon with song the world is filled.

III.  
Dead leaves that rot in rain and cold,  
Shall feed fresh shoots with fruitful mould.

IV.  
The hard frost breaks the iron earth,  
That rain and grain may bring to birth.

V.  
Of life relinquished joyously,  
Who shall measure the force set free?

VI.  
Ere one through hope may find death fair,  
How many perish in despair?

VII.  
Like many a fool of poison fain,  
The rich man's passion proves his bane.

VIII.  
A false step on a darkened stair,  
And lo! the highest step is there.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 21, 1889.

15	Sun.	1793. The Three Votes on the French King, 15th—17th. 1794. J. B. Carrier guillotined. 1794. Abolition of the Revolutionary Tribunal.
16	Mon.	1687. Sir W. Petty died. 1689. Bill of Rights passed. 1819. Motion in the House of Commons "That a Select Committee be appointed to enquire into the plan of Mr. Owen for ameliorating the condition of the lower classes": Ayes, 16; Noes, 141. 1843. No. 1 of the <i>Movement</i> , edited by G. J. Holyoake and M. Q. Ryall.
17	Tues.	1792. P. W. Duffin and Thomas Lloyd tried for posting on the chapel door of the Fleet Prison a notice: "This house to let! Peaceable possession will be given by the present tenants on or before the 1st day of January 1793, being the commencement of the first year of liberty in Great Britain. The Republic of France having rooted out despotism, their glorious example and success against tyrants render infamous bastilles no longer necessary in Europe." 1806. Jas. Ferguson, Michael Grant, and James Connell, "Thrashers," transported for life. 1830. Bolivar, liberator of Columbia, died. 1875. Violent bread-riots in Montreal. 1881. Lewis H. Morgan died. 1883. Patrick O'Donnell, executioner of Carey, hung in Newgate.
18	Wed.	1773. Tea-riots at Boston. 1792. Thomas Paine found guilty of seditious libel in 'Rights of Man.' 1817. W. Hone tried for publishing a parody, Wilkes's 'Catechism of a Ministerial Member.' 1866. Petrashevsky died in Siberia. 1876. Famous demonstration in the Kazan Place, St. Petersburg, where the people were openly invited to strive for freedom and fatherland, brutally dispersed by the police. 1887. Funeral of Linnell, first victim of "Bloody Sunday."
19	Thur.	1793. Toulon taken by the Republican army from the English under Lord Hood. 1806. Peter Morris sentenced to death, and Thomas Fitzsimons, Patrick Coyle, and James Kilbride to be twice publicly whipped in the town of Granard, as "Thrashers." 1817. W. Hone tried for publishing a seditious parody on the Litany. 1865. Bryan Dillon, John Duggan, and John Lynch sentenced to ten years' penal servitude, and Jeremiah Dovovan to five years, for treason as Fenians. 1877. Riots at Montreal. 1879. Hanged at Odessa: V. Malinka, L. Madauski, J. J. Drobinsky.
20	Fri.	1789. Richard Oastler born at Leeds. 1817. Trial of W. Hone for publishing a seditious parody on the Athanasian Creed. 1828. Death of Archibald Fletcher, Scottish Reformer and member of the British Convention.
21	Sat.	1795. Trial of James Weldon, a "Defender," for "high treason" in conspiring to aid the French armies if they landed in Ireland. 1830. Trial of MM. de Polignac, de Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and de Guernon, before the Chamber of Peers, for having conspired against the rights of the citizens and the safety of the State. 1865. Underwood O'Connell, Fenian, sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. 1883. Ten dynamitards sentenced at Glasgow; five to penal servitude for life, the remaining five for seven years.

## LITERARY NOTES.

ARTICLES OF INTEREST to Socialists in December magazines:—*Contemporary*: "The Gross and Net Gain of Rising Wages," Robert Giffen; "The Limitation of the Hours of Labour," Sidney Webb. *New Review*: "Mr. Morley and the New Radicalism," (1) By a Socialist Radical, (2) By a Liberal Conservative; "What to do with our Old People," Max Müller.

The request of the destitute strikers of Morton County, Kan. coal (owned by the State and mined by convicts) was refused.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### Threatened Strike of London Gas-stokers.

When I noticed a week or two ago the "benevolent" scheme of which Mr. Livesey, the chairman of the South London board of directors, was the author, I had no idea that it would have such serious consequences; but now, thanks to this gentleman's "goodness," South London will be plunged in darkness in a very little time. It was quite evident from the beginning that the scheme was only a cunning plan to break up the union and place the men completely at the mercy of the directors. At first, according to the terms of the agreement, the workers were to forfeit their share of the profits if they went on strike. This has now been withdrawn, but the men must still agree to serve for a year, and will forfeit their bonus if they give notice and the engineer of the works does not choose to accept their notice. If the scheme were accepted by the men, not only would the present union be broken up—for what use would a union be if the workers were bound over to keep the peace by the beautiful bonus scheme?—but it would be impossible to form another one, and the men would sink back into the old state of degrading slavery. The bonus, too, would prove a very uncertain gift, depending as it does upon the present low price of gas, which, as coal is going up in price, is not likely to remain as cheap as at present, and directly it rises away goes the bonus. Now, when the men saw that the "blacklegs" who had signed the agreement were becoming the special pets of the company—Mr. Livesey having declared that they and all others who sold themselves into slavery by signing the agreement should be kept on in the slack summer season, when the majority of the men were discharged—they informed the directors through their union that the company must give up the bonus scheme or dismiss the blacklegs who had signed, the men backing up their demands by sending in their notices to the number of 2,000 on Friday Dec. 6th. The directors are doing their best to obtain blacklegs. They managed to get a number of the men from the country by false pretences on Friday, but when informed by the pickets of the true state of things, they refused to do the company's dirty work. They afterwards applied to Mr. Livesey for their fares home, which request was indignantly refused. That worthy gentleman is now busily superintending the erection of iron huts for his blacklegs inside the works. A plentiful supply of provisions has been collected with a rapidity that shows that this capitalist Pecksniff, who conceals his greed and cunning under an outward appearance of unctuous benevolence, has been preparing for the strike which he has deliberately forced on for a long time. This virtuous and worthy gentleman is one of the shining lights of the temperance platform, yet among the provisions he has collected are numerous barrels of beer, enough to make his blackleg crew roaring drunk for weeks. Mr. Pecksniff Livesey doubtless knows that his pets are some of the most sneaking contemptible cowards that ever crawled on the earth's surface; and though he always recommends temperance and thrift to the working class as the foundation of all virtue, yet he finds strong drink the only means of infusing into the breasts of his protégés a bad imitation of the virtue they most conspicuously lack. Meanwhile the regular hands are not working too hard, owing to "excitement," and the consequence is that the supply of gas is getting very limited. The gas-holders at the Old Kent Road are very low indeed, Jambo, the largest, being nearly down to the ground. The good folks of South London had better lay in a good stock of candles and lamps, for it is to be feared that gas will be very scarce when the men come out. Meanwhile a new peril threatens the middle class, for the coal-porters are not only coming out in South London, but are also going to abandon their work all over the metropolis. The middle classes without coal or gas will be in a very awkward plight indeed; no wonder their papers do not like the prospect.

### Strike of Gasmen at Woolwich.

The Woolwich gas men are already out; they came out on Sunday, December 9th. They find that they are expected to do heavier work under the eight hour system than under the former twelve hour arrangement. Formerly, they had sixty retorts and six fires to do in gangs of three men; now with only two-thirds the time to do it in they have fifty-four retorts and eight fires, and have to do all their own coal wheeling and all the work connected with the retorts; they get 5s. a-day. What they ask is that each gang of three shall have a coal wheeler, that they have 5s. 4d. a-day, the usual 1s. 6d. a week good time money, and double time for Sunday work when carbonising. At a large meeting of friends and sympathisers on Sunday night, it was decided to go on with the strike. N.

### Manchester Gas Workers and the City Council.

The struggle, which last week in these columns was anticipated, has begun with apparent determination on the part both of the workers and their freely elected masters, the citizen's representatives. The latter had been making extensive preparations to carry on the fight for some time previous to the expiration of the notices of the gas workers. It is worthy of note that the workmen who are employed to erect sheds and construct rooms and habitations inside the various gas works of the Co-operation, to accommodate the poor cattle (I mean the scabs) who have been induced to take the places of the men on strike, are members of the different trade unions in the building trade, the contractor who got the job from the Corporation having none but unionists in his employ. But this shows the powerlessness of mere trade unionism to effect the solidarity of labour. The first cause of the dispute was the presence of a number of non-unionists among the gas workers, and who, it appeared, were especially favoured by the officials of the works. The Gas Committee, refusing to discharge these obnoxious persons, or to remove them to work away from the union men, a strike was resolved upon. A deputation of the men met the Mayor (a successful grocer) and the deputy Chairman of the Committee (a master painter who never had a union man in his employment) and an ex-Mayor a few days before coming out, when these people refused to recognise their union, or unionists as such in any way, and declined to undertake not to discharge or punish any of those taking a prominent part in the agitation. After this the Gas Committee posted the city denying any knowledge of what the men were coming out for, and offering four month's work to all who would apply and permanent places to well-conducted men. Consequently, an assortment of all ages and conditions of human beings were got together, most of them being either over 60 or under 20 years of age. They are provided, at the public expense, with provisions of all kinds, beer without limit, medical and cooking attendance, sleeping accommodation in the shape of boards sloping down on either side from a centre, upon which the poor "scabs" are meant to lie

head to head with a blanket to each. Certainly, loafers of all kinds are likely to have a good time of it through the kindly considerations of our municipal rulers. Little progress, however, is being made in the supplying of gas; indeed, it is questionable whether plentiful potatoes of beer and general pampering will tend to produce efficient carbonisers. The streets of Manchester are in almost complete darkness, through Salford entirely so, the shops and warehouses eking out the miserable light supplied them by the Corporation with oil and candles; two shops have already been burnt out by paraffin explosions. How long the traders of this commercial centre will submit to the consequence of a few stupid and incompetent civic auto-crats' mismanagement is not much a matter of speculation. The gas men are determined to stick together till the bitter end; all the gas works are well picketted, and some of the pickets have already been arrested and fined for obstruction, a most excellent way of demonstrating on which side "law'n'-order" always throws its weight when the workers are concerned. Meetings and processions are held every day. John Burns arrived on Saturday, primarily to organise branches of the new Railwaymen's Union, but he has thrown himself fully into the cause of the gas workers. On Sunday, in Stevenson Square, over 30,000 people attended their meeting at which Burns spoke. Resolutions supporting the strikers were passed unanimously, and over £21 collected at the meetings on Sunday. The calumnies upon the men, and the confusion as to the objects of the strike which the Corporation have been spreading, are getting cleared away. The issues are becoming plainer, and let us hope success will speedily attend the efforts of the Manchester and Salford gas workers to maintain their splendid organisation. W. B.

### Railway Men Moving.

Thirty-six delegates from the leading centres of the North-Eastern Railway between Berwick and Leeds held a conference at Darlington on Sunday. Many delegates urged immediate action, consequent on their programme of hours, and Sunday and overtime pay being refused. A majority, however, decided to make a last appeal to the directors at an interview which was asked for on Wednesday last. If such interview be refused, the men would at once enter the battle to obtain their demands. A resolution supporting the goods men at Newcastle, and urging railway men to refuse to take their places, was adopted.

### Railway Strike at Cork.

The men employed in the goods shed department of the Great Southern Railway at Cork are now on strike. The strikers include sixty porters, and also about sixty yardmen and shunters. On leaving the goods yard they were loudly cheered, much sympathy being felt in Cork with the strikers. The men complained that they are overworked and underpaid, their wages only being 16s. to 18s. weekly, and they have often to work 16 hours a-day, besides Sunday. They demand a work-day of 12 hours, pay for overtime, and pay for Sundays.

### Sheffield Labourers.

A strike of labourers has taken place at John Brown's, one of the largest ironworks in Sheffield. These workers two years ago were working six days in the week and receiving 36s. for making three flues for steam boilers, etc. They now make from six to seven flues in four days and receive as their share 24s. weekly. The smiths who contract for the job from the firm, and whose chief work seems to be looking on, took about £6 weekly two years ago, and about £12 weekly now as their share of the plunder. Our Sheffield comrades have taken an active part in the agitation, and have held several meetings in support of the strikers. The blacklegs have had a rather warm time, and twenty-five summonses are out against the men for intimidation. The whole district is in a state of considerable excitement. All the working people are up in arms against the blacklegs, and there have been some very lively times.

### Leicester Hosiery Union.

We have received the reports for October and November, 1889, of the Leicester Hosiery Union. We are glad to see that the members of this trade union have grasped the fact that the wealth of the rich is merely the creation of the plunder of the poor. The report says, "Where does all the interest, profit, and rent come from if not from labour?" and then, after pointing out the source of rent and profit, it thus deals with interest: "Then take interest on capital invested, where does the £5 come from? Suppose the £100 has been lent, and the person lending it goes abroad, what can he do towards creating a penny by labour? So it is clear that labour only earns or increases the wealth. No man can get rich by his own labour alone; and if none received only what they earned by their own labour, none would be rich and very very few need be poor." Further on, the report criticises the speech of the Mayor at the famous dinner where capital and labour met in loving companionship, and the lion laid down with the lamb, the lamb being inside the lion. The writer says, "The Mayor's motive, no doubt, was good. The way he asked working-men to try and work at a reduction to compete with the Swiss, was very suspicious; also when he said that those who were advocating the eight hour day were the worst enemies the working-men had." So the writer and the workmen of Leicester are quite up to the benevolent little dodge of the worthy Mayor in trying to feast and flatter them into working cheap and for long hours. The hosiery trade seems in a flourishing condition, and all, on the whole, is going well, but still the old workman stands very little chance of employment. One sentence of the report tells his story with short and simple pathos, "In the struggle for work now, when a man begins to wear spectacles he is passed on one side." Do any of the younger workmen who are now earning good wages think of this? that all our competitive system does for them if they live till they become old and greyheaded, is to throw them aside to die in a ditch by the roadside, or to linger, longing for death, in that cheerless prison, the workhouse. If they think of this, they will find the report of this trade union a battle call urging them forward to end the wrong and oppression which makes these things possible. N.

WOOLWICH RADICAL CLUB, William Street.—Sunday December 15, J. Hunter Watts, "Politics for Working Men."

STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Dec. 15, at 8.30, J. Loman, "The French Revolution."

EAST FINSBURY RADICAL CLUB, 134 City Road, E.C.—Sunday December 15, at 11.30 a.m., George Bernard Shaw, "The True Radical Policy."



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Commonweals for 1888**, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s. per post, 5s. 6d.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, and Yarmouth, to end of May. North Kensington and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell and East London, to end of October. North London, Mitcham, and Leicester, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Contribution fees as soon as possible.

**Chicago Celebration.**—J. Armsden, 2s. 6d.

**For Silvertown.**—Council of Socialist League, 10s.; collected Nov. 11th, 2s. 1d.; and Old Harry, 2s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; and Mrs. Schack, 1s.

## REPORTS.

**MITCHAM AND MERTON.**—Outdoor meetings discontinued for the present, but perfecting of the organisation of both League and Labourers' Union going on steadily. Last Sunday, a meeting of delegates was held at the Merton Club to revise rules of Labourers' Union. Reports from Streatham, Mitcham, South Norwood, and Croydon show great progress of the Union and League.—F. K.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held a meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Dean, Crouch, and Maughan; a few *Weals* sold. Comrade Webster lectured at our rooms in the evening to a fairly good audience; many questions and good debate; 1s. 9d. collected and fair sale of *Weal*.

**ABERDEEN.**—On Saturday night, in the Tea Room, Café Buildings, Shiprow, the Aberdeen Branch of the League celebrated the second anniversary of its formation. As the branch was formed in October, 1887, this function should have come off two months ago, but it was delayed by pressure of work on certain active members. It was a thoroughly enjoyable meeting, and there was so large a turnout of members and friends that an overflow company had to take their tea in an ante-room. However, we all got together before the choir-singing, solos, readings, speeches, and pianoforte music began. Comrade Webster occupied the chair; Mr. James (organist in the Unitarian Church) played the accompaniments; Duncan, Gray, and Leatham sang songs, Socialistic and other; whilst Webster, Leatham, and Rennie (an old comrade just returned from America) gave speeches. Dancing was engaged in for two hours to music supplied by a capital string-band of six, of whom it may be said that God and comrade Aiken alone know where they came from. A desire was expressed that a similar meeting should be held on Hogmanay night.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday, Joe Bargoyne addressed a good crowd on Jail Square, and replied to some objections. Meeting at Paisley Road Toll not held owing to rain. In the afternoon, Glasier lectured on "Ireland and Socialism" to the Sexton Branch of the Irish National League; and in the evening, lectured upon the same subject to the Glasgow Branch of the Irish National League. On both occasions his address was well received, all the subsequent speakers being quite favourable to Socialism, a few of them insisting that the Home Rule question should be settled first.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday morning Rogers and Disch held a meeting at Vicars Croft. In the afternoon a big meeting was held at the Vicars Croft of gas-workers and general labourers, when J. L. Mahon, Maguire, Paylor, and Sweeney addressed the meeting. *Commonweal* sold out, and 6s. worth of League pamphlets sold. On Sunday evening at 8, a meeting was held at the Jewish Workers' Club of Jewish tailors, etc., who had met to discuss the objects of their union. Rogers attended and spoke in favour of union and combination, and was well received; many questions asked afterwards.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday 8th the usual meeting in Russell Square. In the evening Barclay occupied the Radical Club platform on "The Origin and Claims of Private Property"; a warm discussion followed. The same evening, a discussion on Socialism was carried on at the Irish National Club, in which several of our comrades took part. At our weekly branch meeting the adjourned debate on comrade Timson's paper was concluded.—T. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—At the gas-workers' meeting on Sunday in Stevenson Square the branch sold 135 *Commonweals*, 40 *Freedom*, and a quantity of other literature, besides distributing a large number of leaflets. At the Club, in the evening, comrade Barton gave a lecture on "Socialism and Politics."

**YARMOUTH.**—On Sunday, comrade Poynts, of Norwich, came and lent us a hand. No meeting in morning, owing to bad weather. In the evening, at Colman's Granary Quay, comrade Poynts delivered an earnest address. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Dec. 7th, A. Kavanagh delivered a lecture on "Chattel Slavery v. Wages Slavery." Brisk discussion, in which King, Toomey, Hamilton, Fitzpatrick, and others took part.

**EDINBURGH (S.S.F.).**—On Tuesday Dec. 3, we held a social meeting in honour of Stepniak, who met with an enthusiastic reception. After partaking of tea and cake, short and earnest speeches were made by Stepniak, Glasie, Melliet, Lacroix, and McKenzie, and songs were rendered by several comrades, and a recitation by Miss Nicol. A very enjoyable evening was wound up by the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" and a hand-shaking all round. On Sunday Mr. Ritchie delivered an able lecture on "International Co-operation." After the usual "heckling," a good discussion took place, in which comrades Smith, Davidson, Hamilton, and others took part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Socialist Hall, Woodland Place, Upper Parliament St., on Sunday Dec. 15, at 7.30, W. Doleman, "Is Socialism Practicable."

**CHILD'S HILL.**—Co-operative Hall, near Midland Railway Station, Sunday Dec. 15, at 7.30, A. R. Dryhurst, "A Socialist Programme for London."

**CHELSEA S.D.F.**—Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday December 15, at 8 p.m., Geraldine Spooner, "What Women may do for Socialism."

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Lectures every Sunday at 8. French Class, Friday, 8 to 9.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday December 15, at 8 p.m., F. R. Wright, "Objections to Socialism."

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock. J. Bruce Glasier will lecture on "Ought Irish Nationalists to be Socialists," in the Hall of the Glasgow branch of the Irish National League, Gallowgate, on Tuesday evening first at 8 o'clock. Brisk discussion expected.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock. On Tuesday Dec. 17th comrade Brightwell, "What Socialists should do in the coming Revolution." Comrades please turn up.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

#### SATURDAY 14.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....The Branch

#### SUNDAY 15.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station.....R. J. Lyne, Dean, and Crouch

11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring,

11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street.....Cores

11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green .....The Branch

11.30..... Regent's Park .....Cantwell

11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....The Branch

3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch.....Cantwell and Mowbray

3.30..... Victoria Park.....The Branch

7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch

7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

#### TUESDAY 17.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church .....Hammersmith Branch

#### THURSDAY 19.

8.15..... Hoxton Church .....The Branch

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Phillips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

**LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY**, 1 Stanley Street Dale Street.—Meets weekly at 8 p.m.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Saturday Dec. 14, at 8, G. King, "State Socialism."

**EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.**—In Moulders' Hall, High St., on Sunday December 15, at 6.30, Comrade McCulloch, of Glasgow, lectures on "Wealth and its Producers."

**CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY.**—At St. Luke's Church, Berwick Street, Soho, on Thursday Dec. 19, at 8.30, E. D. Girdlestone will lecture on "Employment of the Unemployed."

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE**, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday Dec. 15, at 8.45 p.m., Lothrop Withington, "Profit-sharing and Profit-sharing."

**ENTERPRISE CLUB AND INSTITUTE**, Manchess House, High Road, South Tottenham, N.—Sunday December 15, at 11.30 a.m., Annie Besant, "Drifting into Socialism."

# WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

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Watson, 76 Hoxton-street  
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Vale, Stamford Hill

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Wright, 167 Kentish Town-road  
Petherick, 29 Osaburg-street  
Gibbs, Lisson-grove  
Wilson, 24 Highgate-road  
Meek, 132 Drummond-street.

E.

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Thoday, 443 Hackney-road  
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Clayton, 12 Clarence-place, Deptford  
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## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International  
Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the  
destruction of the present class society, which  
consists of one class who live by owning prop-  
erty and therefore *need not work*, and of  
another that has no property and therefore  
*must work* in order that they may live to keep  
the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary  
Socialism insists that this system of society,  
which is the modern form of slavery, should  
be changed to a system of Society which would  
give every man an opportunity of doing useful  
work, and not allow any man to live without  
so doing, which work could not be useful unless  
it were done for the whole body of workers  
instead of for do-nothing individuals. The  
result of this would be that livelihood would  
not be precarious nor labour burdensome.  
Labour would be employed in co-operation,  
and the struggle of man with man for bare  
subsistence would be supplanted by harmo-  
nious combination for the production of com-  
mon wealth and the exchange of mutual  
services without the waste of labour or mate-  
rial.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from  
this common stock, but no man would be  
allowed to own anything which he could not  
*use*, and which consequently he must *abuse* by  
employing it as an instrument for forcing  
others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the  
land, the capital, machinery, and means of  
transit would cease to be private property,  
since they can only be *used* by the combination  
of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would  
no longer be dependent on idle property-owners  
for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*,  
for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsis-  
tence at other people's expense, would have  
come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*,  
for if all men were doing useful work no man's  
labour could be dispensed with. Thus the  
motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality,  
which is but an empty boast in a society that  
upholds the monopoly of the means of produc-  
tion, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be In-  
ternational. The change which would put an  
end to the struggle between man and man,  
would destroy it also between nation and  
nation. One harmonious system of federation  
throughout the whole of civilisation would  
take the place of the old destructive rivalries.  
There would be no great centres breeding race  
hatred and commercial jealousy, but people  
would manage their own affairs in communities  
not too large to prevent all citizens from taking  
a part in the administration necessary for the  
conduct of life, so that party politics would  
come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto:

**Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,**

we say that the existence of private property  
destroys Equality, and therefore under it there  
can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other  
one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS  
CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING  
TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine  
Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing  
but a band of robbers. We must add that  
this change can only be brought about by com-  
bination amongst the workers themselves, and  
must embrace the whole of Society. The new  
life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class  
higher than they, but must be *taken* by them  
by means of the abolition of classes and the  
reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### NOTICE.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 206.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### MONOPOLY.

(Concluded from page 394.)

Now I ask you to conceive of a society in which all sound and sane persons can produce by their labour on raw materials, aided by due tools, a due and comfortable livelihood, and which possesses a sufficiency of raw material and tools. Would you think it unreasonable or unjust that such community should insist on every sane and sound person working to produce wealth in order that he might not burden the community; or, on the other hand, that it should insure a comfortable livelihood to every person who worked honestly for that livelihood, a livelihood in which nothing was lacking that was necessary to his development as a healthy human animal, with all its strange complexity of intellectual and moral habits and aspirations?

Now, further, as to the raw material and tools of the community, which, mind you, are necessary to its existence: would you think it unreasonable if the community should insist that these precious necessities, things without which it could not live, should be *used* and not *abused*? Now, raw material and tools can only be *used* for the production of useful things; a piece of tillage, for instance, is not used by sowing it with thistles and dock and dodder, nor a bale of wool by burning it under your neighbours' window to annoy him; this is abuse, not use, of all these things, and I say that our community will be right in forbidding such abuse.

Again, would it be unreasonable for the community to say that these means of production, if they are to be used and not abused, must be used by those who *can* use them, that is, by all the sane and sound persons engaged in earning their livelihood in concert; that they are to be so used according to fair and natural regulations agreed upon by the whole community in its sane mind; and that, furthermore, since they are to be used by all, they must not be exclusively possessed, *i.e.*, *owned* by any; because, if any private persons, or groups of such, held the exclusive possession or ownership of them, they could withhold the use of them from those who could use them except on terms which would place the useful persons in a position of inferiority to the useless; in other words they would be their masters, and would impose such a life on them as they chose. Therefore, I say those raw materials and tools would be the property of the whole community, and would be used by every one in it, on the terms that they should repair the waste in them and not engross undue shares of them.

Here, then, is our reasonable community, in which all can produce, all do produce, no one has to pay poll-tax to be allowed to work, that is to live; in which no man need be badly off unless by his own will; a society whose aim it is to make the most of their natural conditions and surroundings for the benefit of each and all of its members. These people I call reasonable men; but they have been called by other names, as breakers of the eighth commandment (or of all the commandments in the lump), brigands, assassins, greedy pillagers, enemies of society,—in a word, Socialists.

Look at another society, and see if we like it better. In it, as in our first one, all sane and sound persons can produce wealth by their labour on raw material aided by tools; nor is there any lack of raw materials and tools in *this* society; yet there the resemblance ceases, for one part of those who could do useful work will not, and consequently another part cannot; some of this second part can get no work to do, and are starved outright; others can get nothing but useless work to do, and thereby help to starve their brethren; and all those who produce anything, as we have seen before, are in an inferior position to those who do not.

The law of nature, that livelihood follows labour, is thus reversed, since those who work hardest get least, and those who work least fare best. Is this reasonable? Yet it is the direct and necessary result of those rights of property which the whole of our army, navy, police, judges, lawyers, parsons, etc., are banded together to sustain by whatever amount of fraud and violence may be necessary for its safeguarding. It is the result of monopoly; for now the field is no longer used only for its primary use, the growing of corn, the feeding of beasts, the building of a house upon it; it is also *abused* by being employed as a rent-squeezing machine for the supposed benefit of an

individual, and the like is the case with the tools of labour; the stored up labour of past generations, the machinery, the means of transit, all these things are no longer used merely as means of production, that has now become their secondary use, which the law does not trouble itself with at all, since it has all its attention turned to its enforcing their abuse (now become their primary use) for the benefit of the owners; their abuse as instruments for squeezing rent, interest, and profit out of the producers.

Those that thus according to the (middle-class) ten commandments are so anxious to prevent what they call theft, are thus the masters—nay, the owners—of all society under our present system; outside them there is nothing whatever but machinery, metal, brutal, and human, for enabling them to produce, not the greatest amount of wealth, but the greatest amount of profit; and when the masters fall short in getting what they consider the due amount of profit produced by this said machinery, they say times are bad, even though the warehouses and granaries are full, and the power of producing wealth with decreasing labour is every day growing. High prices to them and also, unluckily, to their human machines, mean prosperity, because these latter are not in the least in the world rewarded for producing wealth for themselves, but for producing profits for their masters; the destruction of wealth by war and other calamities is good for their profit-grinding, therefore we have war; the waste of labour in all kinds of stupidities and fatuities is good for trade, therefore we have sham literature, sham art, sham enjoyment, newspapers, advertisements, jubilees, and all kinds of disgraces, to help our failing system to totter on a little longer, so that our sons instead of ourselves may have to face the inevitable ruin which, on these terms, must bring about the peace to come.

What help is there out of it all? I have spoken of the workers as the helpless machinery of commerce; and helpless they are as long as they are apathetically accepting their position as mere machinery in the hands of the masters of society; and yet it is they who have to bring about the change, and sweep away monopoly. The capitalists for any radical change are far more helpless than they are, because as capitalists, as a class, they cannot even conceive of any other means of living except as pensioners on others, and it is their accepted duty, nay, their religion, to resist all change in this direction; nor as individuals have they any means of earning their livelihood, if you take away their pensions before you have begun to reconstruct a new world in which they would find a place like other people; it is, therefore, impossible that the change can be made from above to below. No, it is the classes which are necessary to what of real society still hangs together behind the monstrous machinery of monopoly, it is the workers themselves that must bring about the change. And it is at least an incidental purpose of Socialist propaganda that the change should be, if possible, brought about or at least guided by the conscious intelligence of the workers, that it may not be left altogether to the blind forces of hunger, misery, and despair, which the capitalist system is so steadily piling up for its own overthrow. Apart from all the conscious politics, all the pushing this way and that, of semi-extinct Toryism and vague crude democracy, which is undoubtedly paving the way for revolution, the time is coming when the monopoly of the means of production will lose its value, when the employers will begin to cease to employ. Cut-throat competition ever cheapening means of production and exhausting markets on one hand; on the other, the unceasing struggle of the workers to improve their condition at the expense of the capitalists, will make employment for profit more difficult both to get and to give; will, in fact, bring about deadlock and ruin in spite of occasional improvements in trade. But if the workers have learned to understand their position, which means if they have become determined to make the best of the nature which they have so far conquered, in despite of artificial restrictions on labour for the benefit of a class, they need not fear the coming crisis. That very increase in the productivity of labour, which will ruin capitalism, will make Socialism possible, and it cannot be doubted that the progress of the cheapening of production will be quickened prodigiously in the very first days of the new social order, and we shall all find it easy enough to live a very few years after the time when we found it so difficult to make profits.



Nevertheless, it would be disingenuous if I seemed to try to create the impression that the abolition of monopoly—of the artificial restrictions on production—would be plain sailing, that it would come quite peacefully and without strenuous effort of various kinds. Things now going on do not encourage one to think that; hypocrisy where the movement seems weak in power or limited in aim, unscrupulous and relentless repression where it seems threatening and well instructed; no real signs of privilege yielding a jot without compulsion. And you must remember that all our law and government, from Parliament to a County Court, has now got to be just an elaborate defence of that very monopoly which it is our business to clear away, though they by no means began with that. True it is that if the whole class of workers could be convinced on one day or in one year of the necessity of abolishing monopoly, it would pass away like the clouds of night. But the necessities of the miserable, and the aspirations of the intelligent will outrun the slower process of gradual conversion, and the anti-monopolists will find themselves in a position in which they will be forced to try to get hold of the executive in order to destroy it, and thus metamorphose society not in order to govern by it and as they are now governed; in other words, they will have to sweep away all the artificial restrictions that stand in the way of free labour, and they will have to *compel* this step by some means or other. Those who set before them this necessity will doubtless differ at present as to the means whereby this will be done; but they should at least agree, and will agree when the time comes for action, that any means that are means, and are not unhuman, are good to use.

I have then tried to point out to you that the producing or useful class are in an inferior position to the non-producing or useless class; that this is a reversal of the law of nature that bids all to labour in order to live. That this monstrosity is the necessary result of private persons being allowed to treat the matters that are necessary to the fructification of labour as their *property*, and to abuse them by employing them as mere means of compulsion on the worker to pay tribute for leave to live. I have asked you to learn to agree with us Socialists in thinking it necessary to abolish this monopoly, and to combine together for its abolition and the reconstruction of society on the basis of the freedom of labour and the abolition of all privilege. I must add further that no programme is worthy the acceptance of the working-classes that stops short of the abolition of private property in the means of production. Any other programme is misleading and dishonest; it has two faces to it, one of which says to the working-man, "This is Socialism or the beginning of it" (which it is not), and the other says to the capitalist, "This is sham Socialism; if you can get the workers, or part of them, to accept this, it will create a new lower middle class, a buffer, to push in between Privilege and Socialism, and save you, if only for a while."

But this true programme, which means the abolition of privilege, is enough, for it must and will lead directly to full Socialism. It will draw the teeth of the dragon of capitalism, and make a society of equality possible; a society in which, instead of living among enemies in a state of things where there is nothing but a kind of armed truce between all men, we shall live among friends and neighbours, with whom indeed our passions or folly may sometimes make us quarrel, but whose interests cannot really be dissociated from our own. W. M.

### THE RUSKIN READING GUILD.

It is no criticism on Socialism to say that Socialists show some resemblance to schoolboys, in their tendency to despise what is not of their own set. We are apt to be intolerant of independent opinion; and this the more if amongst ourselves, where we most look for uniformity, than in a stranger who followeth not with us. Like the new boy in a school, the latter is kicked and passed by; but a pitched battle ensues upon any division in our own ranks. Some apprehension may be felt for the Cause when at these times difference of opinion, like a sharp knife, slices important sections from the main body of Socialists. Yet is such division not fatal. The cuttings take root and grow. As in vivisection of the hydra of our duck-ponds, the dis severed parts assume the parent form and become new organisations. Perhaps in the end apprehension may prove groundless, since it is with ideas as in organic life—the more crowded the struggle the more rapid is the evolution, and the development more adapted to survive. Only, if *Socialism* is to result from the struggle, superiority should be shown in those characteristics that make for Socialism. In generosity we must excel, and by wisdom vanquish. From sarcasm comes no help; and to those who deal in personalities or scandal, to hear it eagerly, and harshly to howl it, what can result but long ears and a bray? Bitterness and rancour can develop only meanness and distrust, to prolong the era of individualism. Out of these, no Socialism can arise to shed its summer glory on the world. We must be tolerantly calm; then with the spread of wisdom brotherhood will increase. Isolated facts will seem contradictory for a time; but let all be admitted. When the general law is deduced, it will explain them all, and peace will be more secure than before. So long as our contest be friendly, what matters the number of competitors? The more hands digging in the field of truth the better. Presently the trenches shall run together; the traversed space will increase, and the buried treasure unearthed will be the common property of all.

Socialists have no monopoly of wisdom, and their sympathy should go out to all honest enquirers; not omitting such as are going over the old ground once more. Something overlooked may turn up; gold may yet be found in the ore we washed and left; our pyramid may be strengthened by another brick added somewhere at its base. At any

rate it will be better for the searchers, as well as for us, to prove the admitted truth again. "Every mind must know the whole lesson for itself," says Emerson; and we who believe in brotherhood must acknowledge the kinship of every learner.

Amongst the claimants for our sympathy is the Ruskin Reading Guild. Many have tasted the rich fruit that Ruskin offers; others, in their haste, have passed him by. Here, accordingly, is this society making a fresh search of the tree. What they find will be to the former a serviceable reminder; to the latter it may be a revelation. Let not our theories be too narrow to include what treasure they bring. And they, for their part, must assay their metal with the touchstone of free-thought, and cast out the dross from their gold. In their monthly publication, the *Ruskin Reading Guild Journal*, the results of their labour are displayed; and having read a recent number, I am of opinion that they deserve some recognition from us.

In so far as they accept Ruskin's authority for their conclusions, these may be considered worthless—at least to them. Their opinions may be correct; but the coin is borrowed, and they must make it their own. "Re-examine," says Walt Whitman, "everything that you have been told"; and this good advice is good applied to Ruskin as to any other. So only shall the truth be sifted out. But an imitation of Ruskin's literary style—the double-barrelled adjectives, the slippery argument from epithets, the headlong sentiment unseasoned with any salt of humour—are not re-examination. Without the fire of Ruskin's native strength, the writers' enthusiasm sometimes borders on the comic. Yet their earnestness will save them; as a swift horse, it will carry them on to overtake the important truths they are following, which Socialists too will do well to keep in view. For face to face, as so many of our comrades are, with the facts of actual starvation, the elementary needs of the body push into the background all further aspirations; whereby it happens that some, listening to these and not understanding our aims, fear lest Socialism should bury culture in a dismal barrack-like existence. Nay, are there not some Socialists who have no higher ideal? But the Ruskin Reading Guild looks beyond. Its claims for a cultured life are intense, if narrow. Perhaps we must admit them to be narrow. One writer, describing a picture, ignores the æsthetic side of art—the mere delight in lovely form and colour—so enthusiastic is he for the *meaning* conveyed by the artist. Indeed, throughout the book pleasure is rather frowned upon, except as a means of educating "the soul." Education is divided into two sorts, and this on the "Master's" own authority: the false, namely, which delights us, and the true, which makes us unhappy. A rash statement, or over-statement rather; but typical of the energy of its authors, which sometimes carries them beyond the goal of their own meaning. Nevertheless, it is fair criticism to say that in their desire to exalt the "spiritual" they deny the "material." Their culture is to be didactic, and their art symbolical, rather than sensuous and in itself sufficient. One feels disposed to kick at this asceticism, and to claim the widest possible enjoyment for this present life.

Yet is *width* of happiness not all. The quality of it is to be reckoned as well as the quantity; perhaps even before it. I heard one child ask another, "Would you sooner have little and good, or much and not so good?" and the same question is ever before us to be answered. The Ruskinians say, *Good*, if only little; and can we find fault with their decision? Narrowness may be compensated for by depth. If our cup be deep *enough*, who knows but, like Thor's drinking-horn, its bottom may communicate with the infinite ocean? Very intense is the joy aimed at by Ruskin and his followers. In Carlyle's words, they seek "a higher than happiness in *blessedness*." So did the Chicago Anarchists, and none dare call them mistaken.

Much is to be learnt from a study of Ruskin; and for this the Reading Guild is making systematic preparations. Mazzini, too, and Tolstoi and Carlyle are in their programme, as throwing light on the "Master." Pity that the light should be so much of one colour. Why should the faithful doubt? Only the play-actor needs footlights: the hero shows best in the blazing sunshine. Is he truly greater than his worshippers? Then should they call in others to discourse with him—his equals, to whom alone he can fully disclose himself. Whitman, Darwin, Ibsen—what will he say to these, and these to him? The seeds of wisdom are sown in the mind where men like these compare notes.

The Idea is the first cause of progress. Duly the effects follow, clothing the cause in fact, until the ideal becomes actual. To-day's dream is of to-morrow's doing; but the dream is first and the other follows it, as the day follows the sun. The future society will be our creation rather than our manufacture. The thing we really want is mightier than all our conscious efforts to attain it, and it will grow in its own way. The Ruskinians have their ideal, the Collectivists another, and the Anarchists a third. Be very sure that none of these would flourish without some root in fact; and of these, that one which is to survive must never be partial, it must *cover the whole ground*, and possess that fact.

I say *not partial*, for I have little belief in parties. They savour too much of trade, with its advertisements. Let us rather have societies. Your party man has his pill to puff, and public analysis may ruin his profits. Not so the farmer, feeder of men. He knows no advertisements, and loves the light of the sun to enrich his harvest; and like him let us gather in truth, rejoicing in the plenty of our neighbours' fields. It is the true economy, whether applied to corn or to wisdom, to labour together as comrades in useful work; for neither can advertisements feed us, nor wrangling make us wise. Not amongst the advertisers do we class the Ruskin Reading Guild. Though not in the Socialist ranks, they are walking the same road with us, and it is good to give them greeting as we draw near together. G. S.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

HURRAH! We are nearing the land which shall be peopled by the faithful only! What's the reason of all this joy? Well, a big clothing house doing business has given 20,000 copies of Bellamy's book 'Looking Backward.' And to-day I read the following advertisement in the papers:

"WE SHALL GIVE AWAY  
25,000 BOOKS

containing

EDWARD BELLAMY'S LATEST EFFORT,  
LOOKING FORWARD,

Which will appear in the December number of the *Nationalist Magazine*,  
Together with an excellent PORTRAIT OF MR. BELLAMY.

These books are for the working men and women entirely, and will be ready for distribution Dec. 2. To avoid the enormous rush that will occur on and after Dec. 2, you can apply at once in person for the book, and it will be mailed to your address in the order in which the applications occur."

But what does this prove? It proves that people over here begin to take so much interest in the social question that books dealing with the subject are supposed by commercial people to serve as a good means of advertising their wares. A pity, however, these gentry do not hit upon better works than those for which Bellamy is responsible. But I suppose we must be thankful even for small mercies.

The police of the city of New York appear to be permeated by Socialism. An "inferior" member of that body died lately, true up to the last moment to his belief in the correctness of the theory of Henry George and as an Atheist. He desired that some expression to his creed should be given in the orations over his grave. Sergeant Tims undertook this task, and delivered a good radical speech. In consequence the New York *Volkszeitung* sent a reporter to interview Tims. He said that he had always taken great interest in the writings of Marx, George, and Lassalle, and he added that according to his opinion every fifth man in the police force of New York believed in radical doctrines upon the social question. This gave the capitalistic press an opportunity for a series of most sensational articles. Flaming headlines like "Is the New York police force an Anarchistic body?" "Sergeant Tims, the friend of Herr Most and of the Anarchist Shevitsch," and so on, appeared in the dailies. The capitalists didn't know what to think of this. They believed the New York police the "finest" in the world, always ready to bludgeon into a jelly all enemies of property and all those opposed to law'n'order. Now all at once they have to learn that every fifth man of the force intended to protect property is himself a Socialist, an enemy of property and of the ruling classes. What is the world coming to! Action has not as yet been taken in the matter, but some people may take a friend's advice and look out for a "job" in some more congenial quarter.

The next annual convention of the Farmers and Labourers' Union will be held at St. Louis, December 3. The committee expect that there will be fully 500 delegates present. One of the features of the convention will be a proposition from the Northern Farmers' Alliance for a union of the two bodies, and several delegates will be present to effect that object if possible.

Trust certificates are in a bad way just now. A few days ago lead fell to below 20 dols. again and sugar to 68 dols., against 35 and 126 respectively attained by the certificates in June. There is too much "water" in this kind of business.

On the 18th of November the General Assembly of the Knights of Labour devoted the morning session to a full discussion in committee of the land question. By a nearly unanimous vote the following resolution was embodied in the constitution of the order:

"That the land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land, and the taxes upon land should be levied upon its value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment."

This is not quite Georgeism. George wants a single tax, whereas the above resolution leaves a loophole open for an additional income-tax. Later General Master Workman Powderley and A. W. Wright of the General Executive Board were appointed a committee on behalf of the General Assembly to attend the convention of the farmers' organisations to be held at St. Louis, December 3rd, 1889.

In regard to taking independent political action, it was concluded to leave each member free, as heretofore, to act as he saw fit, but that the agitation for independence be kept up in the columns of the organ of the order. It was voted that the ritual of the order shall be printed in the Hebrew language.

The following resolution was also adopted:

"Whereas, the accumulation of vast fortunes in the hands of a few, and the growth of a plutocracy, threatening the stability and existence of free institutions, render important a knowledge of economic conditions to successfully resist aggression from these dangers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the General Assembly of the Knights of Labour, that it is our judgment that the next census of the United States should show what proportion of the people of this country occupy their homes and farms, what proportion have their property free from debt, and, of the homes and farms under mortgage, what percentage of the value is so mortgaged.

"Resolved, that the secretary of the General Assembly be and he is hereby instructed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States, and to Hon. John W. Noble, secretary of the interior, Washington, D.C.

"Resolved, further, that all local assemblies be urged to at once adopt resolutions requesting congressmen from their respective districts to use their influence to have those facts collected and published."

The 19th of November was devoted to the discussion of the eight hour question. A letter was read from Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, of which I gave a summary in my last. Some surprise was expressed that the letter detailed no fixed plan of action. The eight hour committee submitted the following resolutions, which have been adopted:

"Resolved, that we coincide with the last expressed views of the President of the American Federation of Labour, expressing as they do the sentiments of that organisation that no general strike should be inaugurated upon May 1, 1890, and that the movement should be confined to such trades as are in condition to put the plan in operation on May 1, 1890.

"Resolved, that we call upon the President of the American Federation of Labour to indicate the trade or trades organised within the folds of that society

which is or are prepared to successfully inaugurate the eight hour movement on May 1, 1890, confident that the Knights of Labour will lend their moral support to the movement in favour of such trade or trades."

It was also resolved that the Assembly recommend that, wherever practicable, the members should arrange for a reduction of the hours of labour to nine and a-half hours per day, or 57 hours per week, for the year beginning March 30, 1890, and a reduction of one half-hour daily each succeeding year, until the eight hour point is attained.

In the debate preceding the adoption of the report, all who spoke expressed themselves in favour of a reduction of hours, but that to set any special day when a big strike should be made for a reduction of hours from ten to eight without being amply prepared for it, would be worse than foolish—it would be criminal.

The action of the Knights has given the *coup de grace* to the so-called eight hour movement. When will labour organisations cease to engage in such Sisyphean-like work? I suppose when doomsday is near at hand.

The Assembly came to a close on the 20th of November. In future all local assemblies attached to the General Assembly will pay a per capita tax of 10 cents per quarter instead of 6 cents as heretofore. The general executive board were empowered at their discretion to put on an assessment tax of not more than 20 cents for the next year.

The most interesting vote was that over the place of holding the next General Assembly. There were a number of applicants, the most prominent being Toledo, Ohio, Albany, Denver, and Birmingham, Eng. Under the rules of the Knights, the final selection is made by the executive board, which takes one from the three cities receiving the highest votes. Toledo will, in all probability, be the scene of the next General Assembly. The large vote received by Birmingham is taken as an indication of a strong tendency to extend the order across the water. Birmingham showed such strength that it will undoubtedly be chosen for some future General Assembly.

Grand Master Workman Powderley's request to cut down his salary from 5,000 dols. to 2,500 dols. was refused by the Assembly. Everybody from the beginning regarded this request as only meant in a "Pickwickian sense." Powderley closed the convention. He impressed upon members the necessity for pursuing the present conservative policy.

November 30 will be the twentieth anniversary of the Knights of Labour.  
Boston, Mass., Nov 25, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## CO-OPERATIVE TYRANNY AND COMPETITION.

Dear Sir,—A meeting of the Co-operative Wholesale was held at Manchester on Saturday, December 7th, and one of the most important recommendations was to purchase land outside Leicester with the object of obtaining cheap labour to successfully compete with another co-operative shoe works and *smash* it. Here is proof that in this case co-operators are profit mongers, and care for very little else. A number of delegates were sent from Leicester to get the matter postponed for three months, so that the members might have time to consider it; but when one of the delegates arose for the third time to put the matter fully before the meeting, he was voted down and not allowed to speak. I simply state the facts. The evils of unchecked competition were felt to be a mighty leech sucking the very vitals from the masses, when co-operation arose to check it, stamp it out, or put it on a rational basis.

But what does the action at Manchester prove? It proves that co-operators generally are moving on the very lines they feared and condemned, so much so that they used their might to crush the right of a fellow delegate to speak on the subject that he was specially appointed to deal with by an influential society in the Midlands. He claimed the right to vindicate the action of those who took a different view of the matter to the board. Improper motives were attributed to the delegates from Leicester, and dishonourable innuendoes were levelled at them, yet he was denied the right to explain and repudiate. Such an action is one of the meanest and most contemptible of its kind; and no men but profit-seekers and bigots would be guilty of such a tyrannical act. This will put the workers on their guard, and teach them what to expect from men, who though co-operators, when interest and profit are concerned can act like this. Does not such action prove that Socialists are not far wrong when they say that co-operation is only joint-stockism? And that the statements made in the Trades Union Congresses that co-operations are worse and more tyrannical than private firms as employers of labour, are true. To estrange these two sections of the community from the movement will be its death knell.

Can co-operation be a remedy for the evils of competition while the fundamental factors of rent, interest, and profit are the same in both cases? In both co-operation and competition this is a very serious question for all to consider. The masses have looked for social salvation from co-operation, and it is to be feared that they have been deceived. Let us look at a few facts:—The Co-operative Wholesale have become boot and shoe makers, but fail in the first essential of true co-operation—bonus to labour—this they do not give, besides the unfair or unsatisfactory way the work is given out. The men in the trade refuse to go to work there in busy times, because they are treated so shabbily. A new society of working-men is formed; they succeed, and give bonus to labour, and the conditions are first-class. But they are independent of the wholesale, and have succeeded well in getting work for about 250 men and women. To smash this society seems to be the object of the official gang, and no doubt it is so; else how is it they passed the resolution so hurriedly through—denying the right of full discussion. So, to effect that object, they leave one of the best and most healthy factories in the town to go outside with about £17,000 invested, and no prospect of letting it, in order to destroy this new co-operative society; and at the factory they are going to leave there is room for enlarging it to last about 10 years.

Thus to get profit, and crush out a new society that has dared to start, succeed, and give bonus to labour, the co-operators are imitating the worst employers by going into the county for cheap labour. What can be said to this?

JAMES HOLMES, *Delegate*.

Rutland Street, Leicester.

CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday December 22, at 8 p.m., Hubert Bland, "Nihilism." 29th. Songs and Recitations by the Hammersmith S. L. Choir and Friends.



OFFICES : 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW : FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD IT ; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT ; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON !

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League ; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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## Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 18.

ENGLAND	Twentieth Century	HOLLAND
Brotherhood	Workmen's Advocate	Middelburg—LichtenWahrheid
Labour Elector	Bosion—Woman's Journal	
Labour Tribune	Investigator	BELGIUM
Newrich—Daylight	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Ghent—Vooruit
Railway Review	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Scaffaring	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Arbeiterstimme
Worker's Friend	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
INDIA	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Behar Herald	St Louis—Anarchist	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
UNITED STATES	Philadelphia—United Labour	AUSTRIA
New York—Der Sozialist		Wien—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Truthseeker	FRANCE	HUNGARY
Volkszeitung	Rouen—Le Salariat	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Jewish Volkszeitung		

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Home Secretary “does not feel justified in departing from the decision” to keep George Harrison in prison up to the full period of his sentence—five years. In the hurried rush of great events, which seems to have become chronic, there is always danger that he will be forgotten ; but all those interested in him, and they are many, should make a point of periodically bringing up his case and refreshing the public memory.

The citizens of this great metropolis have been gratified by the news of an addition of a thousand more lambs to the law-'n'-order flock. That is to say, those of the citizens have been gratified for whose benefit the addition will be made. But those who work and suffer among the citizens, are not so very grateful as they reflect upon the thousand more batons ready for their benighted heads if they are ever raised an inch above the mud of their ordinary lives. A thousand more protectors for scabs and sweaters ; a thousand more repressors of any effort at improvement on the part of under-paid workmen, this is what it means.

“There is one moral to be learned from Silvertown, and that is that the whole labour movement is not to be carried by strikes. The impetuous rush on the position has been stayed ; the workers have been

taught by sad experience that a fight with unorganised forces and scanty funds may be beaten back by a determined resistance on the part of a cool, hard, unrelenting employer. The lesson must be taken to heart. It should teach the workers to perfect their organisations.” So says the *Star*, which then proceeds to spoil a good note by feebly adding, “and also to keep a weather-eye open for legislative remedies.”

There would be small need of fooling with any “legislative remedies” if only the workers would “perfect their organisations.”

To follow the docker's victory with the Silvertown defeat ; the wonderful solidarity of labour which had gladdened all hearts, with the eager scramble after the gasmen's places by a degraded mob of blacklegs ; this is one of the salutary lessons of experience, one of the reverses which mean renewed victory. Anyone who had watched the fighting of labour battles for any length of time, knew well that the successes, such as they were, in recent conflicts would mean a crushing defeat in the near future.

There is nothing more fatal in war than to under-estimate your enemy, or to over-estimate your friends. The winning of so many battles in so short a time has for the moment demoralised the labour army, and has made it less careful and far-seeing than it should be in meeting its powerful enemy. Seeing how large the floating army of unorganised, and for the present unorganisable, “blacklegs” still is, will serve to force home the fact that there will have to be wider and much more cautious preparations before another fight is begun.

It is not possible to believe that the Executive of the Amalgamated Engineers is anything else than a collection of hide-bound self-seekers, a mere clique which has fastened itself upon a powerful organisation and paralyses all the centres of its activity. Were it anything else it would not have behaved as it has done over the Silvertown strike ; nor would its members have remained so calmly under the rain of scorn that has covered them.

And if the engineers as a body were much better than their “leaders,” they would long since have leaped into rage under the sting of the contempt which is expressed for them by the bulk of awakened working-men, since “engineer” has become synonymous with “rat.” Could they even confess their membership in the Amalgamated Society without a blush ?

At this time also it would be well if the London Trades' Council were brought to book. What this detestable gang of hypocritical reactionaries really are and mean to be we know right well. Also we have some idea of what a true trades council might be made. What we are anxious to know is, how long the London trades are going to allow their name to be taken in vain and their efforts neutralised by this worse than nullity ?

But it may be that the bulk of the London trades are like the Amalgamated Engineers, rats at heart, and only anxious for themselves. Even in that case, though, one would have thought they had sense enough to see that the best way of helping themselves was by combination with their fellows. “Two heads are better than one any day, even if one be a sheep's !”

Papers to hand by last mail from the Argentine speak of renewed strikes and labour troubles. Among others, the men in the Southern Railway workshops had to come out because some of the older hands among them were being dismissed for their part in the former strike. The works were guarded by police, and everything was done upon the “civilised” plan obtaining in the effete and corrupt European monarchies. Republics in the new world, as in the old, don't seem to be the happy hunting-grounds for workmen that some people would make them out to be.

The fatuities of the *Pall Mall* are beyond measure. In one column of one issue it advocated the knighting of Stanley for his plunder-raid in Africa, and the more complete police-censorship of literature in London. A good record for one evening ! In the same column it warmly endorsed a “Commons Preservation Society” and other means of enforcing public rights. As I came upon that after reading the gush about Stanley, an eager regret came over me that some of the poor natives of Mid-Africa had not preserved *their* commons a little better from the enterprising pioneer of exploitation and monopoly ! Also that one of these days a “Readers' Protection Society” should take up the defence of freedom of speech, even for pornography, making it hot in the meantime for the McDougall-Stead-policeman who is the guardian of Mrs. Grundy.

In the same column there is an attack on “the detestable French custom of giving Government monopolies to certain favoured individuals.” But why, then, ask for a Government monopoly of morality on behalf of the pharasaical combination of prudes and prurient ascetics ?

A lady who works among the poor in the South of London told me the other day with much unction and feeling that in Price's candle-factory none but girls of “good moral character” are employed ; that the moment a girl “loses her character” she is dismissed. The wages



are fairly good and the employes well treated. Virtuous and pious citizens and citizenesses, please note, and buy of Price's! (This "par" is not an advertisement.)

Seriously, is it not time that even the pious and virtuous made a mental effort, and tried at last to understand what they drive men and women to by their false sentiment and false notions of social purity? Price sheds his shining light amid a crowd of less virtuous factories "of extremely bad character," as my friend said with bated breath, "where prostitutes are content to take a low wage to eke out their shameful trade." Is it not just possible that the houses of fair fame send them thither on casting them out of doors? The religious mind turns a deaf ear to all argument, however; I receive a pious smile, and—"The Lord's will be done!"

The stout-hearted women who step among the dead and wounded on a battle-field, accepting the waste and destruction of life as heaven-sent, and those, no less courageous, who spend their lives in succouring the poor and administering comfort and advice after their own fashion—there is something ghastly about their resignation and inability to grasp the true meaning of the ills and vices they live amongst, and something pitiable and exasperating in the enthusiasm, self-satisfaction, and self-completion they feel in their minute and isolated corner of the world. Given a woman addicted to good works who lives near a slum and works hard in it, sees and talks to some scores of working-folk in the week, and must necessarily accumulate a good deal of interesting facts about work and wages, and learn something about the lives and troubles of the workers, and you have usually a complete example of how not to assimilate useful information and deduct inferences from it!

M. M.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### GERMANY.

The Elberfeldt monster-trial is still going on, and nearly every day a new police spy comes to the front. It seems that the Social Democratic party in Germany is as much infested with this abominable vermin as the Anarchist party. It is said that the trial got up by all these Kamhoffs and other beasts has already cost the State 60,000 mk.; and the accused will be at a loss of 25,000 mk. (loss of wages, travelling, and other expenses). Further, 31 workers have already been dismissed by their employers on account of their being connected with the trial. In spite of all these trumped-up conspiracies, the cause of Socialism "marches on" in Germany as everywhere else, and this trial will have the same result as all the former ones, namely: for one man lost by imprisonment, one or two dozen won to Socialism!

A new issue of our Hamburg contemporary *Der Zeitgeist* has just been published, and contains the following articles:—Conception, contents, object and meaning of popular hygiene; Saving; Contributions to the solution of the question of industrial arbitration; Chambers of Trade; Truth pierces every obstacle; Decay of small trade; What is to become of me in future; German fundamental rights of 1848; The origin of the wage system; The revision of the laws relating to relief societies; On the causes of the increasing consumption of spirits; The poverty and degradation of the working women of Berlin: The destitution of the miners and the riches of the mine-owners in Westphalia, etc., etc.

At Brünswig the *Vereinsblatt für Maurer* (The Mason's Trade Paper) has been suppressed by the muzzle-laws of the Iron Chancellor.

Comrade Oscar Wieseke, for having laid down a wreath with the following inscription, "All honour to the deceased and may his example be followed," got three months imprisonment, because the silly Nupkinses of Kottbus considered that dreadful inscription to be a Socialist demonstration!

### BELGIUM.

All the weavers of La Linière, at Liège, are on strike, and it is now a good long time since they first left off working. The masters have tried to get "blacklegs" from other towns, especially Mechelen, but they have tried in vain, and the workers are bound to win. They are well supported by the Liège section of the Belgian Socialistic Party, and the co-operative society "La Populaire" distribute daily bread and vegetables to the strikers and their families. Numerous meetings are held also, and the propaganda of Socialist ideas is carried on with great success. The workers used to go to their meeting-places in processions, but the very liberal burgomaster of Liège, M. d'Andrimont, has put a stop to it, and street demonstrations are no longer allowed. We hope that the workers will see that the Liberal party, and even the so-called Radical section of it, is exactly as bad for them as the Clerical party, and that they will no longer go in for these electioneering business politics, by which they can only waste their energies and compromise even the cause they intend to serve—the revolutionary Socialist cause.

In order to show what these Liberals and Clericals over there really are, one more example. Pourbaix, the scoundrel who has acted as *agent provocateur* in the miners' strikes of 1887 and 1888, has finally got two years' imprisonment—which, by the by, he is not even likely to undergo, because he is the Premier's good friend. Bara, a former Minister of Justice in a Liberal Cabinet, fulminated during a five hours' speech against De Volder, the present and Clerical Minister of the Interior, because this De Volder, along with the Premier Beernaert, had allowed a number of innocent men to be prosecuted, knowing, as he did, that Pourbaix, who caused the prosecution to be instituted, was a paid agent of the secret service. "You are unworthy to be a Councillor of the Crown, your true place is in the dock, you ought to be sent to prison yourself; you have no longer any claim to the respect of honest men." And so on for five hours. In the evening of that very same day, M. Anspach-Puissant, an influential moneybag at Brussels, gave a banquet, at which the Liberal Bara and the Clerical De Volder occupied the places of honour on the right and left of the financial magnate! What do you think, then, Belgian workers, of the "unworthy" De Volder and of the "worthy" Bara? Are they not exactly the same sort of mountebanks?

Comrade L. Bertrand, of Brussels, has started a new paper for the special propagation of the Socialist co-operative ideas. It is called *Les Co-opérateurs Belges*, and appears monthly.

On the 1st of January next another paper will be issued by the "Young Socialist Vanguard" of Brussels. It is to be called *Le Conscrié*, and will mostly deal with the military question: abolition of conscription, permanent armies, and kindred subjects.

In order to incite our English comrades to make somewhat more vigorous efforts in their propaganda by way of spreading our Socialist literature, papers, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., we may as well give here the amount of printed matter sent out in one year (October 1888-89) by one town—Ghent:

NEWSPAPERS.		
Vooruit, socialistic daily paper	Copies sold	2,353,456
"	given away	46,550
Toekomst, socialistic weekly paper	" sold	91,238
Loteling, an occasional paper	" "	15,000

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.		
Almanack "Vooruit," 1889	Copies sold	5,000
Socialist Chants	"	5,000
Co-operation and Socialism	"	6,000
Women in Modern Society	"	2,250
The Ruins of Volney (3rd edition)	"	3,500
History of "Vooruit"	"	10,000
Socialists of Eecloo	"	1,500
Situation of Dockworkers	"	500
History of the French Revolution	"	5,000
The Great Conspiracy Trial	"	4,000
The "Salon" of Ghent (art critics)	"	1,000
Six months in the Argentine (2nd edition)	"	10,000
Appeal to the Students	"	1,000

OTHER PRINTS.		
Circulars for the various Socialist groups	"	10,495
Leaflets for Socialist propaganda	"	120,475
Circulars for the Co-operative Soc.	"	220,900
" for the relief societies	"	42,680
" for the various trades unions	"	102,295
For the announcement of the various public meetings held by the Ghent Socialists in the town itself and in the neighbouring Flemish places, 1,394 various posters have been printed.		

English Socialists, follow that example and "go ahead!"

### AUSTRIA.

A new Socialist paper has been started last week at Vienna, and will appear on the 2nd and 4th Monday in each month, under the editorship of comrade R. Hauser. It is entitled *Die Volkspresse* (The Press of the People), and intends to bring the Socialist ideas to the indifferent masses of the people. The first issue of the paper contains an official communication, stating that the new organ will be edited in accordance with the views and principles laid down at the last Congress at Hainfeldt, where the Austrian Socialists, as our readers will remember, have come to a mutual understanding, and dropped all their former differences of opinion. We hope that the new venture will do considerable good among those workers who have not as yet grasped the principles of Socialism. The administration of the paper, published by comrade A. Heimann, is situated in Vienna, Neulercheufeld, Herbrasse, 3, 3rd floor 28.

### ITALY.

The tribunal of Forlì has granted Amilcare Cipriani one year jail and a goodish fine of 1,000 lire, for provocation to civil war. But as Cipriani has thought it better to live outside the sacred frontiers of his "generous" Italy, he is allright for all that. He has just answered his judges, as it were, by an article which appeared in *La Revue Européenne* of Paris, under the heading of "Force against Force."

*L'Associazione* says that in the recent communal elections in Italy abstention from voting has been very marked. "To select a few of the most important figures, we note that in Rome out of 45,000 electors only 16,000 have voted; in Naples, 12,000 out of 35,000; in Florence, 8,000 out of 18,000; Leghorn, 8,400 out of 17,000; Turin, 13,620 out of 261,30; Milan, 21,000 out of 41,000; Ferlì, 2,300 out of 4,300." The *Associazione* puts a great deal of this down to the abstentionist propaganda work of the Anarchist party; this may have had some influence, but the probabilities are that it is principally due to *laissez faire*, the apathy of some, the hopelessness of others among the disinherited, and the cynicism of modern well-to-do society.

### SPAIN.

MADRID.—There is a strike among the paper factory employes, and as it bids fair to remain firm the mill-owners have published in the journals a notice asking for hands from the provinces and abroad.

ALCOY.—A strike is declared in a paper-mills here also, and the employes in the other establishments are manifesting their solidarity and intend to support them.

M. M.

### "Seafaring."

We are glad to see that the printing of our bright little contemporary *Seafaring*, organ of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, has been transferred to a fair house, Messrs. Perkins, Bacon, and Co., of Whitefriars. Our readers will remember that the *Commonweal* was the first to call attention to the fact that the paper was printed at an unfair house.

### The End of the Manchester Gas Strike.

We are sorry to say the Manchester gas stokers have been beaten in their plucky attempt to get rid of blacklegs. The treason of those who are a disgrace to the workers, and the money power at the back of a rich Corporation, has proved too strong for them. Such a defeat, though it involves intense suffering, does not dishonour the men. It is rather the victors who should be ashamed of their victory.

### Impending Strike of Scottish Railway Men.

The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants met on Sunday in Glasgow to consider the replies received to their demand for ten hours daily. Mr. Tait (secretary) said the replies left the members practically the same as when they met on the 1st December, but the Glasgow and South-Western Company had advanced the wages in several departments. The meeting approved the recommendation of the executive that the men give notice to cease work on a given day and remain out till the demand was conceded, but that the men all over the country should be first asked whether they approved of this step.

N.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Gas-stokers Strike.

The gas-stokers' strike marks a crisis in the revolt against the sweater. The attack by Mr. Livesey upon the gas stokers, taking as it has done the insidious form of a profit-sharing scheme, is a blow aimed not only at that union alone but at the whole labour movement, the rapid spread of which has struck terror into the hearts of every slave-driving capitalist in England. It may be doubted very much if Mr. Livesey is the only person responsible for the scheme. It is quite certain that his company would not be the only one to profit by it, if it were successful. The various gas companies all agreed to accept the men's terms last summer, when they were forced upon them by a threatened strike. Is it to be too suspicious to say that they have also agreed in common to attack the men in their weakest position, and at the time of the year when there are plenty of unemployed men in town and country to act as blacklegs? One thing is quite certain, *i.e.*, not only the gas companies but every sweater would rejoice at Mr. Livesey's success. The market would be flooded at once with profit-sharing schemes, to which the conditions prefixed would be that the money would be held in hand by the sweaters, and would be forfeited at once if the work-people went on strike or joined a union. It behoves, therefore, not only the gas-stokers, but every workman in London to fight to the death on the side of the gas-stokers. If these men are defeated not only will they sink into hopeless slavery, but every union that has sprung up within the last few months throughout the country will be in danger. These unions will not only have to fight for the advantages they have gained but for very life itself; the gas-stokers must not be defeated. If it is necessary to gain the victory, London must not only be plunged in darkness and the supply of coal stopped, but every new union must be prepared to bring out its men, and tramways, railways, and docks alike be idle. A good lesson might be learnt from the events of last week; the coal-porters threatened to stop the supply of the coal of London; the middle-class press wailed, raved, and cursed, but *the men have got their demands*. The gas-stokers were moderate, they only proposed to stop the supply of gas in what is essentially a working class quarter, where the wealthy do not reside; they are out in the cold at the present moment, and they are likely to remain so for all the middle-class care. What does it matter to them if South London is without light, so long as the West End and other "respectable" parts are well illuminated? Now, I do not advise that these extreme means be taken at once, but it strikes me that if the middle and upper classes knew that the organised workmen of London were prepared to paralyse trade throughout the whole metropolis rather than allow the gas-stokers to be beaten, very strong influence would soon be brought to bear upon Mr. Livesey to make him give way.

Of course, we shall be told that such action will alienate "public sympathy;" that means, of course, the sympathy of the very people whom every worker, who wishes to gain his own, will have to fight. A labour agitation conducted in accordance with the opinion of the middle and upper classes would be a very tame and spiritless thing indeed. We know very well what it is. We have had plenty of it under the leadership of Broadhurst, Shipton, and Co., for the last twenty years, but the people haven't got much "forrarder" in consequence. The New Trade Unionism is surely going to do better than that.

The strike has not been devoid of interesting and amusing incidents. The funniest story is that told by the manager of the West Greenwich Gas Works, who stated that he was glad the union men had gone, because they had got into the inconvenient habit of suddenly leaving off work to search the place for blacklegs. Sometimes they found them, and then the manager had to turn the wretched blacklegs out.

The shameful way in which the whole forces of the Government have been placed at the disposal of Mr. Livesey is worthy of remark. This is most apparent even in the reports of the reactionary press. We have always thought that picketting was legal, but the horde of police and mounted men would not allow the pickets even to approach the blacklegs, the footmen driving them away, and the mounted men charging upon them and completely scattering them. Not only was this terrorism carried on by the police in the interest of our modern shareholders, but there cannot be the least doubt that after the blacklegs left the railway stations in the custody of the police they were virtually prisoners. Those who have lived in the country know that that wretched serf, the agricultural labourer, of whom there were many among the blacklegs, always stands in the utmost dread of those who are set in authority over him, and it is hardly likely if any of the "new hands" had felt repentant that they would have dared to have broken through the strong cordon of police who surrounded them to join the strikers. The police, too, appeared, quite willing to use force upon occasion, as at the Old Kent Road, where one unfortunate man, who was inclining his ear to what the pickets had to say, was dragged by the active and intelligent officers into the gas-works to be a blackleg whether he liked it or not. It is even now certain that the large force of police that garrisons every one of the companies' works are there less to protect the blackleg from the strike than to keep them to their work. It is a known fact that many of the "new hands" would have bolted long ago from the dismal hells in which they are confined were it not for the police. Mr. Livesey has been endeavouring to enliven the monotony of their confinement by a "religious" service on Sunday, in which we presume the god was invoked who presides over dirty actions. We mean the god who took Jacob into favour because he had done his brother Esau out of his birthright. We hear that the blacklegs smoked during the service; if Mr. Livesey could only have had a few pots of beer handed round, it would have made the thing complete. That philanthropic gentleman directly he got his blacklegs forced them to slave for 12 hours daily; the union time, eight hours, has been abolished. Can we doubt now why the profit-sharing scheme was introduced?

At Rotherhithe on Friday, December 13th, a large number of blacklegs were brought from Birmingham. Many of these, directly they found there was a strike on, scaled the wall of the gas-works to get out, thus proving that the police would not let them out by the gates. One of these men in the ardour of his conversion began trying the strength of a policeman's helmet with a piece of granite. Unfortunately his experiments in the public interest have been checked by a sentence from a police magistrate of 21 days. A worthy constable, Marchant 511 B, struck a striker, cutting his lip; the magistrate bound the striker (not the constable) over to keep the peace for three months.

The police have been having quite a good old time of the Trafalgar Square pattern. W. Thorne, the secretary of the Gas Stokers' Union, has had

enough of their kindness. First, he was hustled off the platform of the Old Kent Road station when endeavouring to speak to some blacklegs. Again, he sought an interview with Major Gilbert at Vauxhall to know if picketting was permitted. The worthy gentleman answered by setting his police bullies on to him, who literally threw him out of the place. We were told a little while ago that both the Tory Government and the police were friendly to striking workmen. Their friendship does not last long, and seems to depend upon the number and strength of the strikers. I cannot help quoting the remark of a stoker, when he saw the huge force of police collected to maintain blacklegism as part of the law and constitution. "What need is there for 400 police to watch a few poor, half-starved stokers?" It will take a great deal to persuade workmen that the Tories are their friends after this shameful police tyranny. Why the very blacklegs and police are recruited from places where Toryism is rampant. The events of last week should shake the faith of workmen in both political parties, for while the strikers have been hounded down by police acting under the orders of a Tory Government, the middle-class Liberals and their organs, like the *Daily News*, stood by and applauded. But despite the efforts of both political parties, the men stand a fair chance of winning. The fog we had last week has nearly used up Livesey's supply of gas. The coal boycott of the sailors and coal porters promises to be effective; and it is to be hoped that Mr. Livesey and his company will get a good thrashing.

### German Capitalists and English Trades Unions.

According to the Berlin correspondent of the *Sheffield Independent*, it appears that some German capitalists have recently visited England in order to see for themselves the working of our trades unions, and to obtain information upon the labour question generally. They were of course informed by the orthodox officials of old-fashioned trade-unionism that the English workers did not favour Socialism, and were generally "reasonable." The German capitalists have come to a different conclusion. They say they have found that Socialism is spreading in England, and that the trade unions encouraged it. They were quite right in their opinion that Socialism is spreading; but if they think that Messrs. Shipton, Broadhurst, and Co. encourage Socialism they labour under one of those curious delusions as to English affairs peculiar to the "intelligent foreigner." The German Government would be only too happy to have such "reasonable" people to deal with as the present chiefs of English trade-unionism. N.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

DECEMBER 22—31, 1889.

22	Sun.	1620. Landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers." 1797. Trial at Dublin of Peter Finerty, printer of the <i>Press</i> , the organ of the United Irishmen, for "seditious libel" in connection with the murder of William Orr. 1806. At Longford, George Thomas, informer against the "Thrashers," transported for seven years for perjury. 1832. First number of <i>The Bee</i> , Liverpool, edited by John Finch and M. J. Falvey. 1876. Baron, ex-delegate to the accountant's department of the Workmen's Congress, sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress as a Communiard. 1881. "Ghost of the Czar" seen in Kazan Cathedral. 1884. After "trial" at Leipzig on a charge of attempting to kill the German Emperor (see Sept. 28), Reinsdorff, Rupsch, and Kuchler sentenced to death; Holzhauer and Bachmann to ten years' imprisonment; three acquitted.
23	Mon.	1789. Heine born. 1864. Brontë O'Brien died.
24	Tues.	1794. "Law of Maximum" abolished at Paris. 1795. Trial of Michael Maguire for high treason. 1814. Peace between England and the United States. 1829. First Socialist tea-party at Manchester, arranged by Joseph Smith, the "sheep-maker." 1830. H. and W. Packman and J. Dyke hanged on Penenden Heath, near Maidstone, for rick-burning. 1833. Arabi Pasha leaves Egypt an exile. 1887. Strike on Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.
25	Wed.	1066. Inauguration and election of William the Conqueror at Westminster Abbey. 1825. First number (for Jan. 1826) of the <i>Co-operative Magazine</i> , with engraving of Robert Owen's proposed community building.
26	Thur.	1825. Revolutionary rising of several guard regiments against accession of Nicholas to the throne ( <i>Decembrists</i> ). Sentences: death, 5; hard labour, 88; banishment, 18; enlisted as soldiers, 9. 1888. Indian National Congress at Allahabad.
27	Fri.	1838. Arrest of the Rev. Joseph Rayner Stephens, Chartist, for "dangerous speech" at Leigh, Cheshire, on Nov. 13. 1842. Great Chartist conference at Birmingham, 27th—30th. 1867. Fenian attack on Fota Martello Tower. 1880. Trial begins of Parnell and others for "conspiracy to prevent tenants from paying their rent."
28	Sat.	1795. Trial of John Leary for high treason as a "Defender." 1870. Marshal Prim shot at and fatally wounded.
29	Sun.	1832. First number of the <i>Workingman's Friend</i> , London weekly. 1834. T. R. Malthus died. 1883. Colonel Seudeikh and his chief assistant found dead.
30	Mon.	1797. Peter Finerty pilloried in Green Street, Dublin, for an article in the <i>Press</i> on the murder of William Orr. 1870. Death of Marshal Prim. 1878. Henry Vincent died. 1884. Socialist League founded.
31	Tues.	1857. Sepoys blown from guns. 1874. Ledru Rollin died. 1882. Gambetta died.

Samuel Gompers and Henry George were to debate the eight-hour question before the New York Central Labour Federation, but Mr. George sent an extraordinary letter in which he stated that he did not know what kind of discussion would be carried on, that the time was not convenient, and as he did not believe that he differed much from Mr. Gompers on the reducing of the number of working hours, he considered it best to stay at home.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

*Commonweals* for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, and Yarmouth, to end of May. North Kensington and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell and East London, to end of October. North London, Mitcham, and Leicester, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Propaganda Fund.**—J. Bines, 1s.; St. Georges' East Branch, 5s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; B. W., 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; C. Saunders, 2s.; H. Rogers, 1s.; Albert, 1s.; J. A. Morris, 2s. 6d.; and Chesterfield Socialist Society, 15s.

### BRANCH SECRETARIES PLEASE NOTE.

As we are going to press a day earlier next week, on account of Christmas Holidays, comrades are asked to send in their reports and lecture notices by first post on Monday morning.

### REPORTS.

**STREATHAM.**—Good number of comrades turned up at the Liberal Club debate, "England a Republic," a Socialist in the chair. A collection after the meeting for the gas strikers was not allowed by the committee, and was returned to each one in the room who had contributed; 4s. 8d. was, however, collected by the secretary of Streatham Labourer's Union on the pavement outside the club. The general feeling was one of heartfelt sympathy with the strikers, and indignation at the mean cowardice of the Streatham "Liberals." A carman of the Labourers' Union has been sacked at a minutes notice on Saturday night by a master noted for working his men 17 hours a day.

**ABERDEEN.**—At meeting on 9th, Mrs. Lynn Linton's article "About Ireland," in the *New Review*, was read and discussed.

**GLASGOW.**—On Monday evening Joe and Tim Burgoyne spoke on Cathedral Square to a good audience; on Wednesday Dan McCulloch gave a lecture on "Education under Socialism" to the Springburn Literary Society, the criticism which followed being entirely favourable; on Sunday, at 1 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square, and at 5.30 at Paisley Road Toll.

**LEICESTER.**—Chambers and Barclay spoke in Russell Square on Sunday morning; an adjourned discussion of a lively character in the Radical Club in the evening. Chambers also gave an address in the Irish National Club.—A. G.

**YARMOUTH.**—No meeting in the morning; in the afternoon at the discussion class there was a good attendance; comrade Brightwell opened a discussion on "Socialism and Anarchy," followed by Headley, Edwards, and Willmott. In the evening, at Colman's Granary Quay, we opened by singing "The Starving Poor," followed by comrade Ruffold, closing with "Leisure and Pleasure;" we then marched along the quay, under the red flag, singing "Trafalgar Square;" three new members, and all the *Weals* sold out.

**WALSALL.**—At the Socialist Club, 18, Goodall Street, December 8th, J. Rowson delivered a lecture on "The Present System." On Sunday last H. Sanders lectured on "A Socialist Programme for Town Councils." Both well received, and several new members joined.

**DUBLIN.**—At the Progressist Club, 87, Marlborough Street, on December 14th, in the absence of the appointed lecturer, T. Fitzpatrick delivered an address on "The Coming Slavery"—an exhaustive attack on the theories of collectivism; very good discussion; Hamilton, Wilson, Kavanagh, and Wiedesleder, a German comrade, spoke.

**EDINBURGH (S.S.F.).**—We had a good meeting on Sunday night in the Moulders' Hall, when comrade McCulloch (Glasgow) delivered a very interesting lecture on "Wealth and its Producers," which gave rise to an animated discussion on the blessings and otherwise of trades-unionism, and the wisdom of directing our energies more in the way of unionism. The "soon" comrades feared that thereby the central idea might be lost sight of, and stoutly championed pure and unadulterated Socialism.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—On Sunday evening, in our hall, we had a capital paper from comrade Doleman, "Is Socialism Practicable?" Discussion followed, in which several members took part. We are just starting our winter campaign and hope to follow up with larger meetings.

**SHEFFIELD.**—On Saturday a good meeting was held at Gower Street at 12. Large attendance of men employed in ironworks at Pinstone Street at 8 p.m. On Sunday good meetings were held at Gower Street; Monolith, Fargate; Steam Clock, Brightside; and Pump, Westbar—addressed by comrades Charles, Bingham, Palfryman, McBride, and Mowbray (of London). Our ideas were received with great enthusiasm. Good collections for the strikers at Brown's Flue Department made at all meetings. Sale of literature very good; we sold out our *Commonweal*—three quires—on the Saturday, and had to telegraph for three quires more for Sunday, all of which were sold. Some 18s. was taken for *Commonweal* and pamphlets.

### IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

A SOCIAL EVENING to members of the Socialist League will be given by the Propaganda Committee, at the Hall of the Socialist League, 24 Great Queen St., on New Year's Eve, at 8 p.m. Secretary of Propaganda Committee will read report of work done during last half year, to be followed by discussion and Concert; Recitations by comrade Darwood. Meeting and Concert free to all members.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Lecture every Sunday at 8. French Class, Friday, 8 to 9.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday December 22, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock. Annual Hogmanay Social Meeting will be held in Rams Horn Hall, at 8 o'clock, when the New Year will be brought in with songs, readings, and dancing.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock. Comrade C. W. Mowbray will deliver three addresses on Sunday Dec. 22. On Tuesday Dec. 24, comrades Headley and Brightwell will debate on "Are we Prepared for a Revolution?" Comrades please turn up.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

#### SATURDAY 21.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Cores and Presburg

#### SUNDAY 22.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station..... R. J. Lyne, Dean, and Crouch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mainwaring,  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street ..... Cores  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green ..... The Branch  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Cantwell and Nicoll  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square ..... The Branch  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch..... Cantwell and Mowbray  
3.30..... Victoria Park..... The Branch  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch

#### TUESDAY 24.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch

#### THURSDAY 26.

8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... The Branch

### PROVINCES.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

**LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY,** 1 Stanley Street, Dale Street.—Meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Saturday Dec. 21, at 8, J. O'Gorman, "The Demands of Organised Labour."

**STAR RADICAL CLUB,** 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Dec. 22, at 8.30, John Sinclair, "The Better Classes and the Lower Orders."

**WOOLWICH RADICAL CLUB,** William Street.—Sunday December 22, at 8 p.m., George Bernard Shaw, "Radicalism and Social Democracy."

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB,** Woodland Place, Parliament Street.—Sunday Dec. 22, at 7.30, T. Proctor on "The Unskilled Labour Movement."

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,** "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday Dec. 22, at 8.45 p.m., Chas. Murray, "Fifty Years of Radical Progress."

**EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.**—In Moulders' Hall, High St., on Sunday December 22, at 6.30, Comrade Davidson lectures on "The Classes and the Masses."

**CHILD'S HILL.**—Co-operative Hall, near Midland Railway Station, Sunday Dec. 22, at 7.30, J. R. Macdonald, "Practicable Socialism for England and Scotland."

**ENTERPRISE CLUB AND INSTITUTE,** Manchee House, High Road, South Tottenham, N.—Sunday December 22, at 11.30 a.m., W. S. De Mattos, "A Socialist Programme for London."





# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 207.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE "intelligent and sympathetic" middle-classes do not seem to have had the strike-fever in a very severe form. After having contributed to the victory of the dockers (whatever that amounted to), they seem to have thought that they had exhausted all the claims that could be made on their "intelligent sympathy," and allowed the poor folk at Silvertown to be slowly crushed down by capitalist tyranny, without showing any signs that they were conscious of that terrible struggle against starvation with or without employment.

Of course, I except Stopford Brooke's eloquent appeal for justice to these poor people; but it fell upon the ears of a class who were not going to accept two such bothers in one year as *two* strikes that shocked their sensibility.

As to the gas-stokers' strike, that is quite another matter. For are they not in the receipt of quite splendid wages? Don't they get as much in a week as a very small gentleman of the proprietary class, or the parasitical class, gets in a day? What on earth can they want more? They want to be free to strike, forsooth, in case their employer thinks fit to put on the screw! What next? They will get ideas of independence into their heads, and what becomes of us, then, the pensioners, of us the parasites? No, no, this is no case for sympathy; these men are our *enemies*, and, what is more, are beginning to know it. Instead of subscribing *for* them, let us use brute force *against* them, and show them that *they* shall not be allowed to argue with their fellow-workmen.

Well, gentlemen! there is much truth in this view of your period of convalescence from the strike fever. These men are indeed your enemies, for their interests are opposed to yours; and as a class, gentlemen, whatever you may think in your more maudlin moments, when your hypocrisy gets so much the better of your tyrannical greed that it even deceives yourselves, you will not and cannot give up anything to the workers beyond the mere subsistence wage according to the standard of the day, unless you are compelled to do so by force; *i.e.*, by the fear of material injury to your purse or persons.

And that standard of the day, gentlemen, do you really trouble yourselves as to the lowness of it? the horror and disgrace of such a mass of semi-starvation? Silvertown did not move you. And indeed why should it have done so, when such a livelihood is so common? When you know, or could know by asking a very few questions, what the standard of livelihood is for our field-labourers! When you know, and cannot help knowing, that you have made the beautiful garden-like country-side of England into a mere hell of barrenness for the people who feed you! A hell from which the country people flee to that other hell of the city slums, to make for you fresh entanglements of that "social problem" that you gabble about continuously—with no real intention of trying to solve it.

Who can wonder, so sweet as life is for rich people in our civilisation? Nothing short of the fear of imminent break-up, of a break-up of the "status and lives" of those now living at least, can really fix their attention on the fate of the "nation of the poor" amongst whom they dwell; and, for the rest, the strikes do not seem to them threatening enough for them to trouble much about them. As for the field-labourers, they know how weak they are; perhaps they think them weaker than they really are; and the cry of "the land for the people" frightens them so little, that some of them will even coquette with it in the game of politics, which is the top amusement of the proprietary classes. Let us hope that we may live to see the day when they will learn what it really means—to wit, the abolition of the class of compulsory pensioners.

I wonder whether these strike-cured gentlemen noted, as I did, a little incident of civilisation which took place the other day about the Solomon Islands, where one of our war-ships was used for the safe

amusement of "punishing" the islanders for cannibalism? Did it in that case occur to them, as it did to me, that while the poor devils of Solomon Islanders were engaged in eating their enemies, the "superior persons" of British Islanders were eating the people whom they call their friends and fellow-countrymen; their equals before the law, and before God, as the cant phrase goes?

Cannibalism for cannibalism, it seems to me, that that of the poor ignorant poverty-stricken Solomon Islanders is less deserving of punishment than that of the British Islanders; and that the word "punishment" ought to make the latter shake in their shoes, if ever they think, as I fear few of them do, of the natural results of artificial compulsory poverty in a land which nature and the traditions of labour would make so wealthy for all people if the non-producers did not eat up the lives of the producers after the manner of civilised cannibalism.

W. M.

Now is the chosen time of the charity-fiend, the busiest season for the professional philanthropist. At Christmas-tide, the most hide-bound bourgeois will allow himself to be moved, either by compassion or prudence, into rendering back to the poor some infinitesimal part of what he has been busily stealing from them all the year. But, having for so long devoted all his energies to getting, he is unskilled and awkward at giving. Not only that; he would be made uncomfortable if himself brought face to face with the misery he has been making. Even if he took himself and his charity quite seriously, he would still be made uncomfortable; and if, as would probably happen, a dim perception of the humbug and blasphemy of it all forced itself upon his hardened conscience, he would be unable to face his victim without a blush. So that, all things considered, he would very decidedly prefer not to come into close relations with the recipient of his "bounty."

The workman or his wife, on their side, are ridden with a fearful dread of the master and of the landlord; there is so strongly associated with them the fear of dismissal in the one case, of eviction or a rise of rent in the other, that a personal interview is, to put it mildly, rather too suggestive of unpleasantness. It would bring to mind so many scenes of the past; that the pleasantness which would attend the friendly meeting of free men, and the pleasure of accepting a gift from one whom one liked and respected, would be very far removed indeed from the actual realities. So far, indeed, that those realities would more resemble to the workman, either a contemptuous flinging of degrading alms or a shamefaced half-measure of would-be atonement for the wrongs he had suffered.

Here, then, is a field for the philanthropist; here is a gap into which he can fling himself; a function he can justify his existence by fulfilling. On the one hand he can relieve the benevolent landlord or employer of all trouble or responsibility beyond writing out a cheque; and on the other, he can save the workman at his charity-dinner or under his charity-blanket (special quality: see Messrs. Vampire and Co.'s Christmas price-list) from having his appetite spoiled, or his angry passions roused, by the strong contrast between his well-fed benefactor and his unfortunate self. So, into a charitable conduit, with a leak in it here and there, the self-sacrificing philanthropist turns himself, and waxes fat on the consciousness of well-doing. A cheque placed in his right hand becomes coal or soup or blankets in his left. He is a close follower of scriptural commands, and his right hand very rarely knows what his left hand doeth: in other words, so absorbed is he in heavenly work that so base and material a thing as a balance-sheet does not occur to him.

Nor does he ever lose sight of the heavenly side of his mission; the bodily comforts (?) he sparingly administers are made the baits where-with he fishes for the souls of men. The bread is seasoned and the blankets embroidered with scriptural admonitions to contentment and obedience, with explanations of the worthlessness of perishable bodies as compared with immortal "souls." All of which leads up to the moral, that this is the best of all possible worlds; that his hearers ought to be happy, and would be if they only looked at things in the

proper light; and that the misery and discomfort of their bodies is most healthful for their "spiritual parts," which will one day receive a thousand-fold reward; and all the rest of the pestilent rubbish that is added out to keep the slaves subservient.

The giving of gifts among equals and friends is a pleasant thing, and good for both giver and receiver; but the doling out of charity is degrading in every way, even when given and received in all honesty and goodwill. When the charity is vicarious, without personal contact and good fellowship; when it is made the vehicle of condescension and class-feeling, a pretence for the preaching of humility, a means of buttressing robbery and preserving the supremacy of property,—it becomes so horrible a blasphemy, so terrible an outrage upon humanity, as to rank, in Socialist eyes at least, along with the most blistering wrongs under which men suffer nowadays. S.

## DISCORD, MONOTONY, AND HARMONY.

It occurred to me that, at the present time,—when a growing feeling is finding utterance amongst all the peoples of the world that the institutions of our age are not the most conducive to the happiness of the largest number, despite the sanctity which centuries of usage has given many of them—a glance at social life as it is and as it might be, life which the environment of society with its usages, man-made laws and traditions necessitates, and life admitting of no bonds but natural laws and the free will of the individual as a factor of society, would induce people, *i.e.*, those who have not already done so, to think more seriously and earnestly upon the social degradation of this so-called age of enlightenment. And I am confident that when once people begin thinking about these things, that their thoughts will soon be moulded into deeds. They will then enrol themselves in the ranks of the discontented, the rebels against ignorance, superstition, and injustice.

The unsocial discord of society grates more painfully on the ears of the Socialist than the most inharmonic sounds do on the ear of the musician. It is this discord that the Socialist is striving to displace. This cannot be done by putting one's fingers to their ears to shut out the unwelcome strains. Perhaps many who do so now in the endeavour to shut out the piercing cries of the victims murdered for greed on the battle field, in the mine, the factory, or the slum, will find that they have turned a deaf ear too long when the sounds of discord roar like the thunder in the heavens, and the victimised class becomes a weapon of destruction more terrible than the lightning. The homœopaths say that like cures like; if so, our unsocial discord is awaiting its destruction by the consummation of its own elements.

So far I have only been generalising. Now, let us go into a closer analysis of our unsocial system, or system of discord. First, we have our unsocial system divided into a possessing class and a non-possessing class, familiarly called the haves and have-nots. These two have nothing in common, consequently there is perpetual discord between them; to wit, the incessant strikes and lock-outs, distraints and ejections. The goddess of Liberty prostitutes herself, and at her shrine bow both these classes. Amongst the possessors each man's hand is against the other, for have they not the liberty to compete! Free competition sets everyone against the other to try by chicanery, artifice, or fraud to appropriate to himself as much as he can from Nature's gifts to all. The have-nots, likewise free to compete, fight each other to under-sell their labour to the haves. Thus our unsocial system revels in perpetual discord.

Again, Nature has divided mankind into two, two not varying in nature, but in functions. Unsocal society says the sanctity of the house and family can only be maintained by yoking people in pairs during their mortal tenure, subject to the economic conditions of the system. This means that the possessing classes are all in a position to be yoked. Of the have-nots, those only who get more than enough from the haves to keep themselves can be yoked, so the haves can even prevent the have-nots from discharging their natural functions as human beings. Again, inasmuch as the people are not yoked in accordance to natural law, *i.e.*, by natural selection, many couples of both classes find they have made a mistake in getting yoked; but as the traditions of the elders have taught them it is very naughty to get unyoked, they find themselves compelled to endure a cat-and-dog existence till death does them part, which not unfrequently happens by the man or the woman severing the gordian knot by knocking out the brains of his or her lawfully wedded partner. Sometimes, too, one or other of the partners rebels against the time honoured institutions of society, and tries a change of life with one of more congenial tastes. And thus the sanctity of the house and family is maintained, and sounds of discord wail forth from many a domestic hearth. It would be useless here to dilate upon the want of harmony with natural law in the lives of old-maids, bachelors, and prostitutes. That must be patent to all. Such then is the discord in the relation between the sexes in our present unsocial system.

When one comes, however, to the region of speculative thought, which the traditions of nearly 2,000 years have handed down in varied fantastic forms as truth, the outsider finds chaos supreme. But it is this discord, this warring of hypocrites and impostors and deluded fanatics, that leaves a ray of hope for the truth, that out of the infinity of discord harmony may yet evolve.

I think I have demonstrated that at whatever phase of modern society we take a glance, we find nothing but discord. Surely to

any reasoning being such a system must stand condemned on its own demerits, for merits it has none.

We often find people expressing their abhorrence of a society based upon the principles of natural equality, and they say that the frightful monotony of such an existence would be simply intolerable. Such arguments are on a par with that of the philanthropic old lady who denounced Socialists as wicked, because they were endeavouring to prevent her, and other good, kind, charitable people like her, from enjoying one of the greatest pleasures of life—that is, from helping the poor and destitute: or the policeman, who asked to be removed from his division because his duties were so monotonous. The monotony he complained of was that in all the beats he had taken, by day or by night, he never had the chance of clumping anyone on the head. If we want to find monotony in life, we must look for it in our present system. Take the lives of those victims of society, who, after spending their youth and manhood or womanhood in almost perpetual toil, find the reward of a useful life meted out to them in a workhouse under the degrading name of pauper. If you want monotonous lives, take those of the slaves of the needle, the match girls, the tram men, the railway men, and thousands of other workers whose monotony of hard toil is only varied by an occasional change to starvation. No! monotonous lives cannot be where there is social equality. When the worry, confusion, and discord of modern society ceases, harmony arising from equality of condition, brotherly feeling and peace must prevail.

Some may say, we care not for a sameness, for a monotony. My answer to them is, no more do I; but do not confuse the absence of discord with monotony. An infinite number of varied and pleasing changes can be rung out in harmony; and if an individual be so socially degraded that an infinity of change because harmonious is to him monotonous, then I say he is unfit for the future society in which we aspire to a melody of life unbroken by discord. A. BROOKES.

## SOCIALISM AMONG THE INDIANS.

THE Rev. Mr. Batty, for fifteen years a Quaker missionary among the Indians, and recently labouring among the Sacs and Foxes of Iowa, says, according to the *Boston Dawn*, what is well known, that they do not take kindly to our civilisation, and gives as a reason the following significant account:—

They are on a small reservation, closely environed by a thrifty farming population, but "make no progress" and show no desire to copy the white man's ways. They are all honest; there is not a thief among them. Occasionally one steals under the influence of liquor, but as soon as he becomes sober he returns the goods and begs forgiveness, a touch of paganism which wouldn't be a bad thing for a considerable element of our white population, so that their aversion to the white man's ways may not be altogether due to native depravity. It is chiefly due, according to Mr. Batty, to aversion to the very things in our civilisation on which we are most apt to pride ourselves—our individualism; our utter disregard in business transactions of the interests of our neighbours. The Indian cannot understand this. To him it is monstrous, abhorrent. With him the tribal bond makes individualism of the selfish sort impossible. Every member of the tribe is his brother. All things are held in common, so that none can be in want while others have plenty. If one is successful in the chase, that success, by custom, gives him the right to take the first or choice cut from the game. But this taken, the remainder is the property of the others—not theirs to take simply by his *leave* or courtesy, but theirs by *right* unquestioned.

The same law holds in the cultivation of the land. No one has any exclusive right to the product of the soil. The fact that he has tilled the land does not make the crop his in any exclusive sense. So long as any have plenty, none can be left in want.

And this rule of action, Mr. Batty says, has its root in their religion. To the Indian, the earth is literally his mother and the sun his father. This is not poetry with them, as it is with us, for in their thought the sun and earth are living beings. The rays of the sun fructify the earth and make her fruitful. To her products all her children have equal rights, and to her bosom all must have equal access. It is for this reason that land in severalty is so generally opposed. It is cutting up and parcelling out their mother, and shutting out some of her children from access to her breast. The thought is repugnant to the fundamentals of their religion.

Mr. Batty tells a very interesting story of personal experience, which sets forth their property ideas in very clear light. A sick Indian had a pony he desired to sell. Mr. B., at his request, consented to take it to the agency and dispose of it for him, and purchase certain goods. After the sale, and while still at the agency, another Indian of the same tribe came to him and asked him what he got for the pony. Mr. Batty told him. Very soon he inquired what he paid for the goods, and then, after a short pause, how much he had left. All his questions being answered satisfactorily, and finding that Mr. Batty had a balance of twelve dollars, he said, "I need some things for my family, I have no money. I would like what you have left." Mr. Batty objected that the money was not his to give; that it belonged to the man whose pony he sold. "I must return it to him," said Mr. Batty. "You no understand Indians' ways," was the response; "you give me money; it all right. All the same as if you take it to the other Indian. But Mr. Batty was not to be persuaded, and the Indian had to go away without the money. Very soon, however, he returned, with instructions from the agent authorising Mr. Batty to give him the money. He did so, though not without misgiving as to the propriety of his course. On returning home, he reported to the Indian whose pony he had sold, what had occurred, with no little anxiety as to the result. But, to his utter astonishment, when he had finished his story, the Indian replied, "That all right. He my brother."

How THEY DO IT.—Municipal Dignitary (to police official): Order the force to have everything in readiness for a descent on the gambling houses to-night. Police Official (to subordinate officer): Tell the men to get ready for a raid on the gambling places to-night. Subordinate Officer (to squad of police): Boys, be around here about 11 o'clock; we are ordered to make a haul of the gambling houses. Policeman (to gambler): Jerry, we're goin' to raid ye about midnight: tell the boys.—*Chicago Tribune*.



## LABOUR'S LATEST WEAPON.

THE "Union Label," says the *Boston Globe*, is Labour's latest and most effective weapon. The changed system of production, owing to the introduction of steam as a motive power and the consequent growth of the so-called "factory system," has led to many such new ideas. With the concentration of large bodies of men working on machinery and the concentration of capital, have naturally arisen the great organisations of labourers and of capitalists. These great organisations stand facing each other, each desirous of securing as much as possible out of the joint product of labour and capital. With the control of machinery, and consequently of the means of employment, it has been possible for the capitalist to say to a great degree how much it should take. The labourers had only one weapon by which to enforce a demand for a larger share of the product. This weapon was the strike. It proved to be costly to the labourer as well as to the capitalist, and was not always effective.

Within the past five years another weapon has been discovered, which has proved very effective. It came into existence as the result of the discovery that not only were the labourers producers, but they were also the great bulk of the consumers. This weapon is the so-called "union label." The idea of using a label to distinguish the product of certain kinds of labour dates back about 15 years. The germ of it was contained in a label first issued by the White League of San Francisco, and which was put upon goods made by white labour to distinguish them from those made by the Chinese. It was used on cigars principally, but it was also placed on boots and shoes and other articles. It was very effective for a time.

The idea was adopted and enlarged upon by the Cigarmakers' International Union at its convention in Chicago in September, 1880. They then originated the famous "blue label" of the cigarmakers, which was placed on every box of cigars and was broken like the revenue stamp when the box was opened. This label, which is in use to-day, certifies that the cigars contained in the box are made by a first-class workman, a member of the union which is opposed to inferior rat shop, coolie prison, or filthy tenement workmanship. It was thus used directly to prevent the sale of cigars made by coolie, prison, or tenement-house labour, by distinguishing goods that were not so made. It indirectly assisted to a marked degree to increase the wages and reduce the hours of labour of its members, because no unfair employer could retain the use of the label. Its success was marked, as stated above.

When the Knights of Labour had grown into large proportions, it also was obliged by the force of events to issue a label. The boycott had been used to such a degree as to impair its efficiency. Besides, the boycott was only negative. It simply said to the members of the organisation, "Don't patronise such a firm." There the matter ended. This was construed in some States to be a criminal conspiracy to injure a man's business, and several persons went to prison on that account, while a large number of indictments were kept hanging over the heads of different agents of labour organisations, terrorising them into inactivity.

The advantages of the "union label" were quickly brought into prominence. Directly, it harmed no particular man's business. It had the effect of inducing the members of the various labour organisations to call for goods bearing the union or Knights of Labour label. If a man had trouble with the labour organisations, and consequently was not entitled to the use of the label, that was his own look-out. He was the only one that was injuring his business. In the *Journal of United Labour* there are engravings given of not less than ten different kinds of labels, which are placed on trunks, shirts, barrels, tin cans, hats, gloves, cigars, files, and collars and cuffs. The shoemakers have also a label, which is soon to be brought into greater prominence than it has had in the past.

When the operative tailors of Boston were suffering from the effects of their accustomed work being taken from them, and sent to New York to be made in filthy tenement houses, and under conditions deleterious to the health of the customer who might wear the clothing so made, they at first knew not what step to take. Out of 7,000 persons employed in Boston, it was alleged that fully 3,000 were idle from this cause. There was then practically no organisation. It was considered by some in the trade, that the first thing to be done was to form an organisation, so that an organised effort might be made against this tenement-house work. Several unions of the different branches were formed by the assistance of members of the Central Labour Union. They existed, with more or less vigour, for some time, and at one time seemed about to follow the fate of their predecessors by collapsing. At this juncture it was suggested by several of the prominent labour men of the city that the unions should adopt a union label to distinguish clothing made by them in Boston from that made in the sweaters' tenement houses. This idea was accepted, and after much deliberation a label was adopted. A strong and determined effort was made to impress on the public the necessity for calling for clothing bearing this label, if they desired to escape buying garments made by the sweaters. The attention of the firms making clothing was also called to the label. One well-known firm, noted for its enterprise and originality in advertising methods, took up the label, and adopted it for use on their garments. Another did the same. The effect was magical. The unions began to pick up in membership immediately, and new unions were formed.

There are to-day six unions of the various branches of the clothing trade, exclusive of the Clothing Cutters' Union. These are the Tailors and Trimmers' Union, Machine Operators' unions, Pressmen's Union, Female Coat-makers' Union, Female Pantaloon-makers' Union, and Male Pantaloon-makers' unions, with a possibility of two other unions being formed in the near future. Contractor after contractor who did work for the different large clothing firms was obliged to allow his employés to join the union of their branch in order to be allowed the use of the label. A label committee was appointed, whose duty was to increase the demand for the label. One man was selected to go around to the different organisations of workmen every night, and urge upon them to call for clothing bearing the union label. It has had considerable effect already. The different unions of tramway employés were visited. They were many of them about to purchase overcoats for the winter. Their attention being called to the label and the facts about the tenement houses, a large number of them promised to ask for the union label. This agitation is not being confined to Boston. As fast as possible it is intended to reach out into all the cities and towns of Massachusetts and then into other parts of New England.

Wherever a labour organisation exists, there the story of the tenement houses will be repeated and a demand created for the union label clothing. When the American Federation of Labour meets, a demand will be made that the convention indorse this label, and it will then become a national affair, and the same demand will be created all over the United States.

## THE ANTHROPOPHAGITE.

HAST thou a heart cased in steel?  
Hast nought of human save the brow?  
Art turned to marble and canst not feel?  
Then to my Hell follow me now.

The antique anthropophagite  
Am I, masked as society;  
Look on my hands, a bloody sight!  
Look on my lustful, cruel eye!  
There's many a corner in my lair  
With mangled carcasses bestrewn;  
Thither with me do thou repair;  
I ate thy father! I'll eat thy son!

First look upon this battlefield here,  
They mowed it down three whole days long;  
Grapeshot and guns the mowers were,  
The gleaners are this vulture-throng.  
The corn upon this glorious plain  
A yellow carpet hath outspread.  
Ye poor, that bind the sheaves amain,  
Pick out the ears from 'mid the dead.

Look yonder where a brothel stands,  
A lazar-house of infamy;  
Here, severing all familiar bands,  
Lust triumphs over misery.  
See, how this slave of foul desire  
Allures man with her wanton eye,  
Wallowing body and soul in the mire,  
And spat on by each passer-by!

Prisons to look on art thou fain?  
Lo, the men that knives and poisons use!  
That count each crime for a campaign,  
And with the very hangman ruse.  
To the galleys I condemn young thieves,  
Or ever they have learnt to spell,  
But ere the criminal that school leaves  
He's deep, and read in murder well!

Follow me to the factory,  
A more appalling prison still!  
Here human beings caught up, see,  
And ground down by the rolling mill.  
Soul, body, heart, brain consumed, and then  
The residue a damned thing means;  
Here the machines behave like men,  
And men are turned into machines.

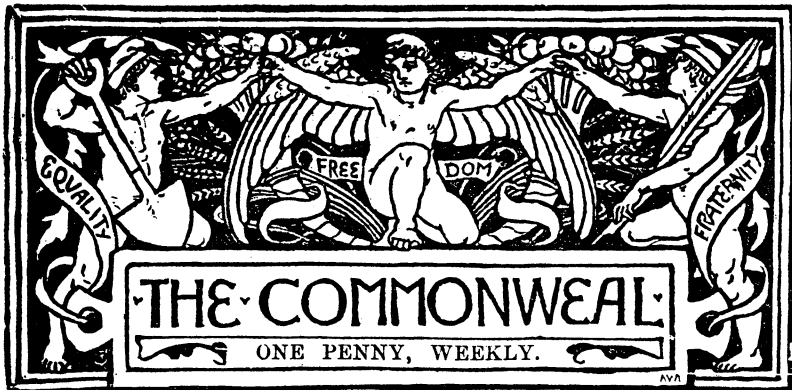
Oh, I can show thee other hells,  
Shall I break open a human brain?  
The life-corroding *ennui* dwells  
Where phantasy and thought should reign.  
Shall I lay open a human heart  
Writhing in anguish infinite?  
Galled love of hate hath played the part,  
And molten lead hath poured on it.

The antique anthropophagite  
Am I, masked as Society;  
The masks wherewith I am bedight  
Are Family and Property.  
Proud man, once pent in my domain,  
His conquering destiny hath forgone;  
I hold and loose him not again;  
Thy father I ate and I'll eat thy son!

Translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.

EUGENE POTTIER.

A POET-CHAMPION OF WORKING WOMEN. — A correspondent in Copenhagen writes to the *Neue Wiener Tageblatt*, giving an account of the strike of the workwomen at the large match factory at Christiania. The occupation of these women is extremely unhealthy and badly paid. In order to gain a bare subsistence they must pack no fewer than 16,000 match-boxes in a week, and the women live amid poisonous sulphur and phosphorus fumes for twelve hours every day. The consequence is that most of them fall into a decline, and as their strength goes their earnings diminish. The conditions under which they work render the only means of safety—nourishing food, healthy dwellings, and medical aid—unattainable. More than a thousand workwomen went on strike, and the movement, as soon as it became important, received the powerful aid of the celebrated poet Björnson, who enthusiastically took up the women's cause, declaring that never had strike so much justice on its side, for the helpless women were obliged to act against manufacturers who were without conscience, and who took no pains to arrange sanitary measures against the consumption which played such havoc among the women and girls. Björnson wrote a letter to the Norwegian Bishop Essendrop, calling upon him to fulfil his Christian duties by publicly championing the women's cause, but the Bishop declined, saying that his official position prevented him from siding with any party. Björnson then appeared at a great strike meeting, and made an enthusiastic speech, which was received with great applause. The meeting was opened by Dr. Nissen, who led in three young girls who had once been extremely healthy, but were now living examples of the evil effects of work done without sanitary precautions. Their appearance excited the greatest pity, and moved the spectators even to tears, for the three girls had lost almost all their teeth, and even portions of the jaw, their ashy grey faces being frightfully disfigured. Björnson, in his speech, said "that this time the voice of right should be heard, and that the struggle of these women and girls should not be fruitless. He was no agitator, but he would call a hundred strikes into being in the country until the workpeople had got their human rights, and were no longer forced to eat poison with every bit of bread."



OFFICES : 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW : FIRST, FEW MEN HED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

PARIS.—Comrade Auguste Coulon (late of Dublin), 49 Rue de Billancourt, Auteuil, Paris, will be pleased to see or hear from any comrade who may be visiting Paris.

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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 25.

ENGLAND	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	PORTUGAL
Illustrated Weekly	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Labour Elector	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	GERMANY
London—Freie Presse	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Norwich—Daylight		Hamburg—Zeitgeist
Sozial Demokrat	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Seafaring	Paris—La Revolté	Wien—Arbeiter-Zeitung
	Le Proletariat	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
UNITED STATES	La Revue Socialiste	DENMARK
New York—Freiheit	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Middelburg—Licht en Waarheid	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Jewish Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmo—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Investigator	Antwerp—De Werker	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Labour Advocate	SPAIN	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista	
Chicago—Knights of Labor		

### SOMETHING IN A NAME.

I BELIEVE that the working people of England are far in advance of the same class in the United States in comprehension of economic questions and of the social and industrial situation. They are braver, more daring; but this naturally ensues from their better understanding of their own rights and powers. They march, carry red banners, sing revolutionary songs, and "state grievances" in no mild terms. They hold many meetings, and keep numerous speakers in the field. This, at least, we gather from our reading of the *Commonweal* and an occasional London daily.

Why should it be so? Here where the boast is that every man is a sovereign and all are free and equal before the law? Have we not the

"freest and most prosperous people in the world"? You hear it often enough and as soon as you strike the coast line of America. But alas for our boasts! In Chicago on the 11th of November every suitable hall was closed against memorial meetings; the exercises in memory of our brave martyrs were held outside the city, and even then the Waldheim Cemetery authorities did all in their power to prevent the meeting by denying a place for speakers or even room for a carriage or wagon from which they could address the throng. In Philadelphia, thousands of people were prevented from gathering in a mass meeting to hear Hugh Pentecost on "The Crime of the 11th of November" by the authorities closing the hall already rented and paid for. In many other cities no attempts at demonstration were made because it was known to be useless. And yet, scarcely a word is said about such legal invasion of personal liberty. It is treated as a matter of course. No one dares be so "lawless and disorderly" as to rebel against such despotism—no one thinks of such a thing as defying a policeman's command. The chief of police in the United States has more power than England's queen. His monarchy is unlimited; he is not bound by constitutions, or the will of the people. He is as complete an autocrat as the Czar of Russia—in reality, not in name. He is called here "a servant of the people." And herein lies the principal difference between the two countries. Everything is misnamed over here, and the people are so misled by fine-sounding titles that they do not know tyranny, robbery, and oppression when they see and feel them. From the president down to a petty constable everything is under a misnomer, and when the people feel inclined to rebel against conditions, they look around and see nothing definite to fight. They only see, apparently, "freedom and equality for all," a "government by and for the people," universal suffrage, equal opportunities, no aristocracy, no classes, no monarch. There is no visible despotism to struggle against, though they know that the hardest workers are poor, the most willing often rewarded with starving idleness, and that humanity suffers as much through poverty, famine, and sickness as elsewhere.

In England the common people easily learn that they are saddled with a large family of paupers for whom parliament must make fresh provision every year, called queen, princes, princesses, dukes, etc. The whole system by which they are robbed has become so methodical, so old, so customary, that each person is born into a certain groove, with no illusory hope of getting out of it by his own exertions; he is not told he is a sovereign, not taunted with the assertion that he has equal opportunity with the richest to gain wealth and power. He is given plainly to understand that there are classes, and it is the right of one class to live in idleness and rack-rent him. He has something tangible to protest against, and the dullest rebel, or feel ready to do so, at the first opportunity. In America our billionaires, railroad kings, coal-barons, landlords, and bankers, who hold the fate of the common people in the hollow of their hands, comprise an aristocracy as powerful as that in any monarchy; but our legislature votes them *privileges* instead of direct incomes, and our good labouring masses do not recognise them as what they are.

We are supposed to have no classes; yet the working girl or working man stands less chance of meeting his or her employer on an equal social plane than in England or Germany. Several years ago, the junior partner of a large clothing firm was married and had a grand wedding. His employes clubbed together and bought a handsome solid silver service. The forewoman collected the money, bought the silver, and had it sent direct to the house. Some of the girls who had contributed generously, said regretfully, "I wish we could have *seen* it at least. I wonder if we could not get a glimpse of it if we peeped in at the windows after dark." From the little their employer allowed them after his profits were made, the girls deducted more than they could spare to buy a present they could never hope to see—and not a foot among them dare tread where it had gone. Is there a tighter drawn line anywhere?

The boasted right of universal suffrage is but the privilege of handling a bit of paper as the boss directs, and has no bearing whatever on the voter's real wants, needs, or desires. He simply knows he may lose a chance to toil if he does not "use" it.

Our officers are all "servants of the people," supposed to have no will of their own, but desirous of doing whatever is best for the welfare of society. But woe be to the poor man or the woman driven to despair by poverty, if they come in contact with one of these "servants"! Servants they are, but the badly-bribed servants of a few greedy capitalists, engaged to do the dirty work of government, rather than the *people's* servants. If they were known as the king's own or a czar's instruments of terror, we would know better how to deal with them.

"Law and order" is but another name for the tyranny that pins a man to earth and makes him lie there quietly while another robber takes all he has. It is more respectable to have the fleecing done in an orderly and peaceful manner; and if we name the process something awe-inspiring—so much the better, for the people know no better.

We have the letter but not the spirit. It is obligatory on citizens to reverence certain names, such as equality, liberty, the franchise, citizenship, law and order, etc. They do not recognise the most palpable wrong if bearing these titles. It would be a step in advance if the United States should resolve itself into a dictatorship, as some men still dream of having done, so that the people would see something tangible to attack.

We must teach the people to *know* oppression when they see it, no matter in what guise it comes. Slavery is slavery, though the chains be ever so gilded. Liberty, true liberty, will be so bright, will bring such comfort, such happiness, such plenty in her train, that we cannot by any possibility mistake her.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

## NOTES.

EVERY now and then there is much talk of the mighty power of the press, and particular stress is laid on the decided progress which is evidenced by the improvements, both literary and technical, shown when comparing the papers of to-day with those of years past. As a rule, this may be taken for just what it is worth, which is not much; but when such a positive comparison is made, and such a challenge thrown out as that made by the preliminary number of the *Daily Graphic*, it is time to kick.

The address to the public states, that the *Graphic* has undergone constant development and enlargement; that in 1869 the annual cost was £54,000 (24 pp.), while now the annual cost is £74,000 (36 pp.). "Prodigious!" This cordial appreciation and sympathy of an "indulgent public" is now taken as warrant to embark in an entirely new enterprise, a daily newspaper, illustrated. Well, if the preliminary number is to be taken as only a fair sample, by thunder the public will indeed be indulgent!

What a sign of "progress" this preliminary number really is, may be judged by the following paragraph of the address: "The day has not yet arrived when our special artist at the seat of war can make a sketch that will be reproduced fac-simile by telegraph in our London offices in the twinkling of an eye, but we may be within measurable distance of such a feat of electricity." This precious paragraph of hope is illustrated with a man sitting on the side of a cart, which carries a reel of telegraph cable attached to the end of the artist's pencil, the battle going on in the distance.

In order that there shall be no possibility of missing the old moral that "a war, bloody war," is the almost constant desire of newspaper proprietors, four whole pages are taken up with a re-dishing of the report of the Battle of Waterloo, illustrated of course. Progress, high civilisation, culture, all are emphasized in this latest emanation.

Of the sixteen pages, four are devoted to advertisements, four to jingoism, four to an illustrated rehash of the *Times* of a century ago, and the rest to gas and twaddle, with a special par for Mrs. Grundy and Mr. Horsley, A.R.A., as for example this: "It shall contain nothing from pen or pencil which a parent would wish to conceal from his family;" the concluding line of the battle report is: "The whole surface of the battle-field is one great shambles"; so, evidently, to familiarise war is quite a family duty. "This we believe can be effected without the paper being considered prudish or namby-pamby."

The address concludes: "Believe me to be, Ladies and Gentlemen, your most obedient servant," and is signed by one who, according to the illustration at the side, has the grace to hide his face, he is boozing so very low. Of course, in any report of the Battle of Waterloo, there must be considerable about the almost supernatural powers of the "Great Duke"; and it really is droll, just after looking such a report over, to read the correspondence between the Iron Duke and Miss J., just published by Fisher Unwin.

What a splendid text for a democratic satirist of the time, with his pencil dipped in a vivid recollection of the despotic modes used by Wellington, when dealing with any agitation, would have been the interview of November 12th, 1834. Never having seen one another previously, this is the sort of thing which takes place:—Miss J. opens by reading the first chapter of St. John down to "Ye must be born again;" whereupon the Duke seizes her hand, exclaiming, "Oh, how I love you! how I love you!" Miss J. (in the tone of a Church Catechist): "Who causes you to feel thus towards me?" Duke: "God Almighty!"

Almighty gosh! what rot; what a thing to make a despot and ruler of. Even with the fact that he was 65 years old, it must considerably discount the immense claims made by some that the Duke was one of the very few always level-headed men equal to every emergency.

T. S.

The United States to-day is the most monopoly-cursed nation on the face of the earth. They have made more millionaires in 20 years than Europe and England have made in 500 years. Everything in this country is controlled by a syndicate, pool, combination, trust, patent or corner. If a boy, now grown to manhood, wishes to go into business he must buy a seat on the board of trade; if he wishes to go into manufacturing, he must buy himself into a combination which represents and has monopolised that business. —*New Orleans Times Democrat*.

Old-fashioned, non-progressive people the English are. They still call them "corners" over there, an uncouth, harsh-sounding name, suggestive of nefarious business methods. Why can't they progress a little? Why can't they call their aggregations of business rascality "trusts?" That sounds less harsh and it don't prevent the good work of plunder going on as effectually as ever. To be sure, the member of an English "corner," like the member of an American "trust," abates no jot of his respectability, can hold his head just as high as ever in society and in church, and is entitled to count on the law as an accomplice. And all the time his stealing is more certain to succeed and to be a thousand times more profitable than ever were the operations of footpad, burglar, or pirate. —*Journal of United Labour*.

## OUR LADY OF LABOUR.

In the faint twilight of half-dawn she stands,  
Scarce knowing light from darkness, life from death;  
In the far east the red sun quickeneth  
To reawakened life the silent lands.  
Her eyes are weary and the clinging bands  
Of pain and sorrow gird her, and the breath  
Scarce lives upon her lips: "Behold," one saith,  
"She bears the curse of ages in her hands."

Nay, for the light grows stronger; nay, the day  
Is yearning towards her, and the morning wind  
Sings as a singer, whose eyes once were blind  
And now have sight and knowledge. Who shall say  
Here stands not one whose woes have passed away,  
The nursing mother of a new mankind?

CHARLES KENNETT BURROW.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

Those who believe that all is for the best under "the best possible of republics," will do well to look at the following facts. A few days ago the police made a raid on about 500 wretched homeless people about the Halles centrales; two days afterwards a new raid on over 200! As no accommodation could be procured for such a large number in one night, they left them the whole night to tramp about in the yards of the different police-stations, to be removed early in the morning to the various depots or prisons of this beautiful city. There they will get board and lodging at the expense of the ratepayers for a term varying from eight days to three months "for being too poor." One of them had been picked up thirty-nine times already! Surely that fellow must have a queer opinion of our democratic republic! Had he been a robber or a murderer he might have a chance of a better life; he might be rich and free. Poor and "honest" as he is, he spends his whole life in gaol! O great Paris Exhibition! what boon have you brought to the toiler?

A. C., Paris.

## GERMANY.

The anti-Socialist laws of Germany, so it was said lately in the Reichstag, are now more moderately resorted to than in the first years of their existence. However, the truth is as follows: In the year 1832, 69 persons were sentenced by direct application of the muzzle-laws; in 1833, 83 persons; in 1834, 113 persons; in 1835, 98 persons; in 1836, 92 persons; in 1837, 116 persons; in 1838, 258 persons. For having been members of illegal associations, the convictions have been as follows: In 1832, 22 persons; in 1833, 12 persons; in 1834, 5 persons; in 1835, 6 persons; in 1836, 47 persons; in 1837, 82 persons; in 1838, 108 persons. These are only two especial categories of offences committed by Socialists, but they do not by a long way exhaust the series of offences which Socialists have committed, as these series are really innumerable. Besides the convictions of persons, 1,400 prints have been suppressed, 120 daily or periodical papers or magazines, 200 pamphlets or books. Twelve Socialist publishing houses have been forcibly closed, thus bringing about the total ruin of a considerable number of workers interested in these ventures. Over 600 expulsions have been made. An extraordinary number of meetings have been forbidden or forcibly dispersed, and hundreds of well-constituted associations or trade-unions have been suppressed. More than ten thousand men have had their homes searched by the police.

The imperial crank who is supposed to rule Germany has made his political programme publicly known at the late banquet of Frankfurt. Drinking to the health and prosperity of the town (the fellow is always toasting) he said: "There are no longer parties. I only know those who are for me, and those who are against me. All the rest is old rubbish (*alter Troedel*)." I am afraid that this old rubbish is erelong going to trouble considerably the happiness of that impudent young would-be Charlemagne or Napoleon. If his "left ear" does not kill him, it is pretty certain that the "old rubbish" will do away with him.

V. D.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

The red flag itself is an emblem of trade-unions, and was carried by the mechanics' union (the "Eranoi" of the Greek) 1,000 years before Christ, when working men were followers of Zoroaster, fire worshippers, "Children of the Sun," the colour of which was emblemized in their scarlet banner.

QUESTION AND ANSWER.—*Question*: Is it wise to put into the *Dawn*, under the heading of "The Tocsin," contrasted statements of the conditions of the poor and the rich? Is it not calculated to be inflammatory? *Answer*: We answer by asking some other questions. Are the statements not true statements? Yes. Do they not fairly illustrate the relative conditions of rich and poor in this land? Yes. They picture truth, then? Yes. Should not the truth, then, be known? Indeed, we hope that these contrasts are inflammatory; we would not inflame the poor against the rich, or the rich against the poor, but we would inflame all men, rich and poor, against the horror, the unchristianity of the present state of things.—From the *Boston Dawn*.

A SOCIAL EVENING to members of the Socialist League will be given by the Propaganda Committee, at the Hall of the Socialist League, 24 Great Queen St., on New Year's Eve, at 8 p.m. Secretary of Propaganda Committee will read report of work done during last half year, to be followed by discussion and Concert; Recitations by comrade Darwood. Meeting and Concert free to all members.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Gas-stokers' Strike.

The strike continues, though there are few events of interest to mark its course. Mr. Livesey has issued an address to his blacklegs, in which he declares that not one of them will be discharged to make room for the old stokers who have gone on strike, and that they may consider themselves engaged for three months. They are also promised a gratuity of £2 for the first week of the strike, and £1 for each succeeding week, in addition to their wages. But despite these fine promises the condition of the blacklegs is not to be envied. The Ambulance Corps stationed at the Old Kent Road, has treated 130 cases of unfortunate blacklegs who have burned or otherwise injured themselves while at work. They are literally wallowing in filth inside the iron sheds of the works; their condition being so bad at Vauxhall that the medical officer of the Lambeth Vestry had his attention called to it, but took no action, because of a promise from Mr. Livesey to mend matters. It is probable, however, that blacklegs, like other vermin, flourish best in dirty and overcrowded dens, so Mr. Livesey may probably know better than the medical officer what is good for them. The directors and a deputation from the strikers have had another interview, but it has led to no result. The men, in a manifesto they have issued, state that they will return to work if the clauses of the bonus agreement that bind them to work for a year and to serve the company in any capacity, are withdrawn, and on their side they are willing in future to bind themselves to give a month instead of a week's notice before striking. No one can deny that the men are most moderate in their demands, in fact, too moderate, experience having shown that Mr. Livesey can get all the blacklegs he wants in a week, and there is no reason for strengthening his hands by giving him a month for the same purpose. Still there is some excuse for the men, when sham friends of the working-classes, who even call themselves Socialists, have recommended the men to bind themselves for a year. Universal sympathy is felt for the strikers among all sections of the workers, whatever may be the opinions of well-fed middle-class people who read the *Daily News*. Even the old aristocratic trade unionists are full of sympathy for these brave men, who are so gallantly fighting the battle of labour. A good expression of this feeling is found in the leading article of the *Railway Review*, a paper with which we have had on some occasions to differ, but which now speaks upon the right side. It says: "It requires but little experience of the tactics of capitalists to discover the cloven foot of the enemy of combination in the agreement proposal of the directors of the South Metropolitan Gas Company. Imagine for a moment what would be the result of an individual agreement being signed by every man in all our large centres of industry throughout the country. The dates of termination would be different, and the workers would lose that cohesion which is so essential to the men whose only strength lay in the force of organised numbers. Where, we ask, would the strength of a trades' union be under such conditions? . . . It is just because we take this view of the situation that we think the battle now being fought by the gas stokers is one which should be shared by all organised workmen. If the directors succeed, there is no reason why other companies should not also use the same effective weapon to destroy our unions. That such is the desire is no mere stretch of imagination, but is palpable to the dullest of observers. . . . The fate of the gas workers to-day may be that of any other trades union to-morrow. If the army of labour is attacked at one point the safety of the whole is endangered." The article concludes by declaring that "the hewers of wood and drawers of water have caught a glimpse—a far away vision it may be—of the promised land of their hopes, and nothing will induce them to sacrifice that which has brought them thus far on the road, and to return once again to the desert of despair." We think this article, and especially the last sentence, shows that the preaching of Socialism during the last few years has had some effect. We are glad to see in the same paper that a good collection was made for the strikers by the railway men at their big meeting in Hyde Park. This is an example which other trade unionists might well copy. "Sympathy" is not worth much unless it is put into a practical form.

### Great Lock-out at Bristol.

10,000 men in the boot and shoe trade have been locked-out at Bristol. After the one day's strike a few weeks ago, a uniform wages statement was adopted, but a classification committee proved abortive, and the whole dispute has occurred on the classification of wages, as the workers found under the existing classification they received lower pay for certain goods that were largely in demand. All attempts to bring about a settlement having failed, the manufacturers determined to give out no more work, and to suspend clickers, machinists, and rough stuff cutters, and the rounders and finishers. The workmen have offered the following alternative as a basis of settlement: The men will accept either the London statement and wages, or the Northampton statement and classification, or the Leicester statement and Leicester classification.

### The Eight Hours Bill.

The replies of Mr. Gladstone and Randolph Churchill to Keir Hardie on the Eight Hours Bill for miners are models of parliamentary diplomacy. Mr. Gladstone would give the Bill "a dispassionate consideration," while Randolph will vote for it if Broadhurst and Co. will. It must be confessed that the latter young gentleman has given some study to the subject. He has read Mr. Sidney Webb's article in the *Contemporary*, and he has come to the conclusion that the Bill would diminish the unemployed and also the capitalists' profits. Those who believe in improving the condition of the people by wresting election pledges from reluctant politicians may make up their minds for plenty of answers of this kind. The only question would be, in case of two rival candidates giving answers similar to the above, which would be the right person to vote for? "Dispassionate consideration" and a promise of support, conditional on the worst enemies of your pet measure agreeing to it, are both equally worthless. Still, the rival politicians understand their business, and candidates at the next election will do well to copy their diplomacy. They will then be able to juggle a good many

poor people out of a vote, while really promising them nothing. This is the highest art of politics. N.

### The Sheffield and District General Labourers' Union.

The above organisation is making rapid progress. Totally unlike other organisations, while aiming at the removal of existing evils, to obtain a general rise in wages and a reduction of the hours of labour to each as the normal day, the movement has been, is, and will be of a thoroughly Socialistic character. Although only six weeks old, it numbers over 900 members, and is entering at the rate of 200 per week. Comrade Sketchley as secretary, with the help of comrade Bulas as president, hold at least five meetings each week in different parts of the town, at all of which thorough revolutionary Socialism is taught, and is everywhere well received. The system of organisation, too, is very simple, yet most effective in case of a great crisis, which is kept steadily in view. The committee has just taken the Hallamshire Hall, at a rental of £50 a-year. They have entire control of the hall (as sale tenants) for the year 1890. There the secretary (or some other one) will lecture twice each Sunday; in the morning at 11 on the events of the week, and in the evening at 7 on one of the great social or economical questions of the day. The hall will seat about 800. On the Tuesday evenings the society will hold its regular weekly meetings for the transaction of business, etc. The *Commonweal* begins to be looked upon among the more advanced of the members as their organ. B. S.

### REAL AND FICTITIOUS CAPITAL.

THE miscalled "national" banking system of this country, by which every money shark who can buy a 100,000 dols. United States bond, obtains the privilege to issue 90,000 dols. in notes which he can put out at interest, while also drawing interest on the bond, is a wrong and injustice to labour. It makes the indebtedness of the people the basis upon which the Shylocks bark and levy double usury. But it is not so great and deep-seated a wrong as the system under which fictitious credit-capital is created, bearing no necessary relation to the amount of money in the country or the real values of property, on every cent. of which credit-capital draws usury. Every operation in bonds or stocks, in produce or in real estate, in railroads or factories, which leaves a profit, adds just so much to the enormous volume of credit-capital. Every time a bondholder clips his coupons or a shareholder in a corporation receives his dividends, there is an addition to the paper-capital and the power of the moneyed class to levy tribute on industry. Capital used to be defined as stored-up labour, but like many other of the definitions of the so-called science of political economy it is an absurdity in relation to what we call capital to-day. There is a sense in which it is true. Real capital—such as machinery, buildings, coal, wheat, or furniture—the tangible material capital—is stored-up labour, though it is usually stored up by and for the use of someone other than the actual wealth creator. Real capital, moreover, is perishable; it is liable to be consumed, worn-out, or destroyed in many different ways. But credit-capital, the capital created not by labour but by buying and selling and putting out money to usury, is not stored-up labour—it is not actual wealth—it represents nothing now actually in existence, but is simply a charge or mortgage upon the labour of the future. And it does not, like real capital, perish in the using; it is not worn out or consumed, but goes on accumulating, piling up and "making money" for its possessor, twenty, fifty, or a hundred years after it was called into existence, by a stroke of the pen on a deed or a banker's book.

We have called this "credit-capital" because the existing phraseology of political economy is lacking and deceptive. It has no term to distinguish these imaginary values created by the speculator, the banker, and the usurer from the genuine labour-created capital. It lumps them both together under the one term "capital," and then, when exception is taken to the insidious process under which labour is taxed to pay the holder of imaginary values, its professors cry out: "Oh, but capital is necessary—capital is stored labour and industry must pay for its use." And so it is no wonder that many intelligent people are unable to see the argument against the injustice of taxing labour to pay usury on a thing that has no existence apart from figures on paper, because their minds have been so befogged by the teaching of learned professors of political economy, who wilfully or ignorantly, confound two entirely different things.

Credit-capital means the eternal enslavement of labour. It lies at the foundation of the enormous fortunes which are accumulating so rapidly throughout America, and of the corresponding impoverishment of the masses. If the process of creating by the juggling operations of a currency system, framed in the interest of bankers and usurers, and by the inflation of land values, railroad shares, etc., a capital which is real only in its power of taxing the workers to maintain idlers in luxury, is allowed to continue, freedom will soon exist only in name, and the United States will be a plutocracy with a population of serfs.—*Journal of United Labour*.

Very often, indeed, what seems to be noisy or senseless joy in frivolous amusements is nothing but a result of immoderate, galling, and brutalising labour, since the mind, by perpetual hurrying and scurrying in the service of money-making, loses the capacity for a purer, nobler, and calmly-devised enjoyment. Men then involuntarily pursue their recreation also with the feverish haste of acquisition, and pleasure is measured by its cost, and is hurried through as if it were a kind of duty in the days and the hours set apart for it. That such a state of things is not healthy, and can hardly exist permanently, seems obvious; but it is not less clear that in the present industrial epoch enormous achievements are accomplished which at a future time may well serve to make the fruits of a higher culture accessible to the widest circles.—F. A. Lange, 'History of Materialism,' Vol. iii.—'Political Economy and Egoism.'

DIVIDENDS.—What is it to the dwellers on Fifth Avenue as they roll in their elegant, expensive carriages to the theatre or the club-room, or when they give one night's entertainment that costs them ten, twenty, thirty thousand dollars, that thousands of honest poor are struggling to keep life in their bodies on less per annum than they spend on a favourite dog! Here is a horse railroad that it cost only two million dollars to build and equip; stock is sold to the amount of four millions; to pay dividends on that stock the wages must be cut down to starvation limit. The men see that they are being robbed, to increase the ill-gotten pelf of the rich; they combine and strike; there is an ever-increasing army of starving wretches to take their place. Feeling that it is a war for life or death, the strikers meet wrong with wrong, violence and fraud with violence and fraud. Then come the police with club and revolver, next the soldiers with bayonet and Gatling guns. In the meantime the stock-waterer and gambler watches the shooting from his club window, and is only concerned that the soldier will not leave men (slaves) enough to operate his road and increase his millions.—*Rev. Chas. E. Stowe*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, and Yarmouth, to end of May. North Kensington and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell and East London, to end of October. North London, Mitcham, and Leicester, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

**Notice to Branch Secretaries.**—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

### "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; B. W., 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; D. J. Nicoll, 6d.; and F.C.S.S., 1s.

## REPORTS.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Good meeting held at Latimer Road; speakers Crouch, Dean, R. J. Lyne; fair sale of *Commonweal*. Comrade Bonham lectured in our Rooms to a good audience on "Money"; a good debate followed.

**ABERDEEN.**—At weekly meeting of Branch on 16th a paper on "Christian Socialism," by E. D. Girdlestone, was read and discussed.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—Our Tuesday night and Sunday afternoon meetings had to be abandoned, owing to the wet weather and indisposition of our speakers—most Socialists, like all other members of the community here, being afflicted with the cold, influenza, bronchitis, or some other "seasonable" illness. On Sunday evening, however, we held our usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll, where Glasier spoke to a good audience.

**LEICESTER.**—Barclay lectured at the Gladstone Working Men's Club on Tuesday. Sunday night, in the Irish National Club, the discussion with Chambers was resumed.—A. G.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday morning at Vicar's Croft, Rogers debated with Deveril (a local Irish leader) on the "Statement of Principles"; good attendance and great interest shown; *Weal* sold out.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Sunday morning on the Priory Plain, Ruffold addressed a large meeting. In the afternoon, Ruffold spoke at the same place to a good audience, and in the evening at Colman's Granary; 7d. collected and all *Commonweal* sold out.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At the Progressist Club, 87 Marlborough Street, on December 21st, J. O'Gorman lectured to a small audience on "The Demands of Organised Labour." King, Wilson, Hamilton, and Fitzpatrick took part in the discussion.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Things are moving splendidly in this district. In addition to several meetings held during the week, we have had good meetings on Sunday—at the Monolith in the morning, Gower Street in the afternoon, and the Pump, Westbar, at night. This morning a reporter was specially sent down to report our speech to the Watch Committee of the Corporation, and several rumours are about of various impending prosecutions by the police authorities, who have been rather hardly hit by our comrades during the past month. They seem to have been buzzing about lately for witnesses on their behalf, and there is every likelihood that efforts will shortly be made here to stop our open-air meetings. *Commonweal* and other literature sold well. We all feel encouraged by the attitude of the police, and accept it as the best praise of our work.—F. C.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—On Sunday, comrade Proctor gave a paper on "The Unskilled Labour Movement." It was a masterly review of the situation, and provoked a good discussion.

**"WHITE SLAVERY."**—To talk about white slavery in this country, and to liken the condition of the working-men to the negro slaves before emancipation, is to speak falsely, to bear false witness, and to insult, slander, and degrade the vast majority of American citizens.—New York *Sun*. And yet we seem to remember, says the *Boston Herald*, that only a few months ago the *Sun* published a series of articles which bore the heading of "The White Slaves of New York," and described the condition of poor sewing-women of the metropolis in a way that made their condition seem worse, in many respects, than that of the slave-women before the war. Negro slavery was a bad and brutal thing; but at least the slaves ordinarily had a plentiful supply of the bare necessities of life, such as food, clothing, and shelter. Self-interest and the law, if no higher motives, compelled the master to see to that. But, according to the *Sun's* own accounts, some of the poor sewing-women of New York, and hard-working ones too, do not have these bare necessities. They are at the mercy of "sweaters" and landlords as much as the slaves were at the mercy of their masters. Is there not, then, some truth in the talk about "white slavery"?

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CHelsea S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday December 29, at 8 p.m., Songs and Recitations by the Hammersmith S. L. Choir and Friends.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. No lecture on Sunday 29th. French Class, Friday, 8 to 9.

**Merton.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. No lecture on Sunday December 29.

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

**Streatham.**—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock. Annual Hogmanay Social Meeting will be held in Rams Horn Hall, at 8 o'clock, when the New Year will be brought in with songs, readings, and dancing.

**Hatfield.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m. Tea and Entertainment in Spiritualists' Hall, Silver Street, Friday January 3rd, 1890, 6 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible to help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

#### SATURDAY 28.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Cores and Presburg

#### SUNDAY 29.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Dean, Crouch, and Maughan  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mainwaring,  
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street ..... Cores  
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green ..... The Branch  
11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Cantwell and Nicoll  
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square ..... The Branch  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Cantwell and Mowbray  
3.30..... Victoria Park ..... The Branch  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch

#### TUESDAY 31.

8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch

#### THURSDAY 2.

8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... The Branch

### PROVINCES.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Sheffield.**—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11 a.m.; Gower Street, at 3 p.m.; Pump, Westbar, 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

**LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY**, 1 Stanley Street, Dale Street.—Meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB**, Woodland Place, Parliament Street.—Sunday Dec. 29, at 7.30, H. Snell (Fabian).

**STAR RADICAL CLUB**, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Dec. 29, at 8.30, M. J. Jackman, "Our Hereditary Legislators."

**WOOLWICH RADICAL CLUB**, William Street.—Sunday December 29, at 8 p.m., W. S. De Mattos, "A Socialist Programme for London."

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Saturday Dec. 28, at 8, T. Hamilton, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—What they Mean."

**EAST FINSBURY RADICAL CLUB**, 134 City Road, E.C.—Sunday December 29, at 11.30 a.m., W. S. De Mattos, "A Socialist Programme for London."

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## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore need not work, and of another that has no property and therefore must work in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must abuse by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be used by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be free because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be brothers, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be equal, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be given to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be taken by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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